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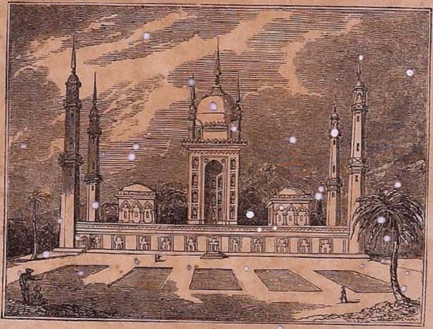

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SPEECH-SPEAKING AND SPEECH-WRITING:—OR SIR JOHN MALCOLM *versus* HIMSELF.

"That Government which has nothing to disguise, wields the most powerful instrument that can appertain to sovereign rule.—If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion."—Marquess of Hastings.

"I am, and ever have been, the advocate of publicity in all affairs of Government. I hate concealment and mystification: good and wise measures will ever gain strength from daylight."—Sir John Malcolm.

Although the sentiments of the gallant General, which we have quoted here, are not expressed with the elegance that distinguishes those of the noble Marquess—his brother soldier; there is, nevertheless, a coincidence between them, which renders them worthy of being placed side by side. When the venerable Knight of the Garter uttered *his* admiration of "public scrutiny," we put the sincerity of his professions to the test, and found, at length, that though the professed end of this publicity was to render the motives and acts of Government intelligible throughout *India*, the only "Empire our hold on which is Opinion," yet it was in *England* alone that the scrutiny was to be allowed free exercise—and even then, not to be republished in our Empire of Opinion, for fear the intelligibility aimed at should become too plain and unequivocal. When the honoured Knight of the Lion and the Sun uttered *his* admiration of "free disclosure and full discussion," from which he anticipated so much good to *India*, and the repression of which he characterized as a return to the Oriental Tyranny which we ought to have destroyed, we put the sincerity of *his* professions also to the test; and found, as in the former case, that the speaker by no means meant what his words implied; or at least, that he subsequently disclaimed such meaning. Thus, though all the world conceived that the gallant General and the noble Marquess each intended their sentiments to apply to that country for whose especial benefit the said scrutiny and discussion were intended, yet they themselves now insist on putting a different construction on their previous declarations, and limiting the operation of their pretended love of publicity to England alone! Whether there is not some "concealment and mystification" in this, the reader will judge. Be it as it may, however, we shall take Sir John Malcolm, as we have before taken Lord Hastings, at his word; and give to his inconsistencies that "daylight" from which, if there be wisdom in them, they are sure to gather strength:—if folly, weakness.

When the Numbers of the Asiatic Journal and the Oriental Herald, for the last month (August), were issued from the press, one of the first occupations that suggested itself was a comparison of the speeches in the Debate of the 9th of July, as reported in these contemporaneous publications. The striking and uniform resemblance of nearly all the speeches in the one, to the reports of the same speeches in the other, would have led a stranger to believe that there must have been either extreme fidelity on the part of the reporters, or some mutual understanding and reciprocal aid between them. They differed materially in nothing, except that those of the Asiatic Journal were reported in the third person, and those of the Oriental Herald in the first; and that some documents were given at length in the one, while the substance only was reported in the other. All that fell from the several speakers, however, was strikingly alike, with one single exception only; but this was so remarkable as to deserve a more extended notice.

In the Oriental Herald, *all* the speeches are reported in the first person. In the Asiatic Journal, only *one* of the speeches is so reported; and this is Sir John Malcolm's. At first view, we were struck with this peculiarity; and still more so when we saw that it was included within inverted commas, as if it were a quotation from some written authority, and not the work of a reporter. Our surprise soon subsided, however, when on a comparison of the speech in the Asiatic Journal with that in the Oriental Herald, we found them almost as remarkable for their difference from, as all the other speeches had been for their resemblance to, each other. We found, in short, that there were sins of commission as well of omission; that Sir John, in his written speech, had not only "left unsaid the things which he ought to have said,"—but that he had also "said the things which he ought not to have said,"—and, in short, that there was "no health in him." The speech, as *spoken* in the India House, occupies seven very short columns, in the Oriental Herald:—the speech, as *written*, either before or after it was spoken, for the press, makes more than eleven long columns in the Asiatic Journal! There may be no "concealment" in this; but we think there is clearly "mystification," and we therefore very much doubt if Sir John really hates this so much as he fancies he does. Whether the speech was first written in order to be spoken, and the memory of the gallant General occasioned him to forget some parts, while his imagination helped him to the invention of others; or whether the speech was written *after* it was spoken, and memory equally failed to recall what was really said, so that invention became necessary to fill up the blanks, we know not; but we are willing to stake our reputation for sagacity on the fact that the speech *was* written for the Asiatic Journal by the hand of Sir John Malcolm himself, although his memory must be weak, and his imagination strong indeed, if he really believes that the speech so written is a faithful report of the one spoken by him in the Court. Reporters may *omit* to transcribe a great deal that a speaker really utters, and now and then may give a wrong version of, or an imperfect sense to, what he says;—but reporters are not the men to write gratuitously whole columns for speakers, and to set down in their notes pages that were never spoken at all. They may have imagination and talent enough for this—but they want application and time. It may therefore be assumed, with as much certainty as any inference may be drawn from undoubted premises, that the speech of

Sir John Malcolm, as reported in the Oriental Herald, is really the speech *spoken* by him; and that the speech in the Asiatic Journal is the speech *written* by him, and therefore contains what, on a more deliberate review of the question, he wished to say on the subjects therein brought under discussion. As we took the liberty to append some brief notes to the spoken speech, in our last Number, the same hatred of "mystification" which Sir John himself expresses, induces us to offer a few remarks also on the latter; the text of which we consider to be the production of his own hand. That public men should *revise* their speeches, by correcting grammatical errors, amending obscure expressions, and calling in the proper aid of their own memories to prevent their being made the authors of what they really did not say, is perhaps a general and a harmless privilege. But that public speakers, who fail to make the impression they wish in what they personally deliver to the public *ear*, should write new speeches with their own hands for the public *eye*, is rather an unfair extension of the privilege of revision. But, if they *will* do so, they must take the consequences. They must be prepared for the full blaze of "daylight," that will be let in upon their practices, and abide the pitiless storm which will gather round their heads. Proceed we, however, to our task.

In going through the written speech of Sir John Malcolm, we shall confine ourselves principally to the portions not to be found in the spoken one, for the sake of novelty at least, though we may perhaps be here and there tempted to contrast what may deserve it in both.

In speaking of Mr. Adam, after the usual eulogy on private character which generally precedes a defence of public wrong, Sir John says—"I can speak of Mr. Adam on an *intimate* knowledge of thirty years: he is as remarkable for mildness and humanity, as for firmness and judgment: he is from *birth* and education a lover of the free constitution of his country, and all he has done in the case now before us has, I am assured, proceeded *solely* from an imperious sense of public duty."

This will no doubt pass with understandings of a certain calibre, for excellent reasoning; but let us see to what it amounts:—This *intimate* knowledge is an acquaintance with Mr. Adam when a youth, the first years of their servitude in India being passed together in Lord Wellesley's secretarial office. For the last ten or fifteen years, at least, this *intimate* knowledge has been confined to occasional meetings in public, and perhaps occasional correspondence. Sir John Malcolm is a Madras military officer—Mr. John Adam is a Bengal civil servant. Sir John Malcolm has been principally employed in Southern India, in Persia, and the central provinces of Hindoostan—Mr. Adam has been principally employed in Bengal, and, for many years past, as Secretary, Censor of the Press, and Member of Council, has been confined to Calcutta, so that for many years, at least, they never could have met at all. Public men in Europe may be known pretty intimately, by those who never saw them, from the publicity of all their deeds and thoughts; but in India there are neither public writings, public speeches, nor public acts, by which men can be known, till they come to be high in office, towards the close of their career; and Mr. Adam has given a specimen of his powers in that way, which will remain on record (not much to the honour of his feelings or of his understanding) as long as his slavish and slanderous Manifesto exists. This intimate knowledge of thirty years, therefore, is of no more

worth than the knowledge which any man in England might have of any man in France, whom he knew to be an amiable boy, and a promising man; but who, after thirty years, during which he had seen him thirty times, and still thought favourably of him, had turned out at last to be both knave and fool, and ended his days either in degradation or derision, or both.

But, then, "he is from *birth* and education a lover of the free constitution of his country."—He was born of Whig parents, it is true; but so far are Whig principles from being hereditary, or passing from generation to generation, that they rarely or ever last out one race, it perpetually happening, that men begin the world as Whigs, and end it as weathercocks, being unable to maintain their own principles steadily for themselves, much less to transmit them to their progeny.—His education was not much better. No man educated for India is likely to be overburdened with love for our "free constitution:" but even if he were, Mr. Adam's principal education was completed in the office of Lord Wellesley, one of the most arbitrary Governors that India ever saw. He began his education by admiring Lord Wellesley's despotism towards Englishmen, whom he banished without mercy or consideration.[1] He matured his education, by acting, for several years, as censor of the press: and he closes his career, by putting forth a pamphlet, full of the most slavish and degrading doctrines, in which, among other things to the same effect, he says, "*It is not possible to conceive a more gross and open insult to a Government than a defence of what is known to have excited their displeasure.*" This is the consummation of these high advantages of "birth and education," which are to form the guarantee of Mr. Adam's being a "lover" of the free constitution of his country. It is truly an Oriental love, that strangles, the moment it has flattered and dallied with, the object of its caresses.

Then, too, says Sir John, "I am *assured* that all Mr. Adam has done, has proceeded from an imperious sense of duty." This at once proves how slight must have been his "intimate knowledge" of the subject of his panegyric. If it be meant the assurances of Mr. Adam himself, or of his friends, they are altogether worthless; and as to assurance from conviction or belief, this is little better. Actions and not professions, are the

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[1] Mr. Mill, in his excellent History of British India, which it would be well for every man to read before he wrote or spoke on Indian affairs, gives the following specimen of Lord Wellesley's method of keeping up the principles of our free constitution, which he also "loved," no doubt, from birth and education.

"The hostility of the Governor General to his fellow-subjects, pursuing, independently of the Company, their occupations in any part of India, is expressed without a word to indicate reasons, in the same letter, thus: 'The number of Europeans established in Oude, is a mischief which requires no comment. My resolution is fixed, to dislodge every European, excepting the Company's servants. My wish is to occasion as little private distress as possible; but the public service must take its course: and it is not to be expected that some cases of hardship will not be found in the extent of so great a measure.' These last words (adds Mr. Mill) indicate extensive numbers. Why did not the Governor General, before he dared to strike at the fortunes of great numbers of his countrymen, declare and prove the evils which they produced? For what reason is it, let them declare, who know what is understood, under such a Government as ours, by the responsibility of the ruling few, that he has never yet been effectually called upon to account for such conduct? The good which they were calculated to produce is obvious to all. The question still remains unanswered—What were the evils?"

proper guides in such cases, and what do these lead us to infer? Sir John Malcolm does not perhaps know, what those who are less intimate with Mr. Adam may, however, tell him, that there is a certain spell in which he is bound,—a secret influence that hangs around him,—a weakness that once captivated even the first soldier of the age,—a poison that has often steeped in blindness and fatuity more crowned heads than one,—a power, to which gods and heroes have been fabled as falling sacrifices,—a charm that lost a world, when Rome was linked to Egypt, —and before which, "an imperious sense of duty" is but as a feather before the whirlwind. In forbearance to the frailties of human nature, we have not dwelt on this, as many would have done; but it is really too much to hear, on every side, the "sense of duty" set up as the only explanation of what can never be defended on such grounds; and what, indeed, there is every reason to believe, arose purely and entirely from personal feeling, and a pre-determination to destroy.[2]

A new and singular argument has been ventured on, by Sir John Malcolm, against giving a free press to the British inhabitants in India. In his *written* speech it is lost amid a cloud of words; but in substance it is this: In England there are three classes: the aristocracy, the lower orders, and the middle ranks in life. The first, he says, are not an essential part of the British public, "because they must, in some degree, be swayed by their connexions, their interests, and their political parties." The second are not an essential part of the British public, because "they are too uninstructed to understand either the political questions agitated, or the demagogues who lead, or the periodical writers who flatter them." It is only the third or middle class "who have too much knowledge to be misled like the lower orders, whose occupations free them from the motives of the higher orders, and who are also, in a great degree, removed from the passions and feelings of both." This is the *beau ideal* of Sir John Malcolm's British public in England; and to them a free press, he says, is useful: but he contends there is no such middle class among the English in India; and, *therefore,* a free press is not suited to them.

It is impossible to admire sufficiently the confusion of terms and images which seem to dance through this classification, like a will-o'-the-wisp, which ever invites, and yet ever eludes, the pursuit. What is given as the peculiar characteristic of the first class—the higher orders, "their being influenced by interest, connexion, and party," is common to all the world: and without the universality of this influence, mankind would want the common motives to action. Nothing, in short, is less peculiar than this: it influences princes and peasants, as well as men of every rank between; and is not only common to all classes in any one country, but is so to every country under the sun. Sir John Malcolm's "daylight" was not clear enough, however, to allow him to see this. Again, what is mentioned as peculiar to the lower orders—"their being

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[2] There are some remarks on the worthlessness of testimonies to character, in opposition to proved misdeeds, from the deep and powerful mind of Mr. Bentham, in his recent "Book of Fallacies," that are so much in point, as to deserve to be referred to here. See p. 120 to 122. He concludes by saying, "If there be any one maxim in politics more certain than another, it is, that no possible degree of virtue in the governor, can render it expedient for the governed to dispense with good laws and good institutions."

too uninstructed to understand either the political questions agitated, the speakers who would lead, or the writers who would instruct them," is also common to all: and is perhaps even more applicable to the aristocracy than to what Sir John, probably, would call the rabble. What a specimen of the knowledge to judge of political questions, might be seen in a temporal peer—a First Lord of the Treasury, declaring, that the true cause of the want of bread among the lower orders, was the superabundance of corn! What a specimen of the same knowledge, to hear a spiritual peer—a right reverend prelate of the metropolitan see, contending that, literally and morally speaking, the king could do no wrong, though he should actually commit all the crimes denounced in the Decalogue! What a specimen of extensive information, to find a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs relinquishing an island like Java, from total ignorance of its political and commercial importance! What a specimen of the value of knowledge, to hear the Member for Corfe Castle inveighing against its being imparted to his fellow-countrymen, as if it were some fatal and destroying poison! Why, the lower orders, as they are called, would be ashamed of such drivelling as this; and are far superior, in useful information, to many among the high, who look down upon them with contempt. The reason is obvious.—The higher orders have already all they desire, and have little motive to exertion. The lower must amass information, if they would improve their condition; and the desire of doing this being common to man, and generally stronger as he descends in the scale,—as long as knowledge is only to be acquired by labour, the higher orders, however polished in their exterior, will always, as a body, be more inferior to the lower, in point of useful information, than is generally supposed. Then, as to the middle class, no one can tell where this begins or ends. The distinctions between those who have more than 10,000*l.* a year, and those who have less, can be marked: between those who have titles, and those who have none, equally defined. Who shall say, however, to what order such extremes, as stupid men of wealth and poor men of genius, belong? If the former be of the higher order, because of their titles and their admission to royal favour, they may be of the very lowest in point of intellect or occupation. If the latter be of the lower order, because of their misery and destitution, they are clearly of the higher because of their mental attainments. This middle class is altogether evanescent, and cannot be otherwise. But if Sir John Malcolm's classification were worth any thing, then neither the high nor the low ought to have a press, but only the middle ranks—a distinction at once as absurd as impossible; and the very fact of nations making no distinctions, either in the law or the practice, on that head, but giving as much freedom of the press to men who can barely read, as to those who are most distinguished for their learning, is clearly indicative of the absence of all supposed necessity for such distinctions in every country in which the press exists.

The most amusing part of the whole, however, is this: that the very individuals, the British inhabitants of India, to whom Sir John Malcolm would *deny* a free press, are all taken from the very class to whom only, if he could manage it, he would *grant* such an engine; as he contends that it is those alone to whom it is useful. The British inhabitants of India are neither taken from the higher nor the lower orders of society in England; but, as far as the limit can be ascertained, they are all from

the middle class; from that especial class which, Sir John says, is here most fitted for the very freedom he would deny.

But, after all, this argument applies only to the English, who are the governors. The Native Indians, the millions who form the governed, are lost sight of, as usual, in the question; though it is for them principally, and for their interests especially, that the freedom of discussion is wanting: and among them, the middle class is as numerous as in England, if not more so; for there the higher orders are all, long since, destroyed.

Sir John Malcolm, in common with other arguers within a circle, contends, that the government of India is a despotism, because it cannot be free; and then proves this, by saying that freedom cannot be allowed there, because the government is a despotism. These gentlemen, who are certainly of a very *middling* order of intellect themselves, complacently take it for granted, that the government of India not merely *is* despotic, but is *necessarily* so, and cannot be altered; and upon this necessity, which is every where denied, and nowhere proved, they proceed to show that all the characteristics of despotism are equally indispensable. To talk, then, of making or altering the *laws* of such a state, is to talk nonsense. A despotism is a *law*LESS government; and if India be this, then neither the Houses of Parliament, nor the Court of Proprietors, ought to have any thing to do with the matter; and all this vapouring about a despotism, *as by law established*, is worse than useless. After this, comes the passage we have taken for our motto: "I am, and ever have been, the advocate of publicity in all affairs of Government. I hate concealment and mystification. Good and wise measures will ever gain strength from daylight," &c.

The speeches of Sir Francis Macnaghten, Mr. Impey, and Mr. Randal Jackson, of whom Sir John Malcolm is worthy to be the leagued associate, would all afford the most ludicrous contradictions, if paragraph were compared with paragraph, sentence with sentence: but none would be more rich than Sir John's own lucubrations in this respect. Take, as an illustration, the following:—

Though I am an enemy to a free press in India, yet I am friendly to any publication that refrains from those subjects which have been *very properly prohibited* by the restrictions.	These restrictions, however, which were orders of Government, were, in my mind, *more severe* than the censorship. I decidedly *prefer* the latter.
I am, and ever have been, the advocate of publicity in all the affairs of Government. I hate concealment and mystification. Good and wise measures will ever gain strength from daylight.	There is something, no doubt, odious in the name of a censor of the press; but it signifies not, if it is necessary: it cannot then be too decidedly exercised.

We might go on to cull out a hundred such examples as these in Sir John's single speech,—and even for these we have not gone in search: they will present themselves to the eye of any reader who will look into page 199, of the last number of the Asiatic Journal, where they stand thickly clustered, with many other follies of the same description, within the limits of half a column. Can it be possible that these men ever read what they write? A man might *talk* nonsense very fluently, and be pitied; but really *writing* such speeches as this, in the calm of retirement, and revising them deliberately for the press, without even perceiving such blemishes as these, does appear to us to indicate a degree of blindness which we should not have thought possible unless we had seen it.

Sir John next endeavours to reconcile the discordant positions, that men in India are intrusted with almost absolute power; and yet that they are never so elevated as to forget their characters as Englishmen. One would have thought that a "lover," by birth and education, of the free constitution of his country, would have known that this absolute power is altogether foreign to it; and that to feel as an Englishman, and act as a Turk, is like an attempt to serve God and mammon. Either he must cling to the one, and forget the other; or he will fail in his duty to both. But, he says, suppose they are even despotic; or, to use his own words, "have absolute power," do they not exercise it under checks? Yes! no doubt; and so does the Sultan at Constantinople. He is your truly absolute ruler; but even *he* fears the bowstring and the dagger: and the fear of these before his eyes is far more operative than any fear of a distant check, like that of the Court of Directors. First, however, says Sir John, "their measures in detail are submitted to the Court of Directors: we all know the composition of that Court. Assuredly it is not probable it will support despotic acts." No? Why the very defence which these same Directors instructed their legal advocate to set up for the despotism of their Governor abroad, was this: "the government of India always has been, still is, and as long as *we* hold it, always must be a despotism." Sir John Malcolm heard this—Sir John Malcolm praised this—Sir John Malcolm himself repeated this—and in his written speech he adds, "the situation of the country requires it; the law sanctions it." Good heavens! and is this the man to turn round upon us, and say, "assuredly it is not probable the Court will support despotic acts"? *Probable?* Why it *had* supported them; it *had* defended them; and this on the open and undisguised assumption that the despotism was lawful, necessary, and without even a hope of ever being otherwise!—It is really difficult to proceed, or to see when one is to come to an end, where such an interminable mass of contradiction and absurdity follows thickly, line after line, with scarcely a gleam of reason or common sense to enliven or relieve the "palpable obscure." But we must try.—

He goes on—"Supposing, however, the Court of Directors were to support the despotic acts of their servants abroad—their proceedings, whenever called for, *must* be laid before the Court of Proprietors." Can it be necessary to give a contradiction to this? Here had Sir John Malcolm himself been two, if not three, days in attendance at the Court, speaking and voting against the production of papers to illustrate the proceedings of the Government in India, contending that such papers ought *not* to be produced; and yet, in the very act of so speaking and voting, he exclaims, "If the proceedings are called for, they *must* be produced." It is not easy to imagine how contradiction can go beyond this, either in extent or in degree.

One trifling specimen more—of the contrasted kind.

Those who fill the highest situations in India are seldom, if ever, elevated to any forgetfulness of their character as English gentlemen—their minds are neither corrupted by intrigue, nor disturbed by dreams of irrational ambition.	They enjoy, it is true, great, and in some cases, as I have said, absolute power. Power is *always* intoxicating; and though I will not allow that those who exercise it in India are like the Sultans of the East,—yet, I will readily admit that the oftener they are reminded they are Englishmen, the better.

What! often remind people of what they seldom or ever forget! This is surely superfluous: and as to the notion that they are not even *like* what they really are—Sultans of the East—it is quite worthy to emanate from such a source.

But we must draw to a close.—If we were determined to expose all the sophistries contained in this single speech, written expressly for the Asiatic Journal, and with all the talent, and all the care that the writer could bring to the task, we should require a volume as large as Mr. Bentham's; for almost every species of delusion so happily exposed in his masterly performance, the "Book of Fallacies," might be exemplified here.

We have heard, on all sides, the most extravagant eulogiums passed on the Government of India, for their incessant care and attention to the happiness of those over whom they rule. We have heard the natives described as contented and happy, beyond almost the power of man to conceive: and though the unwillingness to trust these natives with the means of expressing their happiness, seemed to throw some some little doubt on the perfection of the bliss that could not be allowed expression, the changes have been incessantly rung upon the felicity of the Hindoos in this Empire, our hold on which is opinion—that is, as the framer of this phrase meant it to be understood, the opinion entertained of our virtues, and our superior fitness to all other men to rule over those who had the happiness to *live* under our government. Sir John Malcolm has joined in this eulogium as heartily as any other; and the reader shall see what an admirable and convincing picture he gives of this unutterable happiness, which he pledges himself, in his *written* speech, (for not a word of the whole was *spoken* by him at the India House,) will be found incontrovertibly correct.

Passing over the impossibility of establishing, or at least maintaining, for a short period, a press really free, in an empire governed by foreigners who have conquered, and who have not and *cannot*, from the difference of language, habits, and religion, amalgamate with the natives, let us examine the character and condition of the latter, that we may discover what would be the effect of the boon it is proposed to grant them. They are divided into two great classes, Mahomedans and Hindoos; the higher ranks of the former, who possessed almost all India before our rule was introduced, are *naturally discontented with our power*. They bear, however, a small proportion to the Hindoos, whose condition and character it is of more consequence to examine. From the most remote period till the present day, we find the history of this unchanged people the same; and there is one striking feature in it—*all the religious and civil classes are educated*, and as prompt and skilful in intrigue as they are in business. From their INTELLECTUAL SUPERIORITY they have ever influenced and directed the more numerous, ignorant, and superstitious classes of their countrymen. These instructed classes (particularly the Brahmins), who have already lost consideration, wealth, and power, by the introduction of our power, fear, and justly, that its progress will still more degrade them. They must, from such causes, have a *hostile feeling* towards us, and THIS IS NOT LIKELY TO DECREASE FROM THE NECESSITY THEY ARE UNDER OF CONCEALING IT. They will seize every opportunity of injuring our power, and many must be afforded them. They are, to my knowledge, adepts in spreading discontent, and exciting sedition and rebellion. They know well how to awaken the fears, to alarm the superstition, or to rouse the pride of those they address. My attention has been, during the last twenty-five years, particularly directed to this dangerous species of secret war against our authority, which is *always carrying on*, by numerous, though unseen hands. The spirit is kept up by letters, by exaggerated reports, and by pretended prophecies. When the time appears favourable, from the occurrence of misfortune to our arms, from rebellion in our provinces, or from mutiny in our troops, circular letters and pro-

clamations are dispersed over the country with a celerity that is *incredible.* Such documents are READ WITH AVIDITY. The contents are in most cases the same. The English are depicted as usurpers of low caste, and as tyrants, who have sought India with no view but that of degrading the inhabitants, and of robbing them of their wealth, while they seek to subvert their usages and their religion. The native soldiery are always appealed to, and the advice to them is in all instances I have met with the same: 'Your European tyrants are few in number, murder them!' The efforts made by the part of the Indian population I have mentioned, and their *success* in keeping up a spirit which places us always in danger, are facts that will not be denied by any man acquainted with the subject.

Let the reader pause for a moment over this description of the happiness of those over whom our rule is extended, and on whom it has been forced in India. Will the Court of Directors recognise the fidelity of this picture of their government? Will the Court of Proprietors sanction the continuance of such a state of things? Will the Legislature of Great Britain permit it to be told to France, to Austria, to Russia, that this is the state of our Indian Empire, every man in it "reading with avidity" invitations to cut the throats of his white tyrants; and this too the language of the "educated classes"? If "intellectual superiority" lead to this, and lead we believe it must, no wonder that so much alarm and terror is felt at the operation of the press. But Sir John Malcolm has accidentally uttered one reasonable sentiment among all the absurd ones that escape from his pen. He says, the hostile feeling of the Indians towards their oppressors is not likely to decrease by the necessity of their concealing it. No? Then the remedy would be to let them speak out—to let this feeling escape by the safety-valve of the press. You cannot smother the feeling; but you may suffer it to evaporate: and never, perhaps, was a stronger argument adduced in favour of the Freedom of the Press in India than this, which Sir John himself unwittingly advances. The natives are discontented. A silent brooding over that discontent, and the necessity of concealing it, increase the feeling. Let them then brood in silence no longer; let them speak out; let their wrongs be heard, and, if possible, redressed. This would be the course of one who really "hated concealment and mystification," and who thought that every wise measure would "gather strength from daylight." But, it appears, the natives of *intellectual superiority* are not to be trusted with a free press, because they would cherish and inflame the hatred which all classes entertain towards us already: and those of the *unintellectual* class are not to be trusted, because they are ignorant, and cannot distinguish between right and wrong. Happy country! and happy people! who have such rulers—such defenders—and such friends! A Governor General—who, if Sir John Malcolm is to be believed, is "incapable of malignity to any human being"—(an assertion that no one human being can possibly be competent to support by proof, when speaking of himself, much less of another:)—and who, in the words of the same writer, "came forward to expose himself to obloquy to save the public," like another scape-goat in the wilderness! Happy public, to be so honoured by the sacrifice! to be first trampled under foot as a set of slaves, incapable of forming or expressing an opinion on any measure whatever; then insulted with seeing this declared in a Manifesto issued to all the world; then muzzled and chained so as to prevent the possibility of refuting the slanderous and degrading calumny; and yet to be so valued in the eyes of this same contemning ruler, that he comes forward and offers himself up as a sacrifice—an atonement—to save the very public he despised!

We know not whether most to admire Mr. Adam's self-immolation on the shrine of public duty, or Sir John Malcolm's self-dissection on the great stage of public scrutiny. The one may believe that he has saved the Indian people, and the other that he has saved his Indian friend: but the world will see that though they have each endeavoured to maintain the literary and political reputation of others, their own is most indisputably and irrecoverably gone for ever.

ZELMA.—AN ARABIAN SONG.

Around my bower the jasmines twine,
 There every flower its sweet discloses,
And there the new-fallen dewdrops shine
 Like diamonds strewed among the roses.

And in the lonely evening hour,
 When the moon first sheds her silvery light
Over her lovely favourite flower,
 That only is awake at night;

Oft have I sat to view her gleams
 Fall o'er the dim and sleeping wave:
While fancy revell'd in such dreams,
 As heaven to our Prophet gave.

In those soft dreams the moments fled
 Enraptured, swift, unheeded by;
Like visions which await the dead
 In the rich bowers beyond the sky.

Wrapped in a shawl of woven light
 That waved in splendour o'er his vest,
A Genius came at fall of night
 And placed this rosebud on my breast.

He did not speak, he did not breathe—
 His airy steps so lightly fell,
That on the flowers which grew beneath,
 Where they had fallen you could not tell.

No, scarcely did he touch the dew
 When through the cold moon's mystic beam
He fled,—and then I hardly knew
 If it were true, or did I dream.

But, ah! his hallowed form still floats
 Before my fancy's witched ken—
As o'er the memory, melting notes,
 We've heard, and wish to hear again!

STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN ESTABLISHMENTS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

At a time when the statesman, the philosopher, the active politician, the zealous devotee, and even the humble cottager, profess to feel one common interest in the promotion of Christian knowledge, it will, perhaps, be thought of some importance to have the state of the Christian family of Canara, a district of the western coast of the Peninsula of India, brought to the notice of the British public. Their origin, their progress, their persecution, their expatriation, their sufferings and their return, all prove at least the sincerity of their faith; and offer grounds of hope that the errors of the lowest *castes* of this distant region may be reformed, if the fostering care and temperate and liberal regulations of their rulers be wisely adapted to the end proposed. The integrity of these people forms a nucleus round which may be gathered the rays of knowledge; and the union of an enlightened legislation and an active benevolence might consummate the happiness of this interesting portion of mankind.

It is now about four years since the following particulars were collected. They were gleaned from the most authentic sources of information; and their intrinsic importance might well warrant a separate publication; but they are offered in this shape to the public, in the hope that through the wider circulation which they are thus likely to obtain, they may excite a more extended interest in India as well as in Europe.

It is not known precisely to the present inhabitants when Christianity first appeared in Canara, although it is conjectured that it is not more than one hundred and fifty years since. It is, however, certain that Goa is the point from whence the ray of light first emanated; and that the doctrines were highly favoured by the friendly disposition of the native Christian rulers of the country.

The following passage from Buchanan, vol. iii. page 23, will serve to show how flourishing was their condition before they became subject to the miseries of a cruel persecution under Tippoo Sultan, which involved the alienation of all their property, and the destruction of seven eighths of their total population. It will also furnish the means of comparing the state of these Christians at the time when Buchanan wrote, (1801,) with that which they enjoyed when these inquiries were made, (1818).

The princes of the house of Ikeri had given great encouragement to the Christians, and had induced 80,000 of them to settle in Tulava. They are all of Kankana descent, and retained the language, dress and manners of the people of that country. The clergy, it is true, adopted the dress of the orders to which they belonged; but they are all natives descended from Kankana families, and were purposely educated in a seminary at Goa, where they were instructed in the Portuguese and Latin languages, and in the doctrines of the church of Rome.

In Tulava they had twenty-seven churches, each provided with a vicar, and the whole under the control of a vicar general, subject to the authority of the archbishop of Goa. Tippoo threw the priests into dungeons, forcibly converted to Islamism the laity, and destroyed all the churches. As the Christian religion does not prevent the re-admission into the church of such delinquents, these involuntary Musulmans have in general reconciled themselves with the clergy, who now of course are at liberty, and 15,000 have already returned to Mangalore and

its vicinity; 10,000 made their escape to Malabar, from whence they are returning home as quickly as their poverty will permit. The clergy are now busy with their flocks, whose poverty, however, has hitherto prevented them from rebuilding any of their churches. During the government of Hyder these Christians were possessed of considerable estates in land, all of which were confiscated by Tippoo, and immediately bestowed on persons of other castes, from whom it would be difficult to resume them. These poor people have none of the vices usually attributed to the native Portuguese; and their superior industry is more readily acknowledged by the neighbouring Hindoos, than avowed by themselves.

It has been stated that Goa had furnished to this province the earliest Christian settlers. Favoured by the powerful protection of the Portuguese Government, they obtained from their more numerous Hindoo neighbours, the respect and esteem which their exemplary conduct merited, and subsequently secured. In other parts of India, where the Christian religion is unsupported by the reigning power, it is rather tolerated than countenanced; its professors are a despised race, and held by the Hindoos as mere outcasts.

Previous to the reign of Hyder the Christians in Canara were in a very flourishing condition, for they had been much encouraged by the Ikeri Rajahs; and under the privileges and grants of land obtained from them, continued to increase in prosperity, until in the year 1767, their numbers were estimated at 80,000. These were generally, with the exception of the priests, of native origin, and descended from Kankana.

For the first five years of Hyder's government after his conquest of Canara, that is from 1767 to 1773, Hyder manifested a friendly disposition towards the Portuguese nation, and consequently towards the native Christian population, who looked up to the Portuguese in some sort as their spiritual masters. He confirmed all the privileges which his predecessor, the Queen of Nagar had bestowed on them, and treated them in every respect as his other subjects. After the capture of the fort of Mangalore by the English commandant Watson, Hyder began to entertain suspicions of the Christians; and upon its being restored, he assembled them with their priests, and directly accused them of infidelity to his standard. The Christians assured him they had held no communication with the enemy, nor had been in any way instrumental in the taking of the fort; and upon this they were dismissed, with a promise however first exacted from them, that if any European power should come by sea and render themselves masters of the fort of Mangalore, they should ascend the Ghauts, and flee to him for protection, instead of recognising such power as their sovereign. But if they would choose to become inhabitants of Nagar, without any such condition, they were then to pay tribute, as subjects of that city. From this agreement, it would appear that they were considered as subjects of the Portuguese, and not of Hyder. From thenceforward to the end of his life Hyder continued to treat the Christians of Canara with much consideration and kindness.

Quite the reverse of this moderation was the conduct of Tippoo Sultan, his son and successor. After the capture of Mangalore by General Mathews, and its subsequent recovery by Tippoo, he immediately evinced his aversion and distrust of the Christians; and either from suspicion of their fidelity, or from religious fanaticism, he seems to have entertained the belief that he could not keep his kingdom secure without reducing all his subjects to Mohammedanism. The Christians in particular he wished to convert, considering them on account of their religion favourably dis-

posed towards the European nations. To execute his iniquitous design of forcible conversion, he accused the Christians of having acted as spies, and guides, to conduct the English into his territories. Under this pretext, he ordered twenty-one missionary priests who resided at Mangalore, out of his kingdom; and when he had thus got rid of the heads of the party who might have stood in the way of his projects, he seized about 70,000 Christians, men, women and children, and sent them to Seringapatam. It does not appear what precise measures he adopted with them on their arrival, but from the wild fanaticism and inexorable cruelty of his character, it is probable that he forcibly converted many to Mohammedanism; and it is certain that very few, if any, were permitted during his reign to return to their homes. Upon a second and third occasion, he carried off some thousands more; and in all cases he confiscated the property of the banished, and distributed the lands and goods among his own subjects. During these persecutions some few escaped, and took refuge under other governments in Courg and Malabar. It is hardly necessary to remark, that upon this expulsion of the Christians from their native land, Tippoo seized and destroyed all their churches, enriching his own coffers with the plate.

It is stated by Buchanan that the Christian population of Canara amounted to 80,000 before the captivity, out of whom 70,000 were either converted to Mohammedanism or destroyed. If this be the case 10,000 remained in, or subsequently regained, their natal province; which is agreeable to the statements and best information of the present day. Supposing this number not to have increased under Tippoo, which is probable, the average annual increase since the year 1799, the date of the fall of Seringapatam, has been 591; and thus the population, taking the last census at 21,827, has doubled in seventeen years. Buchanan's information, however, being derived from desultory inquiry, is perhaps not very accurate; the following statement of the population as it existed in 1818, is strictly correct, being gathered from the parish books.

Number of Roman Catholic Christians inhabiting the various under-mentioned Districts, in the Province of Canara.

MANGALORE AND BANTWAL.

Denomination of the Churches.	Males above 16 Years.	Males under 16 Years.	Total.	Females above 12 years.	Females under 12 Years.	Total.	Grand Total.
Nossa Senhora de Rozario de Mangalore	650	424	1074	807	361	1168	2242
Nossa Senhora de Melagres de Mangalore ..	500	267	767	444	257	701	1468
Jesus Maria Joze de Omzur	344	206	550	329	193	522	1072
Menino Jezus de Bantwal	291	150	441	297	201	498	939
Nossa Senhora de Merces de Velala	709	349	1058	701	272	973	2031
Santa Cruz de Bedrim ..	321	236	557	302	219	521	1078
Senhor Sao. Joze de Pezar	561	326	890	563	309	872	1762
May de Deos de Mogarnadd	294	141	535	417	94	511	1046
Senhor Salvador de Agrar	445	209	654	417	178	595	1249
Total ..	4218	2308	6526	4277	2084	6361	12887

MOOLKI.

Denomination of the Churches.	Males above 16 Years.	Males under 16 Years.	Total.	Females above 12 Years.	Females under 12 Years.	Total.	Grand Total.
Nossa Senhora de Conçuçao de Mulquim ..	184	160	344	260	170	430	774
Nossa Senhora de Remedios de Quirim ..	345	170	515	372	198	570	1085
Nossa Senhora de Saude de Sirvam	418	280	698	435	290	725	1423
Sao. Lourenço de Carcoal	157	153	310	166	160	326	636
Total ..	1104	763	1867	1233	818	2051	3918

CUNDAPORE AND BARCOOR.

Denomination of the Churches.	Males above 16 Years.	Males under 16 Years.	Total.	Females above 12 Years.	Females under 12 Years.	Total.	Grand Total.
De Nossa Senhora de Rozario de Cundapoor	110	116	226	138	81	219	445
De Nossa Senhora de Conçuçao de Gangolim ..	102	56	158	100	36	136	294
Bom Successo de Nagar	32	25	57	43	21	64	121
De Nossa Senhora de Melagres de Caliampoor ..	420	250	670	535	208	743	1413
Total .	664	447	1111	816	246	1162	2273

ONORE.

Denomination of the Churches.	Males above 16 Years.	Males under 16 Years.	Total.	Females above 12 Years.	Females under 12 Years.	Total.	Grand Total.
De Nossa Senhora de Rozario de Onore	288	181	469	384	134	518	987
De Senhor Saó. Francisco Xavier de Chandor ..	201	138	339	200	103	303	642
De Nossa Senhora de Remedios de Gulmona ..	70	48	118	100	31	131	249
Total ..	559	367	926	684	268	952	1878

ANCOLA.

Males above 16 Years.	Males under 16 Years.	Total.	Females above 12 Years.	Females under 12 Years.	Total.	Grand Total.
253	93	346	179	74	253	599

SUNQUERIM.

Males above 16 Years.	Males under 16 Years.	Total.	Females above 12 Years.	Females under 12 Years.	Total.	Grand Total.
66	61	127	101	44	145	272

This increase of population since the return from Seringapatam, has been owing to ordinary principles, and not to conversions from other castes, which are extremely rare, or rather never happen at the present day.

The churches at the time of Tippoo's persecution, amounted to twenty-seven, and were all levelled with the dust. Twenty-one new ones have been erected since the return, and three others have been begun, but their progress is suspended for want of means. This has been all effected among the Christians by voluntary contributions, entirely unaided by the Government. In this pious work the poorest members of their community have contributed materials and labour, where donations in money could not be afforded. The lands which were before attached to these establishments, have not been restored to them by the East India Company; and they are maintained, as they were built, by the people. In many parts of British India, large sums are annually remitted for the support of Hindoo places of worship: but the Christian churches in Canara, so far from being assisted in this manner, pay their due proportion of rent on the little land they possess; and the revenue thus collected, amounts to fifty-seven bahadri pagodas per annum. The whole extent of their possessions may hence be inferred, and the statement relied upon. Three or four only of the churches have very limited farms; and after paying the rents due to Government, the remaining incomes do not exceed one hundred rupees per annum for each.

The number of churches in Canara is already stated at twenty-four, and they are thus distributed: in the district of Mangalore and Bantwal, nine; of Moolki, four; of Cundapore and Barcoor, four; of Onore, three. There is one other church either at Ancola or Sunquerim; and there are three already mentioned as unfinished; one of which is on a hill in the neighbourhood of Mangalore.

The following is the establishment of these churches: There are three priests in the church of Mangalore; two in that of Pezar; two in that of Bedrim; two in that of Caliampore; and one in each of the rest; making in all twenty-six. These priests are all natives of Goa, with the exception of the priest of Sunquerim, who is an Italian; and they are appointed by his excellency the Lord Primate of the East. Their emoluments are thus derived: Each house in the respective parishes contributes one quarter rupee annually; besides which the vicars receive as a charitable donation for masses on account of individuals, when *said*, one quarter and 25 reys, and when *sung*, three quarters of a rupee. On the celebration of a feast, two rupees and a half (though some give more); with a few other trifling and occasional fees, destined for their support. The public ceremonies are all supported by the parishioners. Attached to each establishment there is a sexton (merinho), who is almost as well paid as the pastor, for he receives a quarter of a rupee annually from each house. These are the only fixed officers; but in each parish there is an annual nomination of two respectable inhabitants; one called *fabriquieo*, whose duty it is to take care of the place of worship, to see that it is in proper repair, and to protect its property; and he receives from the parishioners the necessary funds: the other is the *thesoureiro*, who holds and disburses the money collected from the parishioners, following certain established regulations as his guide. When the period arrives for these officers to resign their posts to their successors, they are ex-

pected to render an account of their stewardship, and are held responsible by law for their official acts. These offices are both executed gratis, and seem somewhat analogous to our office of churchwarden. Parochial records are kept by the pastor, of births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths.

For the government of these churches the regulations (except such as are ordinarily attached to the Romish faith) are received from the diocese of Goa; and the Lord Primate sends a Bishop to visit them about once in three years. There is no ecclesiastical tribunal whatever in the province, and consequently all matters of importance regarding religious government, are referred to Goa, and decided by the Primate. The inquisition is not known; nor any public penances ever imposed. The punishment of excommunication is occasionally, but rarely resorted to, and only for crimes of the greatest magnitude, involving contumacy and disobedience; as for instance—against duellists, comprehending as well the receiver of the challenge and those who assist in the duel, as the challenger; against those who have caused the abortion of an animated fœtus; against homicides; against those who have read false apostles; against those who lay violent hands on any clergyman or monk; against those who presume to usurp any of the goods, rights, rents, fruits, or jurisdictions of the church, &c. The power of inflicting this punishment is vested in the Lord Primate of the East. It is published before the people (being usually communicated by letter from the Archbishop), and intimated to the culprit, either within the church or out of it, three admonitions to amendment having been previously given. The sentence is read by the vicar; and no constraint is put upon the party with regard to his attendance, for though he be not present it has the same effect, provided he be within the limits of the jurisdiction. There are two degrees of this punishment; and those who are excommunicated are either tolerados or vitandos: the tolerados are not specified by name in the denunciation; with these the faithful may communicate, as well *in politicis* as *in sacris*. The vitandos are those who are specifically named, or posted in the public rules; with these the faithful must not communicate, *nec in politicis, nec in sacris;* and what shall be denied them is related in the following lines—

> *Si pro delictis anathema quis afficiatur,*
> *Os, orare, vale, communio, mensa negatur.*

What is permitted them is thus stated —

> *Utile, lex, humile, res ignorata, necesse.*

The faithful then are to avoid the "*excommunicados vitandos*;" but this injunction is not so comprehensive as to forbid the exercise towards them of works of charity and pity; and it is held perfectly lawful to marry into their family.

The fast-days are regularly kept as in Europe; and the native Christians all eat meat on ordinary days.

The mass is celebrated in Latin, as in Europe; but the sermon, the catechism, the explication of the mysteries, and other instructions, are delivered to the congregation in their native language, which is the Kankani, or language of Goa. This is a dialect of the Maharashta, and is in very extended use on the coast between Canara and Bombay. All

castes, without any reference to rank or condition, assist at the same mass; each person attending according to convenience without any regard to civil distinction. The women also attend the same mass as the men; but there is a part of the church destined for their particular occupation. Images of our Saviour, of the Holy Mother and of other saints are in use, and the priests have the same excuses in their mouths for this species of idolatry, as their more tutored brethren in Europe. It does not appear that any miracles are said to have been performed in the province, these very lucrative proofs of divine favour being probably monopolized by the higher powers at Goa. With respect to saints, the most celebrated, probably in consequence of the numerous conversions which he effected in these parts, is the great Francis Xavier, who is dignified with the title of the Great Apostle of India. His body rests at Goa. Next to him in celebrity, though not canonized, is the venerable father Joze Vas; who seems to have been indefatigable in his exertions in the cause of religion. He passed from this coast to Ceylon, where he terminated his days, after effecting numerous conversions in that island. His sepulchre is said to be in Candy.

The feast which in each church is celebrated with the greatest reverence—with their limited means pomp cannot be thought of—is that of the Orago, or Patron. A numerous concourse of parishioners assist at the ceremony; and wax lights, which at other times are too expensive to be employed, on this occasion are burned in profusion. Organs are not in use; but a few solemn hymns have been taught by the priests to the congregation, who thus with one accord raise their voices to heaven in an appropriate and most impressive form of sacred song, which subdues the heart, at least of an observer, by its simplicity and natural ease. The feast of St. Francis Xavier is also observed in the churches at Mangalore.

The christening of children should properly take place on the eighth day, but sometimes this ceremony is postponed for the sake of convenience. In regard to marriage, persons are not allowed to make positive engagements until arrived at the age of puberty, namely in men at fourteen, and in women at twelve; but it is usual to be betrothed before the consummation of marriage; and the ceremonies of betrothing and marriage are distinct. Both men and women are permitted to marry more than once; but polygamy is not in use, and is strictly forbidden. The ceremony of marriage is the same as is in use in Roman Catholic countries in Europe. The Christians of different castes do not readily intermarry, but this rather arises from inequality of condition, than from any remnant of Hindoo superstition; for there is no interdiction, nor would other Christians consider the mere circumstance of difference of caste, as degrading to either party. A promise before the age of puberty of future marriage, is not admitted by the church as valid; and if such betrothing should have taken place, it may be broken off when the parties shall arrive at that age. It is necessary, however, that a retraction shall be made at that time. The native priests follow the rule of celibacy imposed on their brethren in Europe.

There is nothing peculiar in the mode of administering the sacraments, either of communion or of extreme unction, excepting that with respect to the latter, as it is supposed possible that the Hindoos, who constitute the mass of the population, might insult any public Christian procession,

the holy viaticum is not carried from the church, but it is permitted the priest to celebrate mass in the house of the sick, and to administer the sacred host to him there. The sacrament of extreme unction is in like manner administered to dying persons.

In the interment of the dead there is this peculiarity, that bodies are generally deposited within the church, which would in a few years be filled with the dead, to the exclusion of the living, were it not that it is usual to remove such remains as may be exposed on digging a fresh grave, and to deposit them in some convenient spot outside the church. The practical effect of this custom is, to expose a disgusting heap of bones, and such other parts of the body as least readily suffer decomposition, to the sight and smell of all who pass the neighbourhood. Scalps, nails and tendons, are thus brought to view, and the stranger is at first at a loss to account for the appearance of such pestilential masses of putridity. The practice of depositing the dead in churches, might in all countries be dispensed with to advantage, as prejudicial to the health of the living; but more especially must it be injurious in so warm a climate as that of India. In that country, it must be owned, the Hindoo method of consuming the body by fire, is preferable to all others, provided a sufficient quantity of fuel be employed in the funeral pile, which is seldom the case.

For the instruction of those who take orders, there are seminaries in Goa with royal foundations, one in each district, where there are classes for the Latin language, philosophy, and theology, both doctrinal and moral. In these seminaries a certain number of youths are educated at the royal expense, and others, who desire to enter them for the benefit of instruction, pay a moderate sum for their support. Besides these, there are in each district two grammar schools, which are supported at the expense of the king; and also several private schools of various kinds. In each convent too, such as of the order De Oratorio, Carmelites, Augustines, Dominicans, and Franciscans, those who wish it may obtain instruction, and advance themselves in literature; although the zeal for study in the convents at the present day is very much abated.

It has already been shown that the Christians of Canara, as respects their religion, have no distinctions of caste; all partake in common of the same sacraments, assist at the same ceremonials, and combine in support of the same establishment; but in their civil habits they still preserve many of the customs of their ancestors, and even in some few cases hereditarily follow their occupations. It may be attributed to this circumstance that they are on such good terms in social life with their idolatrous countrymen; for had the first introducers of Christianity insisted on an abandonment of national institutions, obliged their followers to eat food considered unclean by the Hindoos, to wear unlawful garments, and to adopt European familiarity with regard to the social intercourse of the sexes, not only would they greatly have added to the difficulty of conversion, but have increased tenfold the hatred and contempt of the more numerous Hindoos. As matter of policy, therefore, they abstained from interfering with customs in themselves indifferent, and by so doing they have rendered their sect respectable in the eyes of others, and increased its numbers without difficulty. At the present time the body of Christians is too numerous to be dependent in any degree upon the Hindoos, for the comforts of society. They are a class of themselves, who can

indulge in their own notions without fear of degradation; but when the task of conversion is only beginning, it is of essential importance not to insist on trifles, and by striving to effect too much, to hazard the loss of concessions already obtained.

The occupations of the Christians have been stated to be various, perhaps as much so as those of an equal number of the Hindoo population. The greater number, as might be expected, are employed in husbandry. Their civil education does not differ materially from that of their neighbours, at least no marked difference could be traced on inquiry. Their religious education is of course under the guidance of their priests. The Bible is forbidden to be read; and the only book of religious instruction which they possess is a selection from the Bible, called the Purana, in which there is an abridgment of a few of the books, accompanied by explanatory remarks, and some account of the mysteries of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of our Saviour. This book was the work of Thomas Estivaô, a Jesuit. It is understood that there are some printed copies of it at Goa; but in the province of Canara there are only a few manuscripts, for Tippoo had ordered the destruction of all that could be found.

Whatever may be the zeal and fidelity with which the priests discharge their duty as pastors, yet a body of Christians cannot but be considered in a deplorable condition, with regard to instruction, who have on an average not more than one priest (and he probably a native of India) to one thousand souls, and scarcely a dozen copies in manuscript of the only religious book known to them. Christianity thus taught and imperfectly known, has, notwithstanding, a very marked influence on the morality of its followers, as may be proved by the following statement furnished by the law court of the province, and the accuracy of which may be confidently relied on.

Report of the Criminal Court of Onore, from 1812 *to* 1818.

Number of persons accused of heinous crimes, and committed for trial before the Court of Circuit, 716; of which number, 19 were Christians, several of whom were acquitted, the charges not being proved against them.

Number of persons accused of heinous crimes, but released for want of sufficient proof, 732; of these, 7 were Christians.

Number of persons accused of petty crimes, such as abusive language, affrays, &c. is 5066; of whom 149 were Christians: but to ascertain the exact number of those who were punished and released, it will require time.

N. B.—The magisterial powers being transferred to the Collector in November, 1816, the number of those accused of petty crimes before, and punished or released by the Magistrate since that period, cannot be ascertained.

This account has reference to serious offences for a period of six years, and it embraces petty misdemeanours for only four years; but this does not affect the comparison about to be made, and the two statements may be thrown into one. It appears then, that in a given space of time 716, 732, 5066, in all 6514 persons, are cited before the proper authorities, accused of various offences, of which respective numbers 19, 7, 149, making 175 persons, were Christians.

Now the whole population of Canara as taken in the last census, in 1815, which happens to be a middle period as respects the above report, amounts to 670,355, and it is understood not to have increased since that period. The Christian population is, as we have seen, for 1818, 21,820; suppose then this statement—gross population, 670,355;

Christians, 21,820; the proportion is as 6,514 to 212. But instead of 212, which ought to be the number of Christians accused of offences, had they borne their relative proportion, there are only 175: or, stated otherwise, the accused are only 825 to 1,000, as compared with the Hindoos. This, when we consider that the average is taken on a large number, and through several succeeding years, appears to exhibit in a very favourable view the morality of the Christian population. But the moral excellence of their character will shine with a brighter radiance still, when it is recollected that temptations, not always resisted in more enlightened parts of the world, were thrown in the way of these Christians, in the free use of meats and wines; and that there being no poor-houses, or any sort of provision for the destitute, cases of real and urgent distress must occasionally offer, which might palliate offences abhorrent to their nature.

What has been stated may possibly stimulate benevolent individuals and more powerful societies to exertion in favour of the mental and moral improvement of a numerous and respectable body of Indians, who from the simplicity of their general conduct, and their emancipation from the grosser superstition of their countrymen, as well as from the fear of offending the Hindoos, seem to be peculiarly fitted for receiving a more pure and more perfect form of religion than that which they now possess. Persecution and suffering, it will be observed, seem even to have strengthened and enlarged their pious zeal; for although necessarily reduced by poverty and wretchedness to more limited means, it appears that the present population of 21,000 have already erected twenty-one churches, and that three others are in progress; while it has been seen too, that the former population of 80,000 had only twenty-seven churches, even in more favoured times.

The following table of the total population of Canara, as ascertained by the last census in 1815, although only indirectly connected with the present subject, will afford grounds to the philosophical observer for much curious speculation, and will not, perhaps, be thought much out of place.

Husbandmen	378,644	Coppersmiths	581
Servants	16,488	Pottery manufacturers ..	6,084
Traders	25,828	Bricklayers	374
Goldsmiths	9,412	Dealers in oil	5,923
Blacksmiths	4,367	Silk weavers	165
Dyers	8	Musicians	2,934
Weavers	4,686	Dancing girls	1,026
Fishermen	22,397	Salt manufacturers ..	2,304
Drawers of toddy from the palm tree	45,626	Mat makers	900
Washermen	5,566	Refiners of precious metals ..	9
Barbers	3,806	Sugar manufacturers ..	916
Persons living without employment	7,852	Shoemakers	1,397
Beggars	2,587	Limemakers	299
Porters, or bearers of burden	94,907	Terra Japonica manufacturers	87
Carpenters	6,813	Milk sellers	133
Taylors	921	Stone carvers	23
Manufacturers of Coyar ..	94	Vegetable sellers	537
Turners	411	Butchers	16

The simplicity of these people is immediately apparent in the striking contrast between their various occupations and pursuits, when we find in the first item the aggregate of husbandmen to be, 378,644, while the second item of servants amounts only to 16,488, or nearly 23 to 1.

Let us, in conclusion, express a hope that as an act of grace, if not of

justice, well merited by these peaceable and industrious Christians, the East India Company will grant them some equivalent for the lands which were allotted, even by Hindoo rulers, for the support of their churches; and, as a first step towards so laudable a measure, that they will order the immediate remission of the trifling amount of government tax which is now exacted on the remnant of church property.

They will in so doing only afford the same assistance towards the maintenance of the present Christian establishments in Canara, and the finishing of the churches now in progress there, as they continually grant towards the support of pagodas, or tombs, and other religious establishments of the Hindoos and Mohammedans throughout their extensive dominions.

THE WARRIOR'S FAREWELL TO THE FAMILY BARD.

Bard of my fathers' halls! Farewell!
The clarions sound—the war-notes swell!
Ere yon king of day is low,
He shall mock the fallen foe;
Ere the veil of night enshroud
Freedom's banners waving proud,
They shall droop on yonder plain
O'er the brave in battle slain!

Oh, minstrel! in a lighter hour
Thy trembling harp and voice had power
The shapes of early dreams to raise,
And vanished joy of other days;
To wake the tear 'tis sweet to shed,
And soothe the pang unmerited;
But not alone thy strains imparted
The dew-like balm of the broken-hearted,
For oft upon the minstrel's brow
Would flush the patriot's hallowed glow,
And as each gathering impulse strong
Rolled the full tide of battle-song,
Valour's might and emprize high
Nerved thine arm, and fired thine eye!

Then oh! subdue those notes of pain,—
Strike the inspiring string again;
For strains of woe, like maiden's sigh,
Or magic of her tearful eye,
Too oft the secret spell impart
That melts the sternest warrior's heart.
Then hush, oh! hush those notes of pain,
Wake the stirring song again!
Wilder let the wild lay flow
Kindling with the kindling glow,—
Raise the British battle-cry
"Freedom,—Death—or Victory!"

D. L. R.

WRITINGS OF MR. HAZLITT.

——"Thy head is full of windmills."—MASSINGER.

No one has ever written more poignant truth, or more ingenious falsehood, than Mr. Hazlitt. Few sentences, indeed, ever came from his pen that did not contain much of both, but so blended in the undiscriminating heat of his conception, that it is impossible to separate or consider them apart. One must predominate in the mind of the reader, who, according to the warmth, or the wariness of his taste, will view the whole either as glowing truth or idle sophism.

Mr. Hazlitt has professed himself an admirer of "a good hater,"—he cannot but admire an ardent friend; and bating somewhat the force of the expressions, his readers must naturally become towards him one or the other. Whosoever is acquainted with his writings, cannot be indifferent to them; every position, however extravagant and paradoxical, is an appeal to the inmost feelings of the mind; he awakens our drowsy faculties, and stirs up the depths of thought; reflections long made, and long laid up, start from oblivion in echo to his call; novelties are poured in upon us, and old truths metamorphosed into novelties; and all is glowing, startling, and inspired. Of such we cannot judge by rule and compass, by definition and syllogism; we must give at once *down* assent or dissent, and with equal energy. There are no shades of difference; we either feel him, or we do not, and accordingly separate *in utramque viam*. To understand, to enjoy his writings, there is one thing necessary—feeling,—for his domain is human nature; and thither will he bend, whatever object he be in pursuit of, knowing that there alone lieth the path of truth. Be it a question of criticism, of politics, or metaphysics, he does not spend time in dry juxtaposition, or splitting of words, but casts light upon its obscurity, from his knowledge of man and mankind. Over humanity he ranges free, and while he skims with an air of lightness and superficiality the surface of things, often penetrates without effort into the secrets of the deep, like Ariel, the slight but powerful minister of wisdom.

The mind of this author is a phenomenon in the intellectual world, it thinks and conceives, as though it never grew or made progress, but was born as it is: demonstration is consequently unknown to it—all its knowledge is intuitive. The depth and penetration which it displays, are not the deductions of reason, or the aggregate of experience, but are derived from a thorough knowledge of itself. Genius is the world's epitome—the *idea*, as Plato would say, whence the world was made; and he that possesses it, has but to look inward, if he would know the world: with very little allowance or variation the analogy will hold. Of the spirits that are his equals, his brethren in intellectual endowments, he is sure; the same principle actuates them both: he appeals to a second self, and nothing but prejudice and distortion of feeling can prevent the sentiments of one from being echoed by the other. Genius is a kind of fraternity, to which true feeling is the only key,—where men apprehend each other's conceptions by that *transcendental sense*, so true and so sublime, but like all other sublimities, so unhappily obnoxious to ridicule.

This is the secret of Mr. Hazlitt's power: he possesses genius, rude, headlong, and untutored; he has no end but general truth, no system but nature; he writes in support of no dogma, and his pen seems but the natural discharge of a busy working mind. If his writings be not manufactured wisdom, they are the raw material,—the wherewithal to be wise; and the mite of his crude speculations were enough to set up twenty *soi-disant* philosophers. His delight is to sit down to the tangled web of humanity, unravelling it ingeniously, pulling out here an end and there an end, now blundering and self-perplexing over a knot, and now setting all free, and winding up with a climax of warm and sparkling sentences, as his favourite quotation says,

> "In linked sweetness long drawn out."

We never had the pleasure of contemplating Mr. Hazlitt's skull, but if there be truth in craniology, he must possess to a great degree the organ of comparison. He can see nothing single, his planet is surrounded with a thousand satellites, and every object in his view is illuminated by a whole host of resemblances. But however brilliant and vivacious this faculty may be, it is often fatal; to this author most so. Similes to him are like puns to Shakespeare, the *ignes fatui*, that bewilder him in the mine; they pass before his mind like the visionary progeny of Banquo,—"Come like shadows, so depart,"—and he strives to grasp all: his exemplifications totally eclipse the original object which they profess to render clear; yet lively and humorous in themselves, they do not ill supply its place, like pearls hiding the silk on which they are strung; yet even when happiest, they are more ingenious than imaginative, more witty and *piquant* than lucid or sublime. This gives an appearance of tinsel and confusion to his compositions, which justifies, in a great degree, the well-known comparison of this author's mind to a kaleidoscope, which, however applied by the critic, presents as full an idea of the merits as of the defects of his genius. The novel and original view which he takes of common objects, his regular irregularity of principle, and his ever-shifting trains of speculation,—the subsequent without the least connexion with the one preceding it, save that they both proceed from and rally round one point—liberality and independence of thought. These, and many more as estimable qualities, are presented to our minds by the obnoxious illustration, as well as the confusion and perplexity, which cannot but be allowed to attend this turbid and impetuous thinker.

We have observed, that this kind of genius is not progressive: when we said so, we did not allude to its power, but its wisdom. Its principles, its dogmas, its views of truth, may remain the same and unextended, although experience may confirm and root them deeper, while confidence, habit, and observation may add force and facility to the powers of expression. The continual gleanings of such a mind from books and men, do not add to its store, but merely serve to illustrate the truths of which it has been all along possessed. It cares not to lay solid foundations, or pile up a structure, "that it may reach to the heaven:" it is content to examine the decay and deformity of other fabrics, and not seldom to overthrow them with a breath: it is not that

> "Which hives up wisdom with each studious year."

It hoards not, but takes of all that is at hand, putting every object in re-

quisition, bending it to its own purposes, like the proboscis of the elephant, alike apprehensive of great and small, sublime and insignificant. Though we would not call it witty, yet it exactly corresponds with Mr. Locke's definition of wit, and "lies for the most part in the assemblage of ideas, putting together those that are incongruous and strange, to create pleasant pictures in the imagination." Upon this, some one remarks, that if it hold, the first proposition of Euclid is a fair specimen of wit; for our parts, we can discover no *incongruous* ideas put together in that demonstration. If they be incongruous, what word can we apply to Mr. Hazlitt's comparisons and combinations, *ignoti ab ignotis*, mingling and confounding the different kingdoms of matter and mind, till one cannot tell which is which. His writings are "mere Midsummer madness" to one who does not possess the clue—who does not "understand his ignorance," as Coleridge says: this once obtained, nothing can be more delightful than to follow his involutions and excursions, and to run down the rapids of his thought.

With all this genius, all these powers, it is astonishing how little has been done; though for ever warring against prejudice, and "the things that be," both in politics and criticism, this author seems never to have made one position in advance. His arguments startle and confound; it would be vain attempting to repel such subtle attacks; but they are at the same time so wild and extravagant, that those who cannot refute, have a fair excuse for laughing at them. They carry persuasion, not conviction: they tickle and amuse, put one into an easy compromising temper, and take complete possession for a time; but they do not leave a trace of them imprinted—the solid is borne off with the light; and if the memory does retain aught, it is the humorous allusion, or whimsical comparison, that remains, instead of the truth it was intended to enforce. His eloquence, glowing and lofty, like the tide, leaves the sand furrowed as it found it, and has not that beneficent effect so beautifully described by Wordsworth:—

"And when the stream
Which overflowed the soul was passed away,
A consciousness remained that it had left
Deposited upon the silent shore
Of memory, images and precious thoughts,
That shall not die, and cannot be destroyed."

Hence we have not been surprised to hear superficial readers accuse Mr. H. of commonplace; a quality from which, though his genius is most remote, yet it possesses this in common with it,—that it leaves not any deep impression. And this, perhaps, is mostly owing to a peculiarity before mentioned as an advantage,—"his having no end but general truth." With such a vague object in view, he runs wild through fields of speculation, and starts at first a proposition or *thema*, rather as a pretence for commencing, than for the purpose of elucidating or proving it. Like the "*feras consumere nati*," who indulge their love of excitement and galloping, under the pretext of putting to death a timorous little quadruped, he seems one of those *verba consumere nati*, who pursue their more bloodless diversion through the columns of newspapers and magazines. Indifferent folks may be amazed, and demand whither he hurries, or what goal he seeks. To such silly and good-natured inquirers the best answer is that of Diogenes—"I roll my tub." But to the

more impertinent and malicious, who may be so bold as to censure his extravagant assertions in criticism, his paradoxical schemes of morals, or his querulous and everlasting allusions to politics, there is the all-sufficing answer of Goldsmith to some petulant reviewers, who abused him for having, in his Abridgment of the History of England, sold the liberties of his country; "God help me," said the poet, "I never dreamt of my country, nor its liberties, but merely wanted to make up a good round book for the booksellers."

The chief peculiarity of Mr. Hazlitt's writings (if in this age it can be called a peculiarity) is egotism. The simple application of this term to any one is considered by many to be a weighty censure; it is conceived to imply the co-existence of vanity and self-conceit, and to be the sure sign of a little mind: nay, not the least egotistical of authors has declared the choice of subject remote from self, to be one of the truest tests of genius. This is most unfair;—we have no link with human nature but our own hearts; no specimen of it but in our own bosoms; and if we would teach man, or awe him, persuade, exalt, or inspire him, the preceptor we must consult is within. The purely imaginative writer, who deals in visionary forms and gorgeous fabrics,—the author of Arabian tales and supramundane abstractions, may be independent of, and averse to, that most beautiful of studies—the human heart: and the dealer in common-place idealities may be contented to amass his scenes and volumes from the sole exercise of scrutiny and observation. But all this is flat: it wants the lever—the spirit of humanity, which though its head be in the heavens, yet, like Virgil's fame, ever hath its feet on the earth. The Promethean fire, which is alone capable of endowing idea with warmth, and fancy with life, is to be sought within—in the spirit and essence of self; and he who does not turn over those leaves, and pore over those pages, will in vain think to gather philosophy from any others. All this, it is true, may be the work of silent meditation; there is no necessity for doing it openly, and raising it in the face of day; none for those whose business is alien to it, whose vocation it is not,—but the business of the essayist and the moralist is the anatomy of man, and his vocation, to embody the uppermost and most obvious "*passages*" of his mind. If in the frank and generous ardour of composition, he, perhaps, imprudently identifies his character with humanity, and confidently bares his bosom to the world, it is from a principle far distant from self, from vanity, or from littleness.

But the scrupulous avoiding of affectation becomes an affectation in itself; and if any one would take the trouble of reading books in reference to their authors, he would find a monstrous deal of egotism cloaked under the humility of the third person. The garrulity of egotism, too, guarantees its innocence; though at times tiresome, it may be always instructive; and those who are most intolerant of it, are the mute, the contemplative, and thorough egotists, who, with their own dignity ever in their eye, cannot compromise it for a moment for the sake of good nature, or even for that of amusement and instruction. That an essayist should be accused of this foible (allowing it to be one) is no wonder—he who is always mining in himself, "*puisant dans son sein*," and like the spider, ever either spinning forth his bowels, or sitting in the midst of his handy-work, contemplating its texture. But besides his natural and unavoidable tendency towards this continual source of thought, the essayist

recurs to it from convenience. In itself a never-ending theme, as inexhaustible as the mind of man, it is almost the only one in which the writer may proceed altogether at his ease, careless whither he is wandering, and where he shall end; having a ready way of connecting the most opposite trains of thought,—a fair excuse for trifling and digression, and assimilating by its means the habits of thinking and composition, till they become one and the same thing—custom without effort. But it must be impolitic to indulge convenience in hazarding disgust, especially as it is not the thing itself, but its appearance which is to be avoided, and when the same humours and the same opinions, which, delivered in the first person, startle the self-loves of their readers, might, with a little variation be made to delight them, if introduced by the unassumption and deference of *illeism*.

Another effect of this habit on the author in question is, that it causes him to forget his auditors or readers altogether; they vanish from before him in the absorption of his feelings. Essay becomes half soliloquy, and he leaps from prose to verse and back again, according as his memory supplies or denies him poetical expression. When he does get on stilts, however, he is modest and tasteful, and pours forth, not his own iambics, but the choicest poetry of the old authors. Not content with his own new and picturesque garments, according to the legend of Geoffrey Crayon, he is ever thrusting his feet into the slippers of Shakespeare, decking himself in the long-flapped vest of some old penman, or be-devilling himself with the trowel of Ben Jonson. By these means, however, lines are filled and pages variegated agreeably, so that wherever you open the book, its appearance is tempting. Gay and humorous as this may be, it has too often the air of quotation prepense, thrusting itself in for no earthly reason, most generally stuck at the end of a sentence, like a codicil that has no business there: and frequently after the full and perfect close of a paragraph—lo! a dash and two commas, denoting one of these,

"Which, like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along."

But he who seeks with any degree of zeal for either blemishes or beauties in Mr. Hazlitt, will have his hands full. There is no end of them, curled and twined together like the woodbine and the nightshade. 'Twere well if people saw both, but he seems to be the shield in the highway, presenting to differently bound travellers the different aspects of lead and of gold. We never yet remember hearing or reading an impartial opinion concerning this author's merits, and we ourselves perhaps only exemplify the fact. It will be said that he may thank himself; that he wrote as a partisan, and was treated as such,

"And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

But the petulance of genius should be considered rather as its misfortune than its fault. And if we are disgusted at the extravagant lauding of him by his followers, we should remember that it is but the reaction of that unlimited censure, with which he has been nearly weighed down.

THE FESTIVAL OF DELOS.

Each year to Delos, o'er the purple main,
  Their souls o'erflowing with immortal song,
Repair the bards; as to her home again
  The swallow, turning, shoots the seas along;
The deep green isle, by silver billows laved,
Smiled on the gliding barks that faithless seas had braved.

Now land the sons of song; their golden lyres,
  Yielding sweet music to the passing wind,
Seem stricken by the God whose breath inspires
  The glorious frenzy in the poet's mind;
The strand, the temple glittering on the height,
With bright Latona's train, now charm the ravished sight.

The rites complete, new wreaths the fane adorn,
  The dew-wet flowers exhale their perfume wide,
Nigh on a neighbouring hill, as bright as morn
  The God regards them with a sacred pride;
Along the shady porch the poets stand,
The crowd delighted gaze, and wave the joyful hand.

Now sounds the lyre, and every lip is mute,
  Save his whom fiery inspiration thrills;
He pauses not, his bold expressions suit
  Th' awakening theme that every bosom fills:
The close-chained notes in winding march pursue
The winning words that fall as soft as early dew.

He touches not the mighty Python's fall,
  Nor yet, be sure, the doom of Phaëton,
Nor any warlike deed; but, shunning all
  The ruder fables, fair Latona's son
Paints in his rustic weeds, what time he drove
The rich Thessalian herds, and tasted sylvan love.

There flowed the gentle river, there the God
  Awoke the mournful echoes with his pipe;
There up the sloping hills the shepherd trod
  The winding path, and grapes all blushing ripe
Plucked while he listened to the charming lay,
Till now the golden sun had rolled his light away.

And oft Admetus with his matchless queen
  Beside the silver flood have sat to hear;
While Dian lingering in the heaven was seen
  Shooting her mystic splendour far and near,
Charmed by fraternal song, till twinkling dawn
Rose gray in th' eastern sky, and bade her be withdrawn.

And then Aurora, with her saffron cope
Dew-glittering, smiled upon her kindred God,
As her light-breathing steeds up heaven's high slope
Their snorting course majestically trod;
His lovely proxy pleased the God beholds,
As shepherd views his love close soft the evening folds,

While on some neighbouring rock he sits and sings,
Oft viewing her white arms and sparkling eyes;
She every straying sheep, good-humoured, brings,
And spares the sheep-dog that around her hies:
So the young Goddess scattered light through heaven,
And sought in Tempe's vale if due applause were given.

But all forgetful of his heavenly birth,
With mortals mingling oft Apollo stood,
Tasting their sweet, but short-lived, fleeting mirth,
Or sighing with them in their troubled mood:
And all men loved him, though, from change secure,
He grew not old with them, or evils had to cure.

The rural maidens gazed upon his face
And golden locks, waved by the gentle wind;
And in their hearts deep sunk the winning grace,
Surpassing all the charms of human kind,
That played, like light, about his form divine,
Most beautiful of those who quaff th' Olympian wine.

The poet's song, the sum of all his tale,
His loves, his sports, his sleights, his wanderings told;
Until his words, o'er those who heard, prevail
So far, they deem, (what happened oft of old)
The young Ionian's form some god concealed,
With ill-suppressed power which now stood half revealed.

In truth his figure breathed peculiar awe;
Dark was his eye, and o'er his forehead hung
His locks, like those which after ages saw
Adorn the Phidian Jove; his mantle flung
Across his ivory shoulders, touched the ground,
And wide his golden lyre reflected light around.

He ceased to sing: and all the tuneful choir
The contest shunned, for who might hope to win?
The priest, approaching, crowned the victor's lyre
With ever-verdant laurel; while the din
Of wild applause from every lip arose,
Loud as the ocean's roar when fierce the tempest blows.

And now his name the crowd aloud proclaim,
That name ordained the admiring the world to rouse
To rivalry of his immortal fame;
The victor now, with full accomplished vows,
Departed pleased along the sacred strand,
And HOMER! Chios' youth, re-echoed through the land.

BION.

MONOPOLIES, CRUELTIES, AND OPPRESSIONS IN INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Caius Coll. Oxon. Aug. 15, 1824.

IN the 41st and 42d paragraphs of a Pamphlet, lately published by Richardson, concerning the System of Governing the East Indies established by the India Company, I find the following strong language made use of:—

"41. Surplus Revenue, beyond all the wants and expenses of the State, will continue to be exacted, till the country becomes more and more prostrate," &c. [1]

Now, Sir, I do not meddle with the author's opinions or inferences; he may be right enough in them; nor, indeed, would it be easy to deny the conclusions of this pamphlet, if he be correct in his premises. But I demand, is the above a true picture of the English system in the East? You will observe, from the phraseology, how carefully the writer expresses himself, so as to leave no doubt on the reader's mind of the emphatic meaning of the statements—"Surplus Revenue *continue* to be exacted;" "the country *more* and *more* prostrate;" "*less* able to exchange products;" "Justice taxed *higher* and *higher*;" and so on—"Old monopolies (plural number) *extended* on *necessaries* and luxuries—*new* ones devised—confiscations and sales *multiplied*," &c. &c. &c. Such language, so repeated, would seem to mean beyond doubt, that all the horrors enumerated are already in existence in that ill-fated country, and that to stop their *increase* and aggravation is all that even the eager friends of the press expect from its assumed influence, in shaming rulers into better behaviour.

I call such things "horrors," because I know of no other term justly applicable to most of the things enumerated. SURPLUS *Revenue*—Sir! What means such a political and economical monstrosity? Revenue is usually considered to be the contributions or clubbings of each individual in a society or nation, to defray all the common charges; some pay dearer for civil charges than others do; some for military, naval, ecclesiastical, judicial, &c. &c. &c.; but when *all* those charges are defrayed, is it in nature that the richest community on earth would or should pay *more*? Can it be, then, that one of the poorest people, or the most backward, perhaps, known in the pale of civilization, pays *more* than is required for all the expenses and even waste of the state? And what, I pray, becomes of this surplus? Who gets it? No wonder, indeed, if India does not advance.

But it has always been said, heretofore, that India did not pay her own charges; and I think it is not probable she is any exception to this, the usual condition of colonies.

Then, Sir, is it not a "horror," if true, that in these days of improvement in political and economical research, we, the people most advanced in such studies, have actually introduced, and are aggravating *judicial taxation* and *monopolies*, with attendant "*confiscation*." In England

[1] See Oriental Herald, vol. ii. p. 526.

there are found so many interests, interwoven for ages with the existing state of things, that the most enlightened statesmen are compelled to pause before rooting out admitted abuses, in matters of finance and jurisprudence. Yet, is it to be endured, that while such a disposition prevails at home, and is actively at work in our system to the utmost extent practicable, under the difficulties stated, abuses of the very same monstrous description should be suffered to be introduced, and take root, all the while, so as hereafter to be found non-eradicable, unless with the same difficulty (and for the same reasons) as obstruct eradication in England?

What are the *monopolies*, old and new, to which allusion is made by this author? And what may be the form and amount of judicial taxation, and the extent of surplus revenue? India is a subject that did formerly occupy much of an English gentleman's time, and probably will soon be so again; and I, for one, should be glad to be referred to undoubted sources of good information.—Yours, &c.

An Oxonian.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We do not wonder at the indignant tone assumed by the astonished and benevolent writer of the foregoing letter, whoever he may be; and can easily imagine the horror with which any member of a learned University, principally conversant with books, should read and hear of such atrocities as these, to which his attention has been fortunately drawn.—There are, no doubt, thousands in England who would think and feel exactly in the same manner, if these facts were equally well known to them; and we shall do our utmost to rouse this spirit of inquiry and indignation, for the last must inevitably attend the prosecution of the first, throughout the country at large, till a powerful and irresistible sympathy, in the sufferings of our unhappy fellow-subjects in the East, lead to a demand for improvement in the system of governing them, uttered in such tones as shall compel obedience, or lead to the abandonment and total destruction of the present odious and abominable monopoly.

We have not, at this late period of the month, either the time or space that we could wish, to reply to all the inquiries of our Oxford Correspondent, at the length with which his questions deserved to be answered; but we sincerely hope that we shall be able to do so in an early Number, if not anticipated, as we should rejoice to be, by some able hand; because we should, on matters like these, much rather collect the thoughts of other men, than be always putting forth our own; partly because authority is strengthened by such accumulative facts, coming from different sources; and partly because, though the evidence of one writer may be suspected of an undue bias, such an objection is lessened in force by every addition to the number of witnesses.

The inquirer may be assured, however, that all the abuses stated by the powerful pen of the author of the Letters to Sir Charles Forbes, are substantially true. Salt is monopolized, from the first process of making, to the period of sale: the system of conducting its manufacture is attended with incredible oppressions towards all classes, makers, sellers, and even buyers, besides requiring literally an army of *douaniers* to maintain these cruelties and this monopoly, against smugglers; and finally, the salt is brought to market at 1,000 per cent., and sometimes more, above

the price at which it ought to sell, which falls, of course, as a tax on the consumer.[2]

Opium is also monopolized, on the frivolous pretext of its being a poisonous drug, though not more so than either brandy or wine, each being capable of the same abuse; but these scrupulous guardians of the public morals have no objection to this poisonous drug being introduced, contrary to the law, into China: nor of its being taken in such quantities by the Malays, as to lead to the bloody massacres and assassinations of which we read with so much horror, as happening constantly in their islands. Both these monopolies of opium and salt were established in iniquity, in the days of old Lord Clive, by the Company's servants abroad, and have since been maintained by the Company itself, and perpetuated for *their* benefit; being greatly increased in amount, and extended wherever the Company can extend them. The monopoly of salt (one of the most essential ingredients of a wretched Hindoo's meal, for he has little else than rice and salt to form it) has been thus extended into the upper provinces of Hindoostan, where it was before unknown: and that of opium has been extended even to the territories of Sindia and Holkar, who have been *prevailed* on by the money or the influence of the Company, to systematise this shameful infliction on their subject cultivators and consumers; who, instead of deriving benefits from our ruling India, are made to feel the most grinding exactions, and to hold our name and power in execration as a curse.

As to judicial taxation, it exists to an extent of which persons in England are scarcely at all aware, and the receipts from this unholy source form a large item in the revenue accounts of the East India Company every year, bearing on its brazen front, the disgraceful title of revenue drawn from the miseries and distresses of the people. Every proceeding is taxed by stamps, to a degree incredibly oppressive in so poor a country, or rather, it should be said, among so poor and destitute a people; for the country is rich enough, but the people do not participate in its wealth. Every contract, of the humblest kind, every written transaction of commerce, that is to be binding in an Indian Court, is taxed with a stamp, that not only impedes, but often amounts to a denial of justice altogether; for such transactions as will not afford to pay the tax, are necessarily executed without it, subjecting the parties to be made the prey of the designing without the possibility of a remedy.

Well may the benevolent inquirer call the exaction of "surplus revenue" a political and economical monstrosity. It is fully entitled to the term; and must be accompanied with cruelties and horrors wherever it is wrung from the suffering people. If the Legislators of England were but as wise, as even this writer deems the present Ministers at least to be,

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[2] As the writer from Oxford wishes to be referred to the best authorities on these subjects, we may name the admirable work of Colebrook and Lambert on the Resources and Husbandry of Bengal, and Mr. Bolt's on the Government and Affairs of India, for particulars as to these points; and the excellent work of Mr. Mill, for more enlarged views of the evils of Monopoly in general. The latest and best book on the subject is, however, that reviewed in the sixth Number of the Oriental Herald, entitled "An Inquiry into the expediency of applying the principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India," to which we would refer all who desire to obtain comprehensive and accurate opinions on this great subject.

such a system would not be permitted to endure for another year. The Company might be permitted to retain their charter; but they should be *compelled* to govern their territories well—to admit the fullest development of the resources of India—to encourage the freest commerce—to pay their debts—to remit taxation so as to bring the revenue to the level of the disbursements—to spend the principal portion of these in the improvement of the country, and the elevation of its inhabitants from brutes and slaves to rational and intelligent freemen; and, in short, to act upon the principle of producing the greatest happiness to the greatest number. Never was there a finer opportunity for trying this great experiment in government, than on the fertile, highly peopled, and submissive provinces of India: but if neither the East India Company, nor the Ministry, will agitate this great question, it behoves the public of England, of whom our Oxford Correspondent must acknowledge himself to be one, to force it upon the attention of the Legislature in such a manner as to compel their attention to it, before rebellion shall have torn the country from our possession, and the opportunity of governing it usefully and equitably be lost for ever.

THE STAR IN THE WEST.

There's a star in the west, that shines lovely in light,
Through its veil of soft azure, when evening appears;
There's an eye at that hour,—as lovely—as bright—
That turns to its rising,—but meets it in tears.

Time was, when its ray beamed the signal of bliss;
When the heart throbbed exulting, to see it ascend;
When the prayer of that heart was, "Be heaven like this!"
In rapture—that Hope whispered never should end.

But swift flew those hours; and false, with them fled
The promise of Hope;—and soon evening came on,
And that star had departed,—the sweetness it shed,
Like its lustre from heaven, was faded and gone.

Oh, Memory! now the sad fiat is given,
Joy's flowers all blighted, and sorrows decreed;
And the bonds of affection thus rudely are riven,
Oh! why dost thou linger and point to the dead?

That orb now, again, through the twilight is gleaming,
But dead is the heart to the radiance it bears;
And the eye that so fondly had watched for its beaming,
Now turns from the ray it in mockery wears.

——Oh, weep not, beloved! the hour shall come,
When the prayer of that heart shall, in bliss, be possessed;
When, bright as this planet that shines through the gloom,
Thy spirit shall smile from the world of the blessed!

And the promise of Hope shall be given!—and he,
Who shared in that promise, and mourned it as gone,
Shall, in mercy, be called there—there, welcomed by thee,
Shall be hailed to a heaven—for ever his own!

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY, POWER, AND RESOURCES OF THE BURMESE NATION, UP TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT WAR.

A VERY general disposition appears to prevail, even among those who are conversant with the affairs of the East, to underrate the power and resources of the Burmese nation, and the resistance which they are capable of making to our arms. As these are now, for the first time, about to be put to the trial, in a contest with our Government, although hostile indications have heretofore on several occasions occurred between the two powers, such an account of the Burmese as may tend to give a more just and adequate idea of their past and present condition, than that which is commonly entertained, will probably at the present moment possess peculiar claims on the attention of our readers. The sources from which information on the subject is to be derived, are, it is true, far from numerous, but they are at least authentic, and we shall, in the course of the present article, quote with unhesitating confidence the statements of Colonel Symes and Dr. Buchanan, Captains Cox and Canning, who have all at different periods visited the capital of the Burman Empire, and given to the public the results of their researches and observations in that interesting country.

Extending from the mountains of Thibet, on the north, to the Siamese dominions on the south; bounded on the west by the Bay of Bengal, and by the British possessions in India; from which, however, it is in part separated by the interposition of one or two petty states, of doubtful independence; and on the east by Cambodia, Laos, and China; it yields in extent, population, and importance, to the last-mentioned empire alone among the native governments of the east of Asia. Its limits reach from the 12th to the 26th degree of north latitude, and from the 92d to the 104th degree of east longitude, comprehending a space of 794,000 square miles, and a population of at least 17,000,000; and it must not be forgotten, in the estimate of its resources, that this formidable empire has attained its present commanding height in the short space of seventy years, by an almost uninterrupted series of brilliant successes over the neighbouring states, which it has successively subjugated and incorporated with itself. In order to exhibit this important consideration in the clearest point of view, we cannot do better than give a brief sketch of the Burman history, for a considerable portion of which, Colonel Symes's Narrative fortunately supplies us with the necessary materials.

Of the early history of the further peninsula of India, we are entirely ignorant; it is, undoubtedly, the Aurea Chersonesus of Ptolemy, the limit of his geographical knowledge of the East; and the title of Emporia, bestowed by that author on several places on the coast, proves that even in those days, its ports were the seats of commerce and the resort of foreign merchants. It is to the Portuguese, who made themselves masters of Malacca in the early part of the sixteenth century, that we are indebted for a knowledge of its political subdivision at that period. It appears from them, that the territory, the greater part of

which is now incorporated into the Burman empire, was then divided into four principal kingdoms, exclusive of numerous petty states, which could hardly be considered as completely independent of the more powerful, which were Arracan, Ava, Pegu, and Siam. We learn from Mendez Pinto and Faria de Souza, that soon after the settlement of the Portuguese in the peninsula, the Burmese, or natives of Ava more particularly, who had in former times been subject to Pegu, threw off the yoke, and with the assistance of the Europeans, succeeded, not only in rendering themselves independent, but also in acquiring the supremacy over their former masters, which they maintained during the whole of the seventeenth, and the first forty years of the eighteenth century. When the Portuguese empire in the East fell before the accumulated crimes of its possessors, and the superior fortune of the Dutch, the latter, as also the English, obtained settlements in various parts of the Burman empire, which were afterwards forfeited by their misconduct, and Europeans of all nations were banished from Ava. The English were, however, at length reinstated in their factories at Syriam and Ava, and also took possession of the Island of Negrais, on which the Government of Fort St. George established a settlement. About the year 1740, the Peguers threw off their allegiance to the Burman Government, and a civil war ensued, which was prosecuted on both sides with savage ferocity, the issue long remaining doubtful; during its continuance the British factory at Syriam fell a sacrifice to the indiscriminating fury of the contending parties. The Peguers at length gained the superiority, and in the year 1752, the capital of Ava surrendered at discretion; the Burman monarch was made prisoner, and carried in triumph to Pegu, while the brother of the conqueror was left in the government of the subjugated kingdom, which at first bore the appearance of tranquil submission. But this flattering prospect was not of long continuance; Alompra, or as the name is written by Dr. Buchanan, Aloungbura, a Burman of low extraction, then known by the humble designation of Aumdzea (the huntsman), who held the petty chieftainship of Monchaboo, at that time an inconsiderable village, possessed a spirit of enterprise equal to the most arduous undertakings, and secretly meditated on the means of emancipating his country. While the Peguers slumbered in imaginary security, this extraordinary man, at the head of only a hundred faithful followers, in the autumn of 1753, threw off the yoke of the conquerors, and after having put to the sword the Peguan garrison of Monchaboo, and defeated a considerable body of troops who were sent against him, boldly marched to attack the capital itself. His little band had by this time acquired a considerable accession of strength, and so great was the terror inspired by his prowess, and by the sudden and unexpected nature of the revolt, that the Viceroy, on hearing of his advance, at once abandoned the city, and fled with all speed to Pegu. An expedition was immediately fitted out at Syriam to suppress this dangerous insurrection, which was quickly met, and totally defeated by Alompra, whose successes now excited in the bosom of the Peguers a spirit of revenge, which in the event proved highly detrimental to their interests. They alleged that a conspiracy had been formed by the dethroned Monarch of the Burmans, and the chief men of that nation, against the Government of Pegu; and without waiting for the formality of a trial, they rose in a body, and inhumanly slaughtered the unhappy King, the last of his dynasty, together with several hundred Burmans,

sparing neither age nor sex. The immediate consequences of these sanguinary proceedings were, to confirm in his assumed power the object of their alarm, and to exasperate the Burmans in some of the frontier towns (which had not yet thrown off their authority) to such a degree, that they flew to arms, and with a barbarity, nothing inferior to that of the Peguers, exercised a severe retribution. Prome, Deenobew, Loonzay, and several other places of importance, in consequence changed hands, and the whole of Ava was liberated from the yoke of Pegu. At this juncture, the eldest son of the deceased Monarch, who had fled to Siam, returned to Ava, and assumed the insignia of royalty as his hereditary right; but the conduct of Alompra soon convinced him of the imprudence of such a step, and he again found it convenient to take refuge among the Siamese, and leave the victorious chieftain to rule over the country of which he had so well deserved.

The English and French had now re-established their factories at Syriam, and each, as might be expected, adhered to different interests; the French favouring the Peguers, while the English leaned to the Burmese: hitherto, however, nothing had occurred to induce them to give open or efficient assistance to either party. Towards the close of the year 1754, the Peguers, under the command of their King in person, once more invaded the kingdom of Ava, and were again repulsed by Alompra, after a desperate struggle, in which the utmost personal courage was evinced on both sides. The Pegu King, and his attendants, fled first to Bassien, where also the English had a small factory, and from thence to Pegu, whither he was speedily followed by the shattered remains of his army. The Peguers had no sooner evacuated Bassien than it was taken possession of by the Burmese. As it now appeared probable that the war would in future be confined, in a great measure, to the mouths of navigable rivers, Alompra, whose policy seems to have equalled his bravery, soon perceived the advantage which would be derived in such a species of warfare, from the co-operation of vessels of burden, armed with guns, and worked by Europeans; he accordingly sent a deputation of Negrais, to engage, if possible, the assistance of the English, or at least to stipulate for their neutrality. While his deputies were absent on this mission, he again attacked the Peguers, who were assembled in considerable force under the former Viceroy of Ava, and gained a decisive victory. The disheartened Peguers fled to Syriam; and many, among whom was their commander, did not stop until they reached Pegu. At this crisis, it appears to have become a special object with both parties, to interest the principals of the English and French factories at Syriam on their side, and it became absolutely necessary, in order to avoid being treated as a common enemy, to adopt a decided line of conduct. Neither French nor English, however, acted on this occasion with policy or candour; the former endeavouring, while they rendered every assistance in their power to the Peguers, to keep also upon terms of friendship with the Burmese; while the latter appear to have acted throughout without concert or subordination; thus, while the Resident at Negrais was professing, and probably with sincerity, the most friendly disposition towards the Burmese, the British vessels in the river were co-operating with the Peguers in their attacks upon Rangoon, to which the attention of the latter was now particularly turned.

In the summer of 1755, Alompra was called away from the defence

of Rangoon, to suppress an insurrection of his own subjects, and repel an invasion of the Siamese; both which tasks were accomplished with little difficulty. During his absence he had also the satisfaction to learn that his arms had been successful in Cassay, the inhabitants of which, taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs, had thrown off the Burman yoke. This people, which had for ages tasted the sweets of independence only at intervals, when the contests of the Burmese and Peguers left the former no leisure to enforce their obedience, were speedily reduced to submission by the force which Alompra had despatched against them; and their chief, the Rajah of Munnipore, sued for peace; which was concluded on terms highly advantageous for the Burmese. On his return to Rangoon, Alompra found his affairs in that quarter also in a very prosperous condition; the Peguers had been repulsed in several attacks on that town, and had at length been compelled to retreat to Syriam, whither he determined to follow them; and boldly advancing with a numerous fleet of war-boats to the mouth of the river, on which both Syriam and Pegu are situated, cut them off at once from all communication with the sea. Affecting rather to be desirous of reducing Syriam by famine, than of taking it by assault, he lulled the garrison into a fatal security; when, suddenly changing his plan of operations, he crossed the ditch in the dead of the night, and made himself master of the fort almost without resistance. Two days after this important event, there arrived in the river one of two French vessels, which had been despatched from Pondicherry with a supply of military stores for the Peguers, and which Alompra contrived to decoy into Rangoon, where it was seized; and the papers found on board clearly proving the purpose for which it was sent, and the treachery of which the French had been guilty towards him, he gave orders for the instant execution of the principal of the factory, and of the captain and officers of the vessel. In the beginning of 1757, as soon as the season would permit, Alompra invested the capital of Pegu, which surrendered, after a seige of two months; the King was taken prisoner, and the city given up to indiscriminate plunder; the whole country speedily followed the example of the capital, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the conqueror. Having thus completely triumphed over his natural enemies, he left the conquered territory in a state of apparent tranquillity, and after some months spent at Monchaboo, which he had raised to be the seat of Government, in regulating the internal police of the kingdom, again took up arms against the Cassayers, who had shown symptoms of returning disaffection. But while preparing to advance upon Munnipore, he received information that the Peguers had revolted, defeated the General whom he had left to keep them in check, and again made themselves masters of Rangoon, Dalla, and Syriam. He immediately directed his course towards the south; but before his arrival, his General had rallied his forces, and regained possession of the lost towns; and the appearance of Alompra in person gave the last blow to this formidable insurrection.

When Syriam fell into the hands of the Conqueror, the English, who had remained in that town, and whose inconsistent and even hostile conduct towards him, gave them reason to dread a fate no less rigorous than that of the French, were treated with the greatest moderation; they merely received an admonition, and were suffered to depart unmolested. Shortly afterwards, the Resident at Negrais succeeded in

obtaining from Alompra the grant of several valuable commercial immunities, and also of the island of Negrais, together with a piece of ground for a factory opposite to the old town of Bassien; in return for which the East India Company were to pay an annual tribute of ordnance and military stores. Our affairs in India had, however, at this period, reached such an alarming crisis, that the assistance even of so small a body as the settlers at Negrais was considered as a matter of importance, and the greater part of them were accordingly withdrawn. The cruel massacre which followed of the few remaining English, together with a considerable number of Natives, who were attached to the factory, is a stain upon the character of this reign, which cannot easily be effaced. It is said, however, and the many proofs of a friendly disposition manifested by Alompra towards the English, warrant the belief, that the most plausible misrepresentations were made use of by interested foreigners who had access to the king, and particularly by two Armenian merchants, who were high in his confidence, to induce him to consent to, or at least to wink at, the diabolical act of revenge which they meditated, and that it was far from his intention to sanction the indiscriminate slaughter which was carried into effect, of the innocent many, with the (supposed) guilty few. Be this as it may, our Indian Government was then in no condition to retaliate, or enforce reparation; a remonstrance was indeed made in the course of the succeeding reign; some trifling explanation of the circumstances was offered; the property of the East India Company carried off from the Island was restored, and the English prisoners, five in number, were set at liberty.

Alompra being now at the head of a considerable army, and having nothing to fear from the Peguers, who, disheartened by the ill success of their late rebellion, no longer dared openly to oppose his authority, determined to chastise the Siamese for the encouragement which they had afforded to his rebellious subjects. Accordingly he invaded their territory, and after making an easy conquest of the important sea-port of Mergui, and the populous town of Tenassuem, he proceeded across the Peninsula with the view of attacking the capital itself. Scarcely had he arrived before the city when he was attacked by a disease, which he foresaw would soon put a period to his existence; he gave orders for an immediate retreat, in hopes of being enabled to reach his capital alive, but the approaches of death were too rapid, and he died within two days' march of Martaban, about the 15th of May 1760, before he had completed the fiftieth year of his age.

The reign of Mamdogee Praw, the eldest son and successor of Alompra, was but of short duration; yet he is said diligently to have improved his time, and benefited his country, as much as circumstances would permit. He had in its commencement to encounter several formidable rebellions, which were not put down without much difficulty, and these left him no leisure to attempt foreign conquest. He died at Chagaing, whither he had removed the seat of government, about the month of March 1764, leaving behind him one son named Momien, yet an infant. The minority of the legal heir gave his uncle Shembuan, the second son of Alompra, who possessed considerable talent, and much of the genius and enterprising spirit of his father, an opportunity to take the reins of government into his own hands; and such was the influence of his character, that his authority was immediately recognised by the Burman and Pegu nations. His first expedition was

against Siam, and was justified by the ever-ready plea of the Burman Government, the protection afforded to his rebellious and fugitive subjects: it was also sanctioned by the dying commands of his father. Two considerable armies were embodied for the invasion of that country, which, entering it by different routes, and acting on a well-combined system of co-operation, soon reduced it to complete subjection. The King fled into the hills, and a Siamese Governor was appointed, who took an oath of allegiance to the Burman Government, and engaged to pay an annual tribute. While his Generals were engaged in the conquest of Siam, Shembuan in person marched against the Cassayers, who had once more shaken off the yoke, and returned laden with booty, and accompanied by a numerous train of prisoners. This expedition, however, appears rather to have been a predatory incursion, than an invasion with a view to the permanent subjugation of the country.

In the beginning of 1767, a new enemy appeared in the field, and from an unexpected quarter. Shembuan received information that an army of Chinese, computed at 50,000 men, was advancing from Yunan, and had already passed the frontiers, with the view of adding the fertile plains of Ava to their already overgrown Empire. He immediately took measures to arrest the progress of this formidable foe; and having appointed two separate armies, the one consisting of 10,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, and the other of a much superior force, he directed the latter to make a circuitous march to the southward, and attack the Chinese in the rear, while the former boldly advanced to meet them in front. This skilful disposition was attended with the most complete success; the Chinese, attacked at the same moment in front and rear, made an obstinate resistance; but, after three days hard fighting, they were completely routed; the carnage was dreadful, and the fate of those who survived was scarcely more desirable than that of those who perished. "Burmans, when victorious," says Colonel Symes, "are the most unpitying and ferocious monsters on earth. Death, or rigorous slavery, is the certain doom of those they subdue in battle; of the Chinese army not a man returned to his native country; about 2,500 were preserved from the sword, and conducted in fetters to the capital, where an exclusive quarter in the suburbs of the city was assigned for their residence. Those who did not understand any particular handicraft were employed in making gardens, and in the business of husbandry: mechanics and artificers were compelled to ply their trades according to the royal pleasure, without any other reward for their labour than a bare subsistence. These people, however, were encouraged, as are all strangers, to marry Burman wives, and consider themselves natives of the country. Compliance with so hospitable and general an invitation, confers, even on slaves taken in war, certain immunities, from which those who refuse the connexion are by law debarred." The latter part of this quotation affords a striking proof, not only of the sagacity of the Burmans, but also of their vast superiority over the nations by which they are surrounded.

The conquest of Siam was attended by no permanent consequences; though beaten, the Siamese were far from being a subjugated people. The Burman army had no sooner quitted their country than they rose under the command of Pieticksing, a relation of the King, and a man of considerable ability, and easily displaced the new Governor. The

King was no more heard of, and the popular leader found few obstacles to impede his way to the throne. In 1771, a new army was despatched from Ava to bring them again under subjection, but the Burman General, finding his forces inadequate to the task, was compelled to apply for reinforcements. These were hastily levied from among the Peguers, in the contiguous provinces, who had now remained so long in passive subjection, that no doubts were entertained of their fidelity. Scarcely, however, had the new recruits reached the Burman camp, when they fell unexpectedly upon their companions, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. A very small number of the Burmans escaped the newly-aroused vengeance of their ancient foes, and escaped to Rangoon, whither they were followed by the Peguers, who laid siege to the place. But on the appearance of a Burman army, the rebels found themselves in no condition to oppose it, and the Burman supremacy was re-established almost without resistance. The Siamese, however, had reason to congratulate themselves on this seasonable diversion, which saved them from the impending storm, and gave them leisure to strengthen themselves against any future attacks. While these events were passing in the South, Shembuan was prosecuting his favourite scheme of conquest in the West. Early in the year 1774, he sent a considerable force against Munnipore, and the Cassay Shaan, which overran and devastated the country: the city of Munnipore submitted, after an obstinate resistance; and the spoils, which were very considerable, together with 2,000 prisoners of both sexes, were forwarded to the "golden feet." The victorious General, elated with his success, precipitately advanced with a body of 10,000 men into the country of Cachar, but here he was destined to encounter the most unlooked-for and appalling difficulties, and such as he found it impossible to surmount. Surrounded, in the heart of a mountainous country, by an active and enterprising foe, who cut them off from all resources; and attacked, at the same time, by that dreadful disease the hill-fever; famine and pestilence effected what the swords of the mountaineers could never have accomplished, and nearly the whole army perished in the defiles of the mountains. The Burmans, however, were not dispirited by this sad reverse of fortune; a still more considerable army was speedily assembled, which, advancing with more caution than that which had preceded them, penetrated to within two days' journey of Cospore, the capital of the country, when the Rajah, intimidated by the appearance of so formidable a force, consented to the humiliating terms prescribed by the Burman General, and yielded, to the King of Ava, the most abject proofs of vassalage and submission. The dominions of the Rajah of Munnipore were also restored on the same degrading terms, and thus terminated an expedition which cost the Burmese upwards of 20,000 men, without at all contributing to the real and permanent advantage of the state; for they soon found that it was impossible long to retain possession of the countries which they had overrun. The close of Shembuan's reign was stained with an act of wanton cruelty, for which no excuse can be found. The venerable King of Pegu, who had now remained for twenty years a prisoner, was accused of having been concerned in the late rebellion of his former subjects, and, together with many Peguers of rank, doomed to suffer death by the hands of the public executioner, and this ignominious sentence was carried into effect with unmitigated severity. This was one of the

last acts of this able and ambitious monarch; he died in the spring of 1776, after having taken every possible precaution to transmit the succession to his eldest son, Chenguza. This prince was of a character totally different from that of his predecessor; he plunged at once into the most shameless debauchery, and entirely neglecting the affairs of government, gave himself up to the lowest profligacy. The flagitious conduct which he pursued, became at length so intolerable that a conspiracy was entered into for his dethronement, in which Momien, the son of Namdogee Praw, whose succession had been set aside in favour of Shembuan, was tutored to act the principal part. This conspiracy was attended with the most complete success; Chenguza met the fate which was justly due to his crimes, and Momien was declared King. But there was another person in the back ground, who had secretly put in motion the springs of the conspiracy, and who had no intention that another should reap its fruits. This was Minderagee Praw, the younger brother of Shembuan, who now openly declared his views upon the crown, and found little difficulty in removing the unfortunate Momien, who was drowned, by his orders, in the Nawaddy, after having possessed the regal dignity for only eleven days.

The spirit of Alompra seems to have animated all his children; Minderagee, who assumed the reins of government in 1782, was as ambitious and as enterprising as any of his predecessors, after crushing two formidable rebellions, and removing the seat of government from Old Ava to Amarapoora, to which change he was instigated by the Brahminical astrologers, to whom he paid implicit deference, he determined to push his conquests in a quarter which had hitherto been unattempted. The kingdom of Arracan, occupying a great extent of sea coast, extending from Chittagong to Cape Negrais, and separated from Ava by a chain of lofty mountains, held out temptations to the Burmese, which had hitherto been counteracted by the difficulty of obtaining access into a country so well protected by nature. This difficulty was now overcome; three different armies, under the command of three Princes of the Blood, penetrated into Arracan by the defiles of the mountains, while a fourth effected a landing on the coast. A single battle decided the fate of the country; the Rajah was taken prisoner, and sent to Amarapoora, where he died in less than a year, and Arracan was completely subdued in the short space of a few months. But this valuable acquisition was not sufficient to satiate the lust of conquest; the Burmese again turned their attention towards Siam, which was now recovering its former vigour, under the wise administration of its new king; and in the spring of 1786, Minderagee in person invaded the Siamese dominions, at the head of a formidable force. But in this instance he met with a most disastrous reverse, his army being completely routed by the Siamese, and himself narrowly escaping being made prisoner. From this time the contest appears to have been carried on on more equal terms; hostilities continued with various success until the commencement of 1793, when the Siamese made overtures of peace, and a treaty was at length concluded on terms highly favourable to the Burmese, who retained possession of the whole of the coast of Tenasserem, together with the important ports of Tavoy and Mergui.

At the time of the conquest of Arracan, many of the Mughs, or ancient inhabitants of that country, had taken refuge from the conquerors

in the Dumbuck Hills, on the borders of the British province of Chittagong, and in the deep forests and jungles which skirt the frontier; here they formed themselves into independent bands of robbers, and making frequent incursions into the Burman dominions, conveyed their plunder across the river Naaf into the British territory, where they conceived themselves secure from pursuit. The Burman Government were not, however, of a disposition to suffer such outrages to go unpunished, neither would they stoop to ask reparation from the Government of whose protection the depredators availed themselves. In the year 1794, three distinguished leaders of these banditti being known to have sought refuge in the British districts, his Burman Majesty directed a body of 5000 men to go in pursuit of these delinquents, with positive injunctions not to return without them; and an army of 20,000 men was also held in readiness at Arracan to support this aggression. The conduct of the Burman Chief, to whom this arduous task had been assigned, was more prudent than could have been anticipated. As soon as he had crossed the river, he despatched a letter to the British Magistrate at Chittagong, informing him that the capture of the robbers was his sole object, and that he harboured no design of hostilities against the English; declaring, at the same time, that he would not depart from the Company's territory until they were given up. The Governor General, Sir John Shore, no sooner received intimation of this inroad, than he gave orders for the arrest of the refugees, and despatched a strong detachment, under the command of General Erskine, to the protection of the district. On the approach of these troops, the Burman General waited in person on the British Commander, in order to explain to him the enormity of the offence with which the refugees were charged, and the nature of his instructions. General Erskine assured him that it was far from the intention of our Government to give an asylum to robbers, but that it was impossible for them to listen to any proposal while the Burmese remained on British ground; engaging, at the same time, that if they would instantly withdraw their troops, the charges should undergo a regular inquiry. Satisfied with this arrangement, the Burman General withdrew his troops, and General Erskine being empowered to investigate the matter, the guilt of the delinquents was fully established, and they were delivered over to their own laws. Thus were the two nations preserved, by the prudent conduct of their respective Commanders, from engaging in a war which the firmness of the Burman Government seemed to have rendered almost inevitable. The amicable termination of this difference suggested to the Governor General the policy of cementing more closely our relations with a people, whose situation, extent of territory, and commercial connexions with British India, rendered a liberal intercourse with them highly desirable; and with this view Captain Symes was deputed on an Embassy to the Court of Ava. The results of his mission, of which he published an interesting narrative, were highly important in a commercial point of view; the duties to which British vessels should be subjected in the ports of the Burman Empire was permanently fixed, and permission was granted for the appointment of a British Resident at Rangoon. In pursuance of this last stipulation, Captain Cox soon after proceeded to Rangoon, in order to exercise the functions of that office, but meeting with many obstacles on the part of the Government, who refused to recognise him in that capa-

city, after an ineffectual journey to the capital, he was compelled to return to India. The journal of his residence in the Burman Empire lately published by his son, contains many important observations, calculated to throw considerable light on the character and condition of the inhabitants of that country.

Our accounts of the history of the Burmese, subsequent to this period, are by no means so complete as those furnished by Colonel Symes; we must therefore confine ourselves to a general statement of its leading features. It appears that hostilities with the Siamese have been several times renewed, particularly in the years 1799, 1810, and 1822, but without any permanent or decisive advantages on either part. On the first of these occasions, the Siamese invaded the Burman territory in considerable force; and such was the severity of the conscription set on foot to oppose them, that 35,000 of the natives of Arracan fled into the British territory to avoid it, whither they were pursued by a Burman force. A remonstrance against this second act of aggression was immediately made to the Court of Amarapoora; explanations were offered, and this affair, like the former, was amicably adjusted. In the year 1818, the Burman Government, in consequence, it is supposed, of a secret understanding with the Mahratta Chiefs, again assumed a hostile attitude, and despatched an Envoy to the Governor General with a demand, that he would surrender to them, without delay, the frontier provinces, and the whole of the territory eastward of the Banghautty, including even the populous and important town of Moorshedabad, or prepare for an immediate invasion. The Burmese were, however, on this occasion, so dilatory in their motions, that their allies were entirely vanquished before the arrival of their messenger; and Lord Hastings, who was well acquainted with the character of their Government, which he doubted not would, under these altered circumstances, seize with avidity any pretext for remaining quiet, hit upon an expedient which completely answered the purpose. By returning the letter of the King, and treating it as a forgery, fabricated by some designing person for the purpose of sowing dissension between the two Governments, he evaded the necessity of taking any further notice of its contents, and the former amicable intercourse was continued without change. This king, who is characterized as a capricious despot, whose cruelties thinned the population and weakened the power of his dominions, died in June 1819, and was succeeded by his grandson. This event was followed, as usual, by the revolt of other branches of the family, and by those scenes of cruelty and bloodshed which the Oriental feeling of implacable hatred too often generates. In 1822, however, this prince found himself at leisure to extend still further the limits of his empire, and accordingly invaded the kingdom of Assam, an extensive though not very populous country, occupying the valley through which the Burrampooter flows before it enters Bengal. The subjugation of this country was speedily effected, and great numbers of the inhabitants fled into the British territories, the Burman General advancing in pursuit of them as far as the frontiers, but, on this occasion, studiously avoiding any act of aggression. The presence of a British force in the neighbourhood may, perhaps, have contributed to render the Burmese more cautious in this respect; it also effectually restrained the fugitive Assamese from converting their asylum into a point of aggression, from whence they might sally forth and annoy the invaders.

With respect to the causes of the present war, or rather to the circumstances which have been the immediate occasion of it—for the real causes are probably very remote from the pretexts that have been put forth in its justification—it is unnecessary, as it would be tedious to repeat them here. For these we must refer to the manifesto of the Governor General, and to the Indian intelligence of several of the latter Numbers of the *Oriental Herald.* They consist, as is usual in such cases, of a number of petty grievances, which our nice sense of national honour, our respect for our dignity, &c. will not allow us to pass unnoticed, and for which the Court of Amarapoora has refused reparation, and treated our remonstrances with disdain. The fact is, that both parties are equally desirous of war, and in such a state of things, it would be surprising if reasons were wanting on either side, to convince the world of the justice of its claims; the necessity of chastising the insolence of a foe, whom forbearance only renders more arrogant in his pretensions; its conciliatory disposition; and, above all, its anxious desire for the preservation of peace:—arguments that are used by every nation that makes war on another, and repeated by both parties, with the same protestations of sincerity, whether right or wrong. Unfortunately, we are ignorant of the Burman counterpart of the Governor General's Proclamation; but there would be little difficulty in showing, even from that document itself, that far from seeking to avoid occasions of quarrel with the Burmese, such a line of policy has been systematically pursued as could not fail to bring us into hostile contact with them. We allude more particularly to the affair of Cachar; to the sovereignty of which, it is evident from the preceding sketch of their history, and must have been known to our Government, that the Burmese laid claim, and that they had, on one occasion at least, received from its Rajah the most unequivocal proofs of submission. The hereditary Rajah of this state is dethroned by a usurper, and flies for succour to the Burmese; the British Government take the usurper under their protection; and when the Burmese invade the country for the avowed purpose of replacing the rightful monarch on his throne, they are *warned* by the British Authorities, "that the petty state of Cachar is under the protection of the British Government, and that this movement of their troops must be regarded as an act of hostility to be repelled by force;" and they are accordingly *attacked* by the British troops. It is obvious, that the taking of this country and its usurping chief under the protection of our Government, was a mere pretext, adopted with the view of bringing matters to a crisis; the declared intention of the Burmese to replace the legitimate Rajah on the throne, was equally a pretext to cover their ambitious designs: the new King of Ava, and the new Governor General of India were both actuated by one common principle; each of them considering it incumbent on himself to pursue the steps of his predecessors, and aggrandizing, by some considerable conquest, the empire over which he rules. We had intended to close this article with a sketch of the character, resources, &c. of the Burmese nation; but having already exceeded our limits, we must be content with having given a faithful abstract of their history, up to the commencement of the present war, and shall reserve what we have to add, on the subject adverted to, until a succeeding Number.

OF EXAGGERATION IN WRITING.

It is difficult to hit the mark in any thing, and not to be expected when people aim at something beyond it. In writing, the greater number of authors have, for many years, shunned the middle point, as a thing which their superior lights enabled them to depart from without detriment; they have supposed that it would be inconsistent with their dignity to move on in the old track, and that by opening a new one for themselves they would at least be entitled to the praise of originality. It must be allowed that they are. But there seem to be two species of originality—one, which consists in new ideas, or new combinations of ideas; and another arising purely out of the mode of expression. It is plain, that the former only of these can be valuable. Still there is a certain degree of ingenuity requisite for the proper trimming up of old thoughts, so as they may be disguised, and made to wear the appearance of new ones. It is necessary that the author who has this task to perform, should be master of a great number of quaint phrases; be well read in our older writers; and join to all this, some remarkable peculiarity in the construction of his sentences. This union is enough to ensure any one a reputation for wit and humour; and what can be more desirable than such a reputation? In this age, however, we have various new species of excellences. There is the "joyous," the "sparkling," and the "healthful" writer; the man of infinite pretensions, who can write you dissertations, like another Crichton, on any given subject under the sun; and there is the author, who, professing to have no manner of learning, contributes, nevertheless, his quota of words on every learned and abstruse subject that can be thought of. The chief business seems to be, to pour forth sentence upon sentence, without number; to multiply books, well written, and "sparkling" from the beginning to the end, or vice versa—(you may read them with equal profit either way, which is a great improvement); to bring severe and complete treatises into disuse; and to substitute in their places the superfine offspring of the new order of things.

It seems an undoubted fact, that all men would gain a reputation if they could; and that none begin to despise it until they have pretty strong reasons to think it beyond their reach. Man's mind is a quiver, stored by nature with a certain number of arrows, sufficient to bring down the game of life, but by no means to be discharged at random at every object which arises; and he only who has emptied this quiver in frivolous and paltry pursuits, will stand aghast when he touches upon the last arrow, protesting that the reputation of having shot well is not worth a penny. It is of no utility *to think*, if we are not choice in the nature of our thoughts; if we do not lay hold on them as they arise, and force them into the track in which they may be productive. The author of certain periodical pieces under the signature of Elia, is a writer of much and curious thought; he has a strong rough humour reflected from the nature of his reading; he is entertaining, and, occasionally, a little pathetic; but what then? Is he a great writer? Is he a man of genius? No. The people he is best calculated to amuse are jaded readers; persons who have travelled through the natural and

the beautiful, with a morbid appetite for powerful *stimuli;* and who, like straws, have lain dormant by pearls and diamonds, to be attracted by the amber. Men of severe taste have little sympathy for his oddities, and, while going through them, experience a secret consciousness that they are not properly employed. The mind is not to be subsisted upon jokes and quaint thoughts; it is like dining upon macaroni. It is not surprising, however, that many critics, as well as others, are fond of the conceits of this writer, or that they attribute to them a profoundness and reserve of meaning which they in reality do not contain; for all men, though delighting in rarities, are naturally indolent, and given to admire whatever is brought from regions which they themselves have not visited. Elia therefore, having navigated his cock-boat round shores that are generally unknown, because they lie out of the great courses of utility, has been enabled to freight it with a sort of merchandise, not very much in request, it is true, but at the same time capable of making the fortune of one solitary adventurer. To prove their worth, however, let many deal in the same wares, and it will quickly be seen of what value they are. It is, notwithstanding, a great merit to be able, by the mere ingeniousness of the workmanship, to raise trifling or vulgar materials into request; and this merit we would readily grant to the writer in question: but this kind of ingenuity should carefully be distinguished from genius. It is of a far inferior and more vulgar species, and is not incompatible with future oblivion.

This writer is also an instance of exaggerated writing. It is allowed that a wit may take very great liberties in combination; but he should not at every moment be making use of his license; for if he does, there is reason to apprehend that the best things he can say will not be sufficient to keep away the tedium of sameness. We love to meet an odd or startling thought now and then, because it rouses the attention, and keeps us on the look-out for something extraordinary; but it is obvious that a thing cannot be extraordinary, which is every moment occurring; nor does the mind relish a perpetual succession of petty electrical shocks. Writers, who have trusted to such arts for fame, have generally sunk, in spite of any other merits they might possess, into partial or total oblivion, and have deserved so to sink. For men have no interest in preserving strange ideas (as they preserve stuffed birds, for the wild variety of their plumage); but afford them a stare when they first arise, and then turn away for ever to something which may advance their happiness, or communicate to their minds that strength and robustness which are required in the affairs of life. It is for this reason that judgment and art are necessary to a writer. His feelings are not to be put forth naked, in the mode and order in which they rise; because as they spring up, they are frequently false and exaggerated, reflecting merely the colour of those circumstances by which he is surrounded. He should carry them, like suspicious merchandise, into a clearer light, and watch their variations as they slowly mingle with each other, and take the stamp of time.

It is for want of this art that another of our contemporaries seems paradoxical and contradictory, and that he very often is so. He feels with more force than he perceives; and therefore is not so well calculated to judge of a whole, as of its separate parts. His criticisms are almost always vicious, for this reason. He seems incapable of conceiv-

ing the grandeur and beauty of the continuity of one simple principle, branching out into a regular and graceful variety. In a greater or less degree, this is the fault of the majority of modern writers and artists. The intricate and involved nature of our music, to speak of one thing, is a proof of this, and is thought a high improvement upon ancient simplicity. But in music, as well as in all other things, it is questionable whether the greatest perfection of art be not that which, passing through the avenues as rapidly as possible, leads the soul at once into the close recesses of delight. The reader or hearer should not in many instances be driven back to inquire into the sources of his pleasures; it is enough for him to be happy in the results. The writer we are speaking of, details his thoughts and feelings as if he were giving an inventory of them upon oath to the public; but the public have no right to such an inventory, and cannot be benefited by possessing it. A great work is a connected chain of homogeneous principles, supporting, not supported by, a constant succession of powerful and pure feelings; and not a miscellany of feelings and principles, in which it is doubtful which gives birth to the other. Feeling is an element of greatness, but not the chief element, because it is not continuous; although, in the hands of excessive art, it may be made to appear so. He is destitute of this art, and therefore some of his best ideas are as good as thrown away. He sometimes stalks along with the tottering force of Orion; but has no guide upon his shoulders to indicate the point of dawn: he is a ship without a rudder, which makes for no particular port, but awaits the influence of sunshine or storm upon the shifting surface of the sea. He is every thing but a great writer.

Yet it is surprising that there should be found critics so blind as to attribute to the former of these two, more genius than to the latter. With infinitely more materials for amusement and thinking, the Author of Table Talk has in his nature a fertility and manly decision, of which the other is altogether incapable; and in such a parallel, his deep feeling would stand him in good stead. Elia's feelings are finicking and false; and even if nature had given him any that were real, there is no doubt he would have thought it too much beneath a wit to have expressed them naturally. The former not only feels, but has attached his feelings to the permanent concerns of humanity; his writings breathe a passion for the welfare of his species,—an intense hatred of their oppressors; and if they live, it will be for this quality.

It is no doubt a melancholy thing to observe a writer, grown old in sacrificing to a false taste, arrive at length at a conviction that such is the truth; for it being too late to profit by this discovery, and consequently to recant, he has but one course to pursue—which is to affect a contempt for all persons of finer judgment, or even for fame itself. As far as his influence extends, he is sure, by this means, to pervert the public taste; and as the thing happens but too frequently, a great portion of the people grow indifferent to simplicity and nature. Every age has its prejudices, and, among the number, a high opinion of its own proficiency is not the least. It is thought, and, during certain stages of society, it is justly thought, that time ripens ideas like fruit; and that though we did not plant, we may gather the best and most lasting of these. But very few, except our most simple ideas, are pure; and those very often are least so whose appearances are most tempting. It re-

quires a greater degree of self-denial than men commonly possess, constantly to reject the showy, proud, imposing forms of things, and to put up with such as have mere truth and gracefulness to recommend them; for it must be allowed that more attention is attracted by being decked in that gaudy intellectual frippery which genius rejects, than by that dignified and beautiful simplicity in which it delights. It is unfortunate that a taste for exaggerated ornament and elaborate style has crept in amongst us, for it influences even our judgments in matters which go beyond words—in poetry and polite literature. There is not a writer living who could be plain and natural with impunity. People talk of Mr. Wordsworth's simplicity—but it is mere words. His ideas are as violent, far-fetched, and exaggerated, as those of any respectable writer objected to by his adherents. He certainly had the merit of singularity when he first appeared; and that, united to a moderate share of abilities, has very seldom failed to rouse opposition, abuse, and a kind of party-spirit, which is what such writers chiefly aim at. There are always critics who would be thought wiser than other people; and they never fail to discover something exceedingly stupid, or exceedingly beautiful, in whatever comes before the public under peculiar circumstances. The truth seems to be, that Mr. W. is of that order of men, who, having thought and read a great deal, put a kind of pipe into their minds, and suffer them, like hogsheads, to run out upon the public, as long as there is any thing in them. Dregs and all are drained off, and are expected to be sipped up with equal complacency. But in all the froth and foam of pouring out, there is but little chance that the true taste of the liquor will be discovered—it must be left to settle, and then we fear a good deal of worthless dregs will be found at bottom. Much has been said about his originality; we have been told that this and that thought are new; and what then?—Is newness of such mighty importance that a man is to be styled a *genius*, whose thoughts and expressions are sprinkled with mere novelty? A very singular mistake seems to prevail with respect to original ideas or images, as if whatever we have not seen before must be good. But we surely should make some account of the quality of these things. A new species of flies or snails are neither so wonderful or of so much importance to science, as would be a new species of men. Things have their grades, and it is a pity that it should ever be necessary to repeat so worn-out a common-place. But with all his originality, it is now an understood thing that Mr. Wordsworth is one of those writers who become after death the prey of Anthologists, and the makers of Elegant Extracts—who, by industriously separating the sheep, or what they take to be such, from the goats, turn over the latter to the custody of oblivion. But there is no mangling a great writer after this fashion. Not a thought can be absent without being missed; for the dependence of one idea upon the other is so great, that an experienced eye can detect the gap as easily as a Colonel could observe the absence of a company from his regiment; or the eye perceive the want of a pillar in a portico. It is this linking, this morticeing of one thought into the other, that usually discovers to a writer the feeble parts of his ideas. But a man who drives his notions before him to market, like a drover, is not so apt to perceive their incongruity, as he who attempts to yoke them into pairs, and marshal them into a beautiful procession. The former may make a greater show of wealth than the

latter, for confusion has a kind of multiplying power; but he will be very little valued in comparison, by those of judgment and superior capacity. Mr. W. is precisely the above drover; he has very good cattle, but they are oddly mixed up with extremely sorry jades.

These instances may suffice for the present. But in truth our prevailing taste leans altogether towards this fault; we are not satisfied with the exact measure of things, but require, both in ourselves and others, that whatever is presented to the eye of the mind, shall be endowed with colossal proportions. We have arrived at that stage of civilization in which a similar taste has prevailed among other nations; we have made ourselves familiar with beauty, until a certain degree of satiety has been generated, and we now turn round in search of startling deformity, that we may continue to be excited, at all hazards. Plain truth is unfashionable. There must be paradox, there must be sophistry; and the most extravagant rhetorical flourishes are looked for, digested complacently by our accommodating taste, and thought to be no wonders. The most amusing circumstance of all is the self-congratulation with which our authors of this stamp count upon their fingers the testimonies of the public in their favour. In the first place they are informed by their publishers that the book has had a good run; then they are invited by Mr. A. or Mr. B. to a dinner, at which a number of their humble admirers are to be present, fully prepared to utter well-conned praises of every sparkling passage: afterwards the Reviews and Magazines come tumbling in, properly larded with laudatory paragraphs, written by the authors themselves, or some dear friends equally disposed to regard what they write as prodigiously fine. And then?—why then "cometh *the end:*"—a new MARVEL is manufactured—comes out under the same auspices—pushes the former one out of every body's memory, and sends it

> "Where things unborn lie hid with things forgot."

Nevertheless, these authors look upon themselves as personages of no little importance; they have a keen eye for the faults, numerous and striking as they always are, of rising genius; they can point out where it has committed an error, either in grammar or in reasoning; they can prophesy that the young man may do well enough, if he should take care to come *better prepared* before the public, on the next occasion; when probably, God wot! their strictures are putting it out of his power ever to do so. The extent of their own abilities is never known to persons of this stamp, as they constantly mistake for capacity a most unlimited desire of popularity, the natural enemy, in reality, of all true genius and great designs. Genius is simple and unsophisticated—it sees things as they are—it exaggerates nothing; it is natural, easy, and happy in its illustrations. Dulness, on the contrary, is mystical, involved, wonderful; and carefully wraps up its common lifeless meanings, in the winding sheet of princely eloquence. The former is rich without ostentation; the latter would conceal its poverty beneath extravagant finery. The one is the offspring of nature—the other of abortive art, and a corrupted civilization.

FURTHER DISCLOSURES OF "FALSEHOOD AND INIQUITY[1]," CONNECTED WITH THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL.

The reader, who has accompanied us in our labours from the commencement of them to the present time, will naturally conclude that so much of cruelty, folly, and vengeance, has been already exhibited in the narration of events connected with this subject, that there can be nothing more necessary to complete the picture of human wickedness and imbecility which it presents. He is, however, mistaken; for though much, of which any Government ought to be ashamed, has already transpired, there remain yet some finishing touches, which we think will excite his surprise, if they do not rouse his indignation still more.

Up to the present moment, it has been all along assumed, and sincerely believed in England, that the suppression of the Calcutta Journal was really occasioned, as alleged by the Indian Government, by the republication of Colonel Stanhope's Pamphlet; though the progressive and unreproved issue of that work, from the Indian Press, excited momentary doubts, in the minds of some, as to whether there was not some other secret cause lurking behind, which had not yet been openly avowed. That the Indian Government should add falsehood to its other crimes, no man who has watched their conduct for the last five years, could think at all unlikely. The hypocritical pretensions with which they deluded the people of this country, as well as of that, when they held forth hopes of intellectual improvement with the one hand, and dashed them to the ground with the other:—the pretended reverence for religion, with which they amuse the benevolent and well-disposed among their countrymen at home, while they patronize, and even derive profit from, the most bloody and abominable sacrifices of idolatry abroad, are all proofs of the recklessness with which they can lie as well as flatter:—with which they fawn only to deceive. It is really false delicacy to characterize their conduct by such terms as might be honestly applied to mere errors of opinion, and adherence to prejudices, stupidly, but still sincerely entertained. It would be assisting the very delusion which we so strongly condemn, were we to call "falsehood" by any other than its real name, and were we to characterize "iniquity" by any term that should not be understood to mean wilful and deliberate wrong.

By one of the last arrivals from India, we have received letters that let in a new light upon this pretended suppression of the Journal because of the republication of a Pamphlet, which contained little more than a faithful report of what had happened, and had even been published in India before. It was not for this, (though it was hypocritically pretended to be the cause, from the difficulty of assigning any other pretext, and the fear and shame of avowing the real reason,) that the Calcutta Journal was put down; but for its daring to lift up its voice against the horrors of a traffic in Slaves, in the very capital of British India! We present the reader with an extract of one only of the numerous letters received by us

[1] This term is not originally our own, but one quoted from Indian annals, and now justly returned on those who first used it to designate what has since been shown to have had its foundations deeply laid in truth and innocence, which has triumphed over calumny and wrong.

from Bengal, all concurring in the same uniform and undoubted testimony. We know too well the tone and temper of Indian tyranny, to give even the slightest clue by which our Correspondents shall be known: we value their safety too highly to put it in the slightest jeopardy; and they may therefore repose their confidence in us, without any fear of its ever being betrayed. We shall support their testimony, however, by facts and dates, and even by official letters, which must remove all doubt from the minds even of the most scrupulous, as to the unquestionable accuracy of what we have to disclose. The writer says—

Your numerous friends in this quarter will have, no doubt, informed you of the state of sullen indignation which pervades this society, ever since our former Governor General, Lord Hastings, resigned the government. You remember that I always used to say, this nobleman was the very best man we could have among us; because he *had* a character to lose, and his desire of public approbation was sufficient to ensure his doing nothing in open defiance and contempt of Public Opinion, whether loudly, or only gently expressed. His feeble successors have, however, no such feelings; no such character: they have therefore set even common sense and decorum at defiance, and seem to revel in the uncontrolled and ungovernable indulgence of the most self-willed, low, and obstinate tyranny. We are not without hope, indeed, that the very excess of this must soon alienate from those in power, the higher orders of even the unconditional adherents of authority, for there is something so mean as well as base in all that is said and done in certain quarters, that it must be revolting to men of taste and education, whatever may be their political party, whatever their local prejudices or fears.

I can assure you, on the best authority, that the suppression of the Calcutta Journal was *not* occasioned by the republication of Colonel Stanhope's Pamphlet; and it is wonderful, when one reflects on this transaction, how that pretence could ever have been ventured to be assigned. Even had it been true, as the Government were evidently desirous that it should be considered, they could never escape the imputation of being participators in the crime, by quietly allowing the publication to go on, when the fact of the Editor's having announced his intention to go through with the whole book by chapters *seriatim*, was, under existing circumstances, tantamount to his having asked permission to do so. If this pretence were true, therefore, the Government, by allowing the whole to be completed, were not only accessaries to all the evil which they say such a publication was calculated to produce, but they were guilty of an act of the basest treachery in punishing what, by implication, they had authorized.

But there are few men in India who do not now know that the Government did not assign the *true* cause for this suppression of the Journal. It was, no doubt, the result of a predetermination, on the part of Mr. Adam and Mr. Bayley, with Mr. Lushington, perhaps, included—if, indeed, they deem him of sufficient importance to include him in such a design—to take the first opportunity of using the power with which, by the aid of Sir Francis Macnaghten's ductility, they had invested themselves, to put down any Paper that might be in the slightest degree obnoxious to them—with reason, or without. It was in pursuance of this determination, that advantage was taken of a paragraph in the Journal, exposing the existence of a Slave Trade actually carrying on in Calcutta, to instigate the whole of the Magistracy, (who were necessarily implicated, if only as permitting such a traffic, without rooting it out, and bringing the traffickers to punishment) against the Journal, and its unhappy Editor. Not, however, that there was the least doubt, in the minds of any one, that Slaves were bought, and sold, and exchanged, by the Arabs and rich Natives of Calcutta; but the further discussion of such a topic would, no doubt, have led to some curious disclosures, and, among others, to that of kidnapping European women, of alleged loose character, imprisoning them in this country till a ship is ready to sail, and then transporting them to England, where they are turned adrift, at the first landing place, without any provision whatever being made for their reformation, or even future subsistence!

Thus far the writer of the letter; and we ask the reader, if he be an Englishman, without reference to his political or religious creed, without

reference even to his most bigoted prejudices, if he has any, whether this double slave trade in blacks and whites, this traffic in the one sex, and incarceration and banishment of the other, is not enough to rouse his spirit within him, and whether much less than this has not of old drawn down the denunciation of the world? We shall give the reader the paragraph from the Calcutta Journal, adverting to this abominable traffic; and he will be able to judge for himself, what must have been the motives of the Indian Government, when they could instantly suppress a Paper, with a view to prevent its making further disclosures of so execrable and accursed a practice. The paragraph is as follows:

SLAVE TRADE IN BRITISH INDIA.

Our readers are of course aware, that the nefarious traffic in human beings, is equally forbidden by the letter and the spirit of British law, in every portion of the British dominions, be their geographical position what it may; whether in the frozen regions of the North, or the scorching climate of the torrid zone, wherever the British flag waves, this disgraceful commerce is made criminal by British law. What, then, will the humane and enlightened community of this magnificent capital of our Eastern possessions say, when they are told that, with all its glittering spires of the temples of a pure religion—with all its splendid palaces, bespeaking the taste, and refinement, and the riches of their inhabitants—with all its colleges and schools, and societies to promote the propagation of knowledge, civil and religious;—what will they say when they learn, that, amidst all these signs of veneration for Christianity, the philanthropy, the greatness, and the refinement, of Britons and British subjects in a British capital, it is disgraced by witnessing the lowest degradation of the human species?—that this great capital is, in short, at once the depot of the commerce and riches of the East, and the mart in which the manacled African is sold, like the beast of the field, to the highest bidder? What may be said to this by the enlightened community we address, we need not anticipate. It is our duty to announce to them the disgraceful fact. We are informed, that 150 eunuchs have been landed from the Arab ships THIS SEASON, to be sold as slaves in the CAPITAL OF BRITISH INDIA! It is known, too, that these ships are in the habit of carrying away the Natives of this country, principally females, and disposing of them in Arabia, in barter for African slaves for the Calcutta market!! Can it be possible that such degrading, such wicked scenes are passing around us, and that the actors are suffered to escape unnoticed and unpunished? We fear the fact is too true; but we hope, that the publicity thus given to it, will lead to the prevention of such gross violations of law and humanity in future. We can conceive the difficulty of detection in these cases; but let all those who are aware of the illicit practices of these followers of Mahomet, remember, that they are imperiously called on, as Christians and as British subjects in particular, to bring to punishment these violators of law and humanity. Nature shudders at the thought of the barbarities practised by these abusers of God's noblest creature, who are led, by an accursed thirst of gold, to brutalize the human species. Only one fact will suffice to show the savage and murderous barbarity resorted to by the wretches engaged in a traffic so revolting to humanity. A gentleman has informed us, that of 200 African boys emasculated at Juddah, only ten survived the cruel operation. After such a statement, it would be to suppose our fellow-subjects totally destitute of all the best feelings of our nature, to doubt that every exertion will be made by such of them as can, in any way, aid in putting down a traffic so inhuman and abominable; and in preventing the capital of British India from being disgraced by it!

This was the last offence. Within a day or two after this appeared, and long after the republication of Colonel Stanhope's Pamphlet had been closed, the Calcutta Journal was suppressed; while the Secretary was instructed to put forth an official falsehood, under the sanction of the highest authority of the state, to mislead the public attention from the real cause of the suppression, and deliberately write, sign, seal, and issue forth from his office, a document wearing "Untruth" upon its very front.

The reader is no doubt acquainted with the series of aggravated injuries which followed this:—there are some intermediate links, however, which are necessary to the complete understanding of the whole; and as all our letters for the intermediate periods have now reached us, though many were prevented from coming to hand before, by the long voyages of the ships by which they were sent, we shall give a few portions of the explanatory matter which they contain. Another Correspondent has the following remarks, in a letter written soon after the Journal was suppressed:

You will have seen, of course, that the Government, or I believe I should rather say the Governor General, has refused permission for reviving the Paper, under any Editor or any title whatever; the very types are considered to be attainted; and it is difficult to foresee whether any individual will have the courage to endanger his welfare, by purchasing them, even to print advertisements. In this last act of the Governor, this total suppression of the use even of the property and materials of the Journal, even the firmest friends of the system for restraining *free discussion* stand aloof. Even the Chief Secretary, Bayley, is, I hear, ashamed of his pupil; so far does he go beyond the lessons of his preceptor; and a very respectable and steady friend of order told me, the other day, that the Government had fallen into greater contempt than he had conceived it possible; and, as if Mr. Adam's 'rule and ordinance' to prevent the free press from bringing the authority of Government into hatred and contempt, had been aleady too effectual, and had saved them from odium by this means, the present members of Government seem determined to make amends for it by others, causing themselves to be despised even by their own partisans.

Such is the picture, and we believe it to be an accurate one, which the state of things in India presents, since despotism has laid its cold and chilling grasp upon the press, and the awful stagnation of silence and death have usurped the place of animated inquiry and wholesome life.

Soon after the first suppression of the Journal, as if a feeling of remorse had dictated what a sense of justice could not, the Paper was permitted to be revived, on one condition, that the Editor should be a person actually in the service of the Government. Debasing and humiliating as this condition was, the whole value of the Journal, both to its conductor and to the community, depending on that fearless and independent examination into, and expression of opinion on, the acts of the Government itself, which no servant of its own (however honourable and public spirited the Editor chosen might have been) could possibly do, except anonymously, but certainly not as an Editor, even if he dared to print the anonymous comments of others as such: still this debasing condition, for the sake of preserving the wreck of the property, was complied with; and an announcement was made, that, under these circumstances, the Journal would be revived. It was strangled, however, in the birth; and although we had heard, that before any one could have possibly known what the revived Number was likely to contain, a trooper had been sent off at night, and on a Sunday too—a day of holiness and rest—from the Governor General at Barrackpore, to command that not a single paper should be issued, so that the whole of the impression was lost and destroyed: we had never yet been able to give our readers the offensive passage of the announcement of this revival, which it appears had excited the Governor General's wrath, and made him despatch a dragoon in such breathless haste. It was this—

The subscribers to the Calcutta Journal, and the public, are respectfully informed that a Daily Paper will be again issued from the Columbian Press, on Mon-

day, the 1st of December, under the original designation.—On this occasion, it is merely necessary to state, that the management of the Paper has been transferred into the hands of a gentleman calculated in every respect to support its character: and, under such circumstances, the formality of a prospectus is deemed superfluous. Those to whom the late Journal was acceptable, will find, it is hoped, in that now offered, a substitute not less entitled to their patronage. But it must not be concealed that the late enactments, being, from their nature probably somewhat indefinite, have, by their influence, thrown a melancholy check on the spirit of inquiry and discussion, which seemed to promise much ultimate benefit to the country and its Government. It is not asserted, that the law was intended to prohibit all inquiry and discussion; its avowed object was merely to limit it; but its effect was to intimidate many from writing at all, and to cripple the effusions of those who still ventured to indulge in the expression of sentiments, at all at variance with the existing state of things. The immediate object, however, of alluding to the measure above noticed, is to account for a determination to reduce the size of the Paper from four to three sheets per day, and proportionately in price, from 16 to 12 rupees per mensem.

This was the announcement; and innocent enough it would seem to be to all but the most irritable of despots. To the waywardness of their ungovernable caprice, it is in vain to oppose reason; they do not acknowledge her legitimacy. They ask men not only to suffer, but to suffer without a groan. When Mr. Adam was censor of the press, and struck out such passages as he, in his irresponsible wisdom, thought fit to suppress, it was considered "insolent and audacious" to fill up the blanks with stars. He would have the press feel the palsied touch of his life-destroying hand, and yet exhibit no sign of the deadly and venomous poison which it left behind it. So the present Governor General: he would pass laws to fetter all the energies of man; but he would not suffer these laws even to be spoken of, though no one could ever think of them but with such sentiments as these, so truly yet so mildly and respectfully expressed.[2] This allusion in the announce-

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[2] In a late account of a Tour in Germany, a spirited and excellent review of which appeared in the *Examiner* during the past month, we have a picture of the state of the press and of society in Austria, which is worth transcribing here, in order to show how truly despotism resembles itself in every country where it prevails.

'Of Austria—the despotic, leaden, edict-issuing Austria—the picture is sombre and complete. We wish, indeed, our limits would allow us to do it justice, both as it regards the lively picture of Vienna, and the social character of the population; but this will not be.—We cannot, however, avoid quoting the following passage:—

But though the Austrians have no great capacity for thinking, and a very great capacity for immorality and superstition, much of both must be ascribed to that total prostration of intellect which their Government inflicts upon them, a prostration which can never exist long, in the degree in which it exists in Vienna, without producing some degradation of the moral principle. The whole political system is directed, with prying and persecuting jealousy, to keep people in ignorance of all that goes on in the world, except what it suits the Cabinet to make known, and prevent people from thinking on what is known differently from the way in which the Cabinet thinks. All the modes of education are arranged on the same depressing principle of keeping the mind in such a state, that it shall neither feel the temptation, nor possess the ability, to resist power. During the Congress of Laybach, the Emperor said to the teachers of a public seminary, "I want no learned men; I need no learned men: I want men who will do what I bid them," or something to the same purpose, the most unfortunate words, for the honour of his throne, that could be put into the mouth of a Monarch. The principle is fully acted on in Vienna; over all knowledge and all thinking, on every thing public, and on every thing relating to the political events and institutions, not only of the Empire, but of all other countries, there "broods a darkness which may be felt;" nowhere will you find a more lamentable ignorance, or a more melancholy horror of being suspected of a desire to be wise above what is written down by the Editor of the Austrian Observer. Nothing is known but to official men; and the first official duty is to confine all knowledge within the official circle.—The Austrian police—*monstrum horrendum, ingens;* it cannot be added, *cui lumen ademptum*, for it has the eyes of an Argus, though no Mercury has yet been found to charm them to sleep, while he rescued manly thought and intellectual exertion from the brute form into which political jealousy has metamorphosed them. The French police under Napoleon was reckoned perfect; in efficiency, it could not possibly surpass that of Vienna, which successfully represses every expression of thought, by forcing on all the dead-

ment had no sooner reached the Governor General's ear, or perhaps he might have seen it for himself, than the letter for the immediate suppression of whatever papers might have been printed off for the following day was despatched to the Printer, late as it was on the sabbath night. Among the copies of the official correspondence that have reached us from India, this, from being, perhaps, addressed to the Printer, and not to the Editor of the Paper, is not included: or it may, possibly, be in some packet not yet arrived. We may infer, however, from the notification that followed, that this also contained a falsehood, an hypocritical assigning of any cause rather than the *true* one, and from the shame of avowing a disinclination to hear the late laws spoken of, affecting to raise some objections about the revival of the Paper under the same name, as if that could possibly have been an objection, or as if it would not, if it existed at all, have been urged at the first, and its abandonment or change made a condition of the revival in question. The Printer's announcement of this second suppression of the Paper is as follows:—

NOTICE.

The public are respectfully informed, that in consequence of a letter from the Chief Secretary to Government, received at a late hour yesterday evening,[3] by which it appears that some misconception exists as to the designation of the Paper intended to be published from the Columbian Press, the issue of the same is therefore deferred until this misapprehension is removed.

Calcutta Journal Office, Monday morning, Dec. 1, 1823.

We have received, among our papers, a copy of this suppressed Number; suppressed, be it understood, before it was issued, and before the Government could be fairly supposed to have any knowledge whatever

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ening conviction, that the eyes and ears of spies are every where. The consequences of a denunciation are secret arrest, secret imprisonment, and an unknown punishment. It can be tolerated in some measure, that spies should be placed in coffee-houses, in the apartments of Restaurateurs, or in places of public amusement; for on such occasions every sensible person, to whatever country he may belong, will be on his guard; but it is sickening when, even in private society, he must open his lips under the conviction that there may be a spy sitting at the same table with him. This is the case in Vienna to a very great extent. The efficacy of such a system depends on those who are its instruments being unknown; but if the Viennese themselves may be believed, not only men, but women too, and men and women of rank, are in the pay of the secret police. Among those whom you know to be your personal friends, if you indulge in a freedom of opinion on which you would not venture in more mixed society, they will draw back with a sort of apprehension, and kindly warn you of the danger to which you are exposing both them and yourself. This is true, not merely of what might be considered modes of thinking hostile to the whole frame of government, but it is equally so of individual acts of administration,—if you question, for instance, the propriety of punishing a public peculator, like T——, by dismissing him with a pension; or the purity of the motives which procured Count A—— his provincial government. The government is not even very fond that its measures should be praised; it is much better pleased that nothing be said about them at all.

'It is nothing after this to hear that Metternich promotes the *convenient husbands of accommodating wives* to governments, and to learn that Vienna forms another domain of Circe; but it is something, and something very inconsistent, to hear of the good, kind-hearted, simple character of the Emperor of Austria, who, presiding over this mass of suffocation *con amore*, is described as the most good-natured of men; for after hearing of such a state of things, we know of no epithets, but those of tyrant or simpleton, which can belong to him who presides over it.'

[3] This Chief Secretary, Mr. W. B. Bayley, once an advocate for the freedom, improvement, and colonization of India, when these doctrines were in fashion, in the height of Lord Hastings's popularity, is still a member of Bible, School, and Education Societies in India; and has a great, and perhaps deserved, reputation for *piety*. How this squares with his devoting the sabbath to such unholy purposes as this, he best can tell: perhaps he thinks the destruction of other men's property a good deed; and consoles himself with the saying, "It is lawful to do good on the sabbath day." An honest man, with Mr. Bayley's wealth, would not lend himself to any such measures as these, on any day of the week, but rather resign his office than execute them. If ten firm and upright men could be found to do this, and there are many rich enough to warrant such independence, India might yet be saved.

of it. But, as in Austria, so we know that in India there are spies; some, indeed, actually paid by the Government, in various favours for their time-serving and treacherous surveillance, but more perhaps serving to ingratiate themselves into place. One of the former was once detected in prowling about the office of the Calcutta Journal, and looking at the manuscript letters, &c. in the hands of the printers, but was thrust out from his infamous pursuit by the workmen themselves, who knew him to be an inferior copying clerk in Mr. Secretary Lushington's office, having come in on pretence of inquiring after some acquaintance. The latter are to be found in every circle,—male as well as female; and few things can be either said or done, that will not find their way through this medium to the ever open ears of authority. It has been suggested by one of our Indian Correspondents, (and he speaks as if he knew the fact) that one of the sheets of this Paper, which was prepared for a day or two before it was intended to be issued, had been surreptitiously conveyed to the Government; and that the following passages, contained in the second page, were those which had excited their ire, and made them prevent its appearance.

We have adverted to the most important events noticed in the latest papers which have reached India, the details of which are already before the public; though we have deemed it necessary to take a brief review of them in recommencing the Journal; and it only remains to observe, that we shall eagerly avail ourselves of those abundant resources which the judgment, taste, and zeal, of the principal proprietor of this Journal have already provided for us; and which will be, doubtless, increased and improved by his presence in the quarter whence the most valuable of them emanate.

On this auspicious day of the revival of the Journal, it will be gratifying to the friends of Mr. Buckingham, and to the supporters of this paper in general, to learn that the Sir Edward Paget, in which ship he sailed for England, had arrived there on the 12th of July. We may, therefore, hourly look for intelligence from him, and a commencement of the fulfilment of the hopes expressed above, of a continual supply of rich and varied information for our pages.

This, indeed, was something like a promise to the people of India, that they might expect to hear from their banished fellow-subject again; or, at all events, that his exertions would not be wanting to promote their gratification and their interests: and such a promise might have been safely made; for, as long as he has life and health, those among them who pant for freedom, shall not want an advocate. But, it was not to be borne, by a government of despots, (and that they are this, and glory in being so considered, we have the authority of the India House itself for declaring,) that the people should hear the name of one whom the Government had tried to crush, brought back to their remembrance, and especially when associated with eulogium. This must have been wormwood and gall to them: they wished their victim as dead to the memories of all men, as they could desire him to be in reality to their own: but this being impossible, it was necessary to declare it criminal to breathe it even in whispers, loud enough for any second person to hear. That might excite sympathy; sympathy begets union; and the union even of the hearts of the oppressed, is often death to the oppressors.

To continue the narrative—This second suppression of the Calcutta Journal happened on the 1st of December: and the pretence vaguely put forth, was some understood objection to the revival of the paper under the old name, the memory of which, it seems, it was wished might perish for ever: at the same time that the very measures taken to

effect this, was sure to cause it to be remembered still more. Had the objection *really* been to the name, it would have been distinctly stated, and some other name might have been chosen; but the hatred was more deeply seated than this. Accordingly, the whole of December and the whole of January was suffered to pass away in the ruinous procrastination of a matter that might have been definitively settled in an hour, as if for the express purpose of exhausting the only funds from which their victim had any hope of being able to draw a precarious subsistence. At last, as if in mockery of the enslaved and crouching state to which every Englishman in India was reduced by the degrading laws that had muzzled every tongue, and laid all men's faculties prostrate at the feet of power, "The Calcutta Journal," which had borne this unpretending name in the days of its greatest freedom, was to be called "The British Lion," when it dared no longer even *look* upon its keepers, in any free or inquiring manner, without a certainty of its being loaded with heavier and more galling fetters. This British Lion!—alas! how unlike the stately freedom with which that king of the forest ranges through the wide domain of nature, unawed by even the apprehension of restraint from man!—this British Lion was to succeed the Calcutta Journal; and, like any other spectre of a being now no more, to inspire, by its mere name, a fictitious reverence for its powers; though, like the lion in the play, its very roaring must have been gentle as the voice of any nightingale.[4]

The following are the official letters which passed on this memorable occasion; and we put them on record here, in order to complete the picture of folly to which they contribute the last touch:—

To W. B. Bayley, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government, &c.

Sir,

I beg the favour of your laying[5] the enclosed draft of agreement (making over to me the property of the Columbian Press, for a twelvemonth, by Messrs. Alexander and Co. the Agents of Mr. Buckingham, they having obtained also the sanction of the shareholders resident in Calcutta to that measure), and at the same time, to solicit from the Governor General in Council, the license applied for in my letter of November 28, 1823. Should the Government be satisfied with this draft, it shall be immediately engrossed and executed. The intimation I received from the Governor General, respecting a new name, by which the paper is to be designated, will be duly attended to; and should it meet the sense of Government, it is proposed to call it "The British Lion."

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

Calcutta, Jan. 29, 1824. W. P. Muston.

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4 *Theseus.*—I wonder if the lion be to speak?
Demetrius.—One lion may, when many asses do.——
Snout.—Will not the ladies be afeard of the lion?
Starveling.—I fear it, I promise you.
Bottom.—Masters, you ought to consider with yourselves: to bring in, God shield us! a lion among ladies, is a most dreadful thing; for there is not a more fearful wild fowl than your lion, living: and we ought to look to it.
Snout.—Therefore, another prologue must tell he is *not* a lion.
Bottom.—Nay, you must name his *name;* and *half* his face must be seen through the lion's neck: and he himself must speak through, saying thus, or to the same defect—" Ladies, or fair ladies, I would wish you, or request you, or I would entreat you, not to fear, not to tremble: my life for yours. If you think I come hither as a lion, it were pity of my life:—No; I am no such thing: I am a man as other men are;" and there, indeed, let him name his name; and tell them plainly, he is Snug the Joiner.—*Midsummer Night's Dream.*

5 Where, is not said—Before the Government, is meant.

Here, then, are proofs of two facts: first, that the original application for the license had been made as long ago as November; and that two whole months had been suffered to pass away in deliberation about a name; it being the Governor General himself, it seems, who raised the objection to the Paper being revived under its original title, and insisted on a new one.—It might have been called, "The Kou-tou," or "Chinese Gong," or "Yellow Bonze," or any other similarly suitable name: [6] but "The British Lion" was really the last that even the most discursive imagination could have hit upon, unless, indeed, it were in irony. The official answer, which was immediately returned to this modest application, was as follows:—

To W. P. Muston, Esq.

Sir, General Department.

I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, and of its enclosure.

2d. The temporary nature of the proposed arrangement, as described in those papers, does not afford any security that the control and influence of Mr. Buckingham, in the management of the paper, may not *again* be exercised, *at the expiration of one year*, to which only the engagement extends: and the Governor General in Council does not therefore deem it expedient to comply with the application submitted by you.

3. The draft of agreement, which was enclosed in your letter, is herewith returned.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. B. Bayley, Chief Sec. to Gov.

Council Chamber, Jan. 30, 1824.

Here, then, the cause of alarm is freely and frankly expressed: and this is a sufficient corroboration of the suggestion before offered, that it was the paragraph in the Journal, suppressed before it was issued, and quoted at page 56, giving the people of India reason to hope that Mr. Buckingham's exertions in England would still be directed to the interests of the Journal in India, which terrified the Government into the despatch of a dragoon on the Sunday at midnight, and the instant suppression of what they must have considered likely to set all India in

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[6] It may, perhaps, be numbered as one of the sins of the Calcutta Journal, that about five years before the present Governor General was even thought of as likely to occupy his present post, it contained, in a report of the proceedings at the last Westminster Election, the following, as a part of Mr. Cleary's Address to the Electors, in reference to a certain Chinese Embassy; of which, perhaps, this passage will be sufficient to revive the recollection:—"As to Captain Sir Murray Maxwell (said the speaker), it might be necessary to examine into the claims which he had on the electors of Westminster. The most prominent claim, it seems, was, that he went on a fool's errand to China. His Chinese Majesty, according to the account given by the Yellow Bonze of Japan, was so much surprised at the absurdity of the visit, that he insisted on the gallant Captain knocking his head nine times on the ground, to ascertain whether he had any brains. The Captain, however, declined to satisfy his Chinese Majesty of the fact, and refused to indulge him with the hollow sound, which he appeared apprehensive that the experiment would produce. Now, whether he had brains, or was conscious of the hollow sound, certain it was, that on hearing a Chinese gong, the gallant Captain, in a state of alarm, though with little policy, opened his fire to oppose a danger which had no existence but in his own weak and affrighted imagination. And, in order to convince the people of England of the propriety of the opinion which his Chinese Majesty entertained respecting the want of brains, he still ventures to expose himself to the disapprobation of Westminster, in the hope—the groundless hope of an unsuccessful pursuit." If we were to say, Mutato nomine, &c. it might be objected to. As it stands, however, it is the gallant Captain only who is spoken of; and no one can think otherwise.

a flame!—Oh! great and magnanimous rulers! Oh! wise and imperturbable statesmen! swaying the destinies of a hundred millions of men, with arms in their hands, and paralyzed with terror at seeing the very name of a single individual who has no weapon for the combat but his pen! Oh! brave and undaunted governors, that cannot even face an enemy, separated by a broad ocean, and at a distance of many thousand miles; but after bringing all the powers of the state to crush him on the spot, are again thrown into a panic of alarm, lest, "*after the expiration of one year*," his control and influence might be again exercised in the management of his own affairs!—Oh! the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of the Sages of the East! The escape of Napoleon from St. Helena, could not inspire greater consternation than this.

We hasten to the result.—During all this procrastination and delay, one great object of the Government was attained, in granting time for the subscribers to the Journal to be dispersed to other papers: one of which, the Bengal Hurkaru, a paper of very inferior circulation before, but the only daily one, except the John Bull, that then remained, nearly quadrupled it numbers: and Dr. Abel, Lord Amherst's physician, who was prevented by influence from editing the Calcutta Journal, as the profits would then still have been retained to its original proprietor, became engaged to conduct the Hurkaru, on a scale of remuneration which should increase with its progressive increase of sale: so that Dr. Abel's patrons could not render him a more essential service than by preventing the revival of the suppressed paper, until he had secured to his own, the highest circulation which the wants and means of the society would admit. If this transfer of one man's property into the pockets of another be not robbery, we know not by what name it should be called. It may be *legal*; that we do not dispute: legality and wrong are often more closely allied than mankind are generally disposed to believe;—but that it is unjust we will maintain with our latest breath.

The disclosures of "falsehood and iniquity," which we have here made, and supported too by proof, will be sufficient to enable our readers to judge, whether there be malice, personal vengeance, and a determination to destroy the property of a proscribed individual, or not. If they can reconcile such proceedings as these, with a sense of public duty alone, we can only say, we envy them their happy credulity. We shall content ourselves for the present with laying the facts before them, up to the period of the last letter being written; and shall not fail to keep them equally well informed of all ulterior proceedings that may come to our knowledge.

THE FORTUNATE ISLANDS.[1]

STRUGGLING with storms and fate the Roman stood
Upon his galley's deck, and viewed the sea
Far westward stretching its impetuous flood—
Full sad he looked, and thought on Italy!

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[1] See Plutarch's Life of Sertorius, and the Odyssey, lib. iv.

Hid in that vasty ocean where might be
Some isle, he thought, where on earth's gentle breast,
The world forgot and its vain pageantry,
The troubled soul might taste of golden rest,
Through soft Elysian scenes free wandering like the blest.

His shattered fleet far tossing on the wave,
His care-worn crews with lightning-flashing eye,
Yet unsubdued by toil, and fiercely brave
Prepared with him to dare the fight, or fly
To distant lands beneath some unknown sky:
And, as they meditate, across the deep
Swift as an arrow moving they descry
A little bark, round which the surges leap,
As wild hounds bay a fawn that strong enchantments keep

From their fell jaws: th' imperial galley now
The bark draws near, and waits some friendly sign;
Sertorius, standing on the brazen prow,
Beckons them welcome, and th' assisting line
Secures their bark, which they with joy resign,
To mingle with their wondering countrymen:
Then follow friendly greetings, and the wine
Of rich Hesperia tells them once again
What golden shores they touch, what purple hills they ken.

Then comes their tale: how in the distant sea
Lie happy isles unvexed by angry Jove;
Along their cliffs the shepherd wanders free,
While perfumed gales the silver billows move
Like music in the haunts the Syrens love;
And all around the landscape lies like heaven,
Blue mountains, amber streams, and nymphs that rove
Unclad through sunny glades, or meadows even,
Plucking the ruddy fruit which Nature's hand has given.

There rage no storms, nor hail nor snows descend,
But spring eternal smiles, and crowns the plain
With flowers and spreading trees, whose branches bend
With golden autumn's spoil, and yellow grain
Aye tempt the sickle of the reaper train,
Who chant their rustic songs midst labour light,
Nor know the approach of sickness or of pain;
But when the Fates to quit the scene invite,
Sink to the peaceful tomb, and welcome endless night.

This, and much more, th' experienced warrior heard,
And sighed for peace upon that happy shore,
Where no bold demagogue false prayers preferred
To heaven; where war was never heard to roar
Her thunders, or, with hands distained in gore,
O'erturn proud cities in the soiling dust:
Wafting his train the willing ocean o'er,
There might he hope to live serene and just,
Giving the spear and shield to time's devouring rust.

False dreams!—amongst his gallant troop were found,
Who sought nor peace nor happiness, but gold!
These threw his noble project to the ground,
And flew to combat in a tyrant's hold.
Incensed he followed, and a hundred fold
On their own heads repaid their treachery;
But deep he fell, 'tis fate that gives the mould
To human acts, in vain imagined free,
Aye moving in the track where fortune bids them be!

Bion.

THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. 6.—*The London Magazine.*

MAGAZINES in general have, as far as we can discover, but one aim, and that may as well be left unstated: the reader will but too readily perceive what it is. Their means are various. Some are coarse and violent; some devout; some addicted exclusively to the abuse of foreign literature, and to the praises of our own; some are fine and finicking; and there are others too equivocal to allow any general characteristic of them to be given. All find readers among the vast population of these realms. It is observable, however, that of so many works not one has a direct tendency to nourish the thinking principle in youth, to disencumber the mind of prejudices, to sharpen the judgment, to rouse the faculty of invention. On the contrary, the mind is placed, like a victim in the ancient sacrifices, in the midst of rank perishable garlands, and attempted to be rendered quiescent by a never-ceasing supply of such meretricious finery. But as the heart may be sad and solitary in the most crowded cities; so the mind may pine and fall to decay in the very throng and press of innutritious and noxious ideas. Our superfluity, as Lord Bacon observes, may be in this case the cause of our poverty. Retailing ideas at second-hand, is mistaken for thinking; and as that art is not difficult, demanding no invention and little judgment, the labour, which those who really think undergo, becomes by degrees irksome or insufferable, and the mind, by relaxing its exertions and lowering its views, grows really weak and contemptible. To prove the full force of this truth, let the reader of such works imagine himself stripped of every notion and opinion, and cut off from all relation to every truth, which he has not gained or examined for himself; let him call his tastes and preferences in question, and try if he can trace the path by which they got footing in his mind; let him think, too, if (for him only) time were to roll on his centuries rapidly, and place him in the midst of new generations, how he would justify those opinions and convictions which he now takes for unquestionable truths. It is probable that a contemplation of this kind, indulged for one hour, would shake the pillars of his literary creed; and make him feel the necessity of having recourse to other teachers than those he has been accustomed to reverence. It is a principle in the human mind to abhor servitude, and to spurn even the appearance of being (to borrow an expressive phrase from the vulgar) "led by the nose;" and for this reason we may be sure that all those who adopt the fashionable cant of their times, possess sufficient ingenuity to persuade themselves that they only indulge their own opinions. It is a sad, but common deception; it is pleasant to readers, and profitable to writers, because it flatters the vanity of the former, and hides the insufficiency of the latter: for who would write, if it were previously necessary to have something new and useful to communicate? Such a preliminary would strike an atrophy into common periodical lucubrations, and condemn loads of printed paper to remain on the hands of the booksellers; to the great loss, according to Mr. Burke, of a useful body of men.

But (unless we are deceived in the "signs of the times,") a different

spirit is gaining ground amongst the public. The sounding rhetoric, which, up to this moment, some people mistake for fine writing, is beginning to be suspected of being little better than a "tinkling cymbal," and the gothic extravagance of the barbarous ages of our literature, which, like a dead criminal, had been animated by a kind of galvanic process, only terrified us for a moment, and then passed away to the "things beyond the flood."

In this unnatural revival, however, of a defunct taste, the London Magazine was a conspicuous accomplice, although it came but late into the business. The "Age of Elizabeth" occupied very constantly one spare corner or another of its early numbers; and as a concomitant was found, most plentiful abuse of all those who had the misfortune to differ with this new oracle of taste. The gentleman who then conducted it had conceived a violent antipathy to French literature, particularly to works distinguished by correct taste and liberal sentiments; his criticisms and opinions were marked by petulance as well as hostility; and, being apparently without any just standard by which to measure the energies of his contemporaries, he was perpetually guilty of the wildest and most unjust decisions respecting their merits and defects. The opinions which this writer put forth on the poems of Mr. Keats were among the most extravagant that had ever been submitted to the public: poetry was changed in his mind from "the language of the gods," to the incoherency of a dream, and gorgeous folly was mistaken for grandeur. Singularity is in general honourable to men of genius, because it proves that they possess the force of mind necessary to free themselves from the yoke of prejudice; but when this singularity arises, not from any superiority of mind, not even from any peculiar bias of character, but from a vain endeavour to rouse the attention of mankind, then it becomes the duty of all plain and unsophisticated men to treat it as it really deserves. Nor should any man escape the just censures of his contemporaries, by taking shelter in the seeming irresponsibility of a class; for a weak writer is not the less ridiculous because he may herd with a hundred others of the same stamp. These remarks apply to the majority of the early contributors to this magazine. Those writers had observed that as far back as they could remember, judicious and thinking men had been accustomed to look upon Pope as a good translator, and a great poet; upon Voltaire as, at least, a fine critic and great philosopher; upon Racine as a dramatic poet, if not equal to Shakespeare and the Greek tragedians, superior to any others that could be named. This was not to be endured; for could it be supposed that critics fresh from the green-room, the cock-pit, or the boxing-ring, should be disposed to admire a man like Pope, whose legs were much too weak and small to allow him to be a poet;[1] and as to Voltaire and Racine, it was quite sufficient that they had been born on the wrong side of St. George's Channel; for it had long been an understood thing among the small critics we are speaking of, that *imagination* was not to be found out of the fogs and flats of England. But let the reader take their opinions in their own words; and lest we should be suspected of having taken them from the *honourable* testimonies of their ancient prototypes prefixed to the Dunciad (whence we shrewdly

[1] The fashionable cant is, that his delicate constitution would not allow him to be sufficiently abroad to observe nature.

suspect these gentlemen borrowed this kind of erudition), we will be careful in noting the volume and page. "Pope is full of sound and fury, and means nothing."[2] "Pope's muse never wandered with safety, but from his library to his grotto, or from his grotto into his library *back again*."[3] Voltaire was unlucky enough not to admire *the whole* of Shakespeare, and it is perhaps true that he undervalued him upon the whole, and this was a sad thing no doubt. The French philosopher entertained, it seems, an especial antipathy to witchcraft and ghosts; which being the case, it was not to be expected that he should suddenly become reconciled to such unnatural machinery, upon meeting it in Shakespeare. The London Magazine, however, in its collective wisdom, was highly incensed at discovering in a foreigner so abominable a heresy, and thus vents its bursting spleen upon the good old gentleman of Ferney, the friend of toleration and mildness. "This then is the operation of the '*saine philosophie*' on poetry! and it evinces as much *knowledge*, and as much integrity in its operations on *other matters*. We may affirm it, then, from this specimen, to be *blind as the beetle* to the nobler *impulses of man's immortal nature; grovelling as the muck-worm in its self-conceit; and spiteful as the adder* against beauties of which it cannot but perceive the existence. There are about equal proportions of *malevolent* and of *dull misrepresentation* in Voltaire's version"[4] (of a passage of Shakespeare which had been cited.) This is very *decorous* and very *modest* from the pen of the author of a 'Visit to Paris,' and of sundry articles and critiques in various magazines! But we must reserve our remarks until we have added to the above, the equally new and ingenious account of Racine's poetry and genius, which is to be found in the London. "What success a translator of Racine into our vernacular tongue would meet with, I leave you to guess. His tragedies are not poetry—are not passion—are not imagination: they are a parcel of set speeches; of epigrammatic conceits; of declamatory phrases; without any of the glow, and *glancing rapidity, and principle of fusion* in the mind of the poet, to *agglomerate them into grandeur*, or blend them into harmony. The principle of the imagination *resembles the emblem of the serpent*," (if we were in the habit of proposing riddles to our readers, we might choose this as a good one,) "by which the ancients typified wisdom and the universe, with undulating folds, for ever varying, and for ever flowing into itself,—*circular, and without beginning or end*." [In which we think it resembled the writer's wits.] "The definite, the fixed, is death; the principle of life is the indefinite, the growing, the moving, the continuous. But every thing in French poetry is cut up into shreds and patches, *little flowers of poetry*, with tickets and labels to them, as when the daughters of *Jason*[5] *minced and hacked their old father into collops*,"—[and stuck *tickets* and *labels* on the pieces, we presume!—Oh! the height and depth of those critics.] This tissue of unintelligible absurdity is put into the mouth of Coleridge; but it is of little consequence who wrote or uttered it, nothing but real ignorance could have given birth to such intolerable nonsense. Where, for example, did he

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[2] Lond. Mag. vol. ii. p. 301. [3] Ib. iii. 606. [4] Ib. ib. p. 129.

[5] An amusing writer, this! who would have thought to have had Medea transformed into the daughter of Jason! But there is no longer any faith in mythology.

learn that it is the *principle of fusion* which *draws things together* (agglomerates) into grandeur?—and who told this writer that Jason was minced *to collops* by his daughters, when he was old,—he who died young by the hands of his wife, and had no daughters above the age of infancy?—but, to let this pass, will any one believe that he had ever read 'Athalie,' or 'Iphigénie en Aulide;' tragedies in which the soul, if the phrase be allowable, is bent backward and forward by emotion, and shaken, like a reed before the tempest? The true source, however, of these false judgments, is poverty of intellect; the critics were completely inadequate to comprehend the characters of the authors whom they presumed to judge; and, in their hatred, only dealt random strokes at phantoms of their own creating.

But it is impossible to go through the publication in this manner; our views must be more general; and they should have been altogether so, had it been practicable, without entering into particulars, to give a just idea of the execution and character of the work. Had we any other object in view than to counteract, as far as may be in our power, the evil tendency of a great portion of our periodical literature, we might content ourselves with amusing generalities, and touch upon those subjects only, concerning which we might be sure the reader would be prepared to allow every proposition we should advance. With far the greater portion of our contemporaries, this we know is the practice. It must doubtless be rewarded with some degree of success. The only misfortune is, that nothing is thereby gained by the public; which, when reading degenerates into a mere amusement, is sure, on the contrary, to be a constant loser; for as happiness, which mankind are agreed in considering the most desirable thing, can never be promoted by lessening and weakening the energies of a people, it is quite clear that whatever tends to make men sedentary, without at the same time rendering them wiser, is a practice pernicious to individuals and the state; and calculated to induce the most fatal indifference to the great interests of humanity. It is better, therefore, to be the well-wisher than the flatterer of the public; to say what may be of use, rather than what may be only agreeable. If the useful can be likewise rendered agreeable, as it generally may, so much the better, for all parties are gainers; but where truth and popularity run in different paths, it is disgraceful to quit the former that the latter may greet us with a smile.

The aim of the London Magazine is mere popularity. The character of its readers it looks upon as a matter of little consequence, provided they be numerous, and not difficult to please. This may be clearly and indisputably inferred from its gladiator-propensity to *fighting* and *fighters*. No respectable publication of the day has been so conspicuous for this sort of taste, or attempted to conceal its perversity with so much industry and ingenuity. Men of dignified minds, though by no means fastidious, or disposed to view the amusements of the vulgar with a stoical or cynical eye, can never consent, notwithstanding, to see the ruffianly avocations of the Fives-court attempted to be exalted, by the forlorn hope of literature, into a subject of thought for the youth of a free country. They can least of all tolerate such a practice in a work occasionally pretending to purity of sentiment, and given to animadvert with severity on the slightest tinge of heterodoxy in opinion. The brutal amusements of that class of persons who are styled *the Fancy*, are a

reproach to civilization; as they appear to have done no more than collect the bloody and fierce propensities of human nature into one foul current, which, running constantly in our sight, keeps up a memento of the state of moral degradation, from which philosophy has raised some of us. Those who preserve and endeavour to perpetuate a taste for spectacles of this kind, are men in whom the appetites of the savage triumph over reason and knowledge; and, becoming allied to certain capacities created by the progress of society, acquire a moral aspect which resembles that of a Huron dressed in the garb of a fine gentleman. Pure literature has a strong tendency to abate our evil inclinations, and is the aptest instrument that wisdom can employ in erecting a correct taste and moral character among a people; but it has been found capable also of answering other ends. The energies of the mind are moved and fashioned by literature; but to marshal them in due order, compare them among themselves, and turn them into the only channel through which they can flow, with profit and safety, to the true end of existence, is what requires something more excellent, permanent, independent. This requisite is philosophy. We are aware, however, that an objectionable meaning has been affixed to this term, and that the majority has been taught to regard it, as a wild young lady may be supposed to regard her governess, with an angry and unwilling reverence, and a secret repugnance to endure her company. But in ages of tolerable refinement, some kind of knowledge and many kinds of amusement are reckoned necessary by all the respectable ranks of life; and those species are preferred which ask the least labour and application. Hence arises the necessity for such publications as the London Magazine. They may be considered as *panoramic* glimpses of the intellectual and moral world; or, rather, of so much of it as may come under the observation of one age; and these are passed before the eye so rapidly, that the traces they leave upon the mind resemble the faint lines and imperfect words which we discover on an ancient map, which damp and time have conspired to obliterate. The interests of arts and knowledge require that men should parcel out the great domain of science and literature among them, and pursue each a separate path; and also that there should be a few so totally abstracted from all other pursuits that their whole souls might be given up to study. But the publication before us is made up, in the main, of the light and sketchy effusions of men of business, occasionally affecting the tone of persons of the polite world, who turn to literature as a tolerable invention for killing time; or of such as cultivate letters for the mere purposes of trade, valuing an essay, or an article, according to the price it will command. But articles have from time to time appeared in it, which must by no means be classed with the above.—Amongst these are to be reckoned 'Table Talk,' the 'Confessions of an English Opium Eater,' the greater part of the papers signed *Elia*, and a few others. Being the productions of persons of real talent, they harmonize but ill with the trash that surrounds them, and look like doors of marble to a hovel. 'Tis these articles only that have given a character of respectability to the work, and as often as it contains pieces of a similar nature, it will certainly deserve, in spite of its general tendency, to be looked into by men of sense.

But even in the writers of such essays as we have been speaking of with praise, there may be discovered a want of consistency and specific aim: the subject immediately before them appears to have been consi-

dered abstracted from all relation to the general interests of humanity; enthusiasm for the good of mankind appears to be repressed by a kind of affected indifference, as if it really were beneath a wit of these days to be solicitous for the spread of sound thinking and liberal opinions. One writer, who formerly contributed to the work, formed, notwithstanding, a very honourable exception. It is exceedingly pleasant to see him wrestle with prejudice, dart a keen shaft at political corruption, or pull the lion's skin from a boasting pretender to wit and eloquence. As an example, let the reader turn to the article 'On the Difference between Speaking and Writing';[6] the spirit of the whole is so good, the reasoning so true, the application so practical, that we doubt whether many better pieces of the kind could be found in our periodical literature. The author's account of Burke and Lord Chatham is really exquisite; and worth a thousand dissertations on 'Roast Pig,'[7] or 'Reveries on Dream-children,' although these latter are by a very approved writer. The author of Table Talk, indeed, is quite a master in parliamentary sketches, and, if for these only, will deserve to be long remembered by his countrymen. But what are these few excellent essays in the great mass of the London Magazine?

That which constitutes a great proportion of the charm that in the writings of men of genius is so powerfully captivating, is that close sympathy which the reader discovers between the strokes of the author and the responses of his own heart, which follow each proposition as an echo; this it is that justifies us in saying that *we loved* this or that writer; for a principal ingredient of love is sympathy. We fear there are few qualities in the Periodical before us having any tendency to give rise to this amiable feeling. The quaint wit of Elia, when it was in its best days (which, alas! have long passed away), was not calculated to inspire much sympathy with its author. It was hardly natural. You could not forbear considering it as the ghost of a former age, evoked by the force of imitation from the ancient folios where it had lain quietly in "its cearments," and made to stalk about on the platform of literature, to be freely spoken to by none but scholars. Elia must pardon us, but there was always an unpleasant feeling mingled with the respect we paid him. While we strolled along with him through the deserted rooms of the South Sea House, or smiled at him devouring his dainties in the dusky cloisters of Christ's, there was still a whispering repugnance at the bottom of our heart, which indicated but too plainly that he was not the man with whom we could have "the same desires and the same aversions." We were always glad to meet Elia, but so were we also to part with him. He always disappointed us. The secret cause of this was his want of earnestness and enthusiasm, his weak passions, his pretty but finicking touches of nature, his predilection for the odd, the curious, the *caricature*, in short, of every thing that can be thought of. It was a recommendation to Elia's papers that they were short, and extremely pretty pieces of variety for a periodical. Every body looked blank when Elia's name was not seen in the table of contents—they would have looked more blank had they discovered twenty pages of his. It was good policy in him not to give himself in full length:—his bust was quite

[6] Lond. Mag. vol. ii. p. 22.
[7] Vide articles on those *agreeable* subjects, by Elia, in the London Magazine.

enough. Not so with the author of Table Talk. His essays overflow with feeling, he has enthusiasm, he has experience of men, he has good strong taste, he has the results and materials of thinking: what he seemed to want was art and method; but this in a periodical may hardly be considered a fault; and it is very certain that its absence in this writer was little lamented by those who could relish the excellencies that covered the deficiency. The Opium Eater was strictly methodical; his knowledge and power much superior to his taste, which we think is tainted with strong mysticism, and a hankering for the gloom and *diablerie* of the Germans. Nevertheless his 'Confessions' are very fine, and should be preserved as an interesting picture of a mind and fancy singularly diseased.

These, however, are distinct personages from the real London Magazine *coterie*, whose calibre may be found in the laughable impertinence of the "Lion's Head." Here the editors exult over the dulness of their correspondents, many of whom are, we fear, of their own creating. Here we have all the peculiar flippancy of a novice in the art and mystery of wit, darting about its tiny arrows as a boy blows bubbles at the sun; and all this under the full persuasion that the public must be highly interested in its skirmishes with those ideal phantoms, which it thinks proper to exhibit with the *humorous* appellations of Mr. B. W. or Miss R. H. The "Lion's Head" is a treasury of lame wit, and self-approving petulance, and is as good as those signs we see over some of our London shops, signifying the sort of articles which may be had within. Its writers must be happy men! for it is self-evident that they believe themselves to be among the first persons of the age. This, indeed, appears to be the secret creed of the majority of those who contribute to the publication. Hear one of them speak of Lord Byron:—

"It was a foolish and very wrong thing to write the Farewell,"—but—"to say the truth, we long to see Lord Byron amongst us, stripped of all the adventitious, and, we must call them, *surreptitious advantages*, as an author, which he has derived from being considered as too bad for repentance, and too desperate to be pitied."—"In our view of the matter, Lord Byron's serious poetry is of a much more deleterious tendency than his late compositions, professing levity of purpose. The former is calculated *to introduce disease into the heart*, through admiration excited in favour of false and hateful qualities of character: the latter address themselves only to the unscrupulous, and the experienced. To regard *what is improper* in them with *approbation*, would bespeak previous corruption. *But the first ruin taste, infect feeling, and unsettle principle;* what is showy in them wins and perverts; what is pathetic softens towards temptation; what is horrible familiarizes with evil, and misrepresents nature."—"His pieces are indeed of a 'mingled yarn': the coarse is mixed with the fine; the subtlest texture with the veriest botchwork.—*We would point out to his Lordship's serious reflection,*" &c.

In this last member of a sentence, we have the whole reason of the previous rhodomontade. What does giving advice in things of this nature imply?—Superiority in the adviser. What a triumph, therefore, to be able to "point out to Lord Byron's *serious reflection*," sundry faults and imperfections, which it was quite impossible he should ever see without such friendly assistance!—But this is the way in which they affect to speak of our great writers. Criticism degenerates into an attempted display of superiority; and, by aiming at metaphysical subtlety, without a competent knowledge of the principles of metaphysics, becomes by degrees a jumble of contradictions.

To conclude what we have to say:—the London Magazine has lost some of its best contributors, but still continues to be an amusing work. Its effect on literature, so far as it has any effect, is not good; it tends to sink it into trifling and insignificance; to bring down all subjects to the same level; to induce writers to view that public with contempt, which ought to be an object of reverence to them; and, lastly, by an injudicious method of bestowing praise, to rouse one's indignation against even good writers themselves. It has two classes of contributors—men who have written too much, and youths who have thought too little; but it is equally true that it occasionally brings forward pieces of extremely fine writing, as must always be the case with a publication which is tolerably open to the productions of merit.

WILD FLOWERS.

Gently to the passing wind
 The wild heath turns her rustling bells,
But at its root the linnets find
 A shelter when the tempest swells:
Humble virtue thus appears,
 When the storms of fortune blow,
Soothing soft our bitter fears,
 Though we thought her poor and low.

Like a nun the yellow bloom
 On the prickly furze is seen,
Fenced and guarded for the tomb,
 Till scattered by the breezes keen;
Never plucked to match the rose
 On the bosom of the fair;
But on its green intrenchment grows,
 A mark for every ruder air.

On some far corner of a waste,
 The fragrant haunt of wandering bees,
Like a secluded people placed,
 One oft a knot of wild-flowers sees:
Bending o'er the mossy sward,
 There the harebells kiss the breeze,
While, in the silent distance heard,
 The lone brook bubbles near the trees.

The violet too, untouched by art,
 Filled with dew lies drooping there—
How sweet, from eating cares apart,
 Their soft tranquillity to share!
With some ancient book in hand,
 On the fragrant turf reclined,
'Tis also sweet with visions bland
 To soothe the much-distempered mind.
Summer, long extend thy reign,
And keep these pleasures in thy train!

NEW ALGEBRAIC TEST FOR ASCERTAINING THE MERITS OF EAST INDIA DIRECTORS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, Addiscombe, Aug. 2. (N. B. *Black Monday!*)

THE writer of the Letters to Sir Charles Forbes, on the stoppage of all communication of thought between man and man in India, has laid down, in his 88th proposition, Letter II. a *canon* or rule, for estimating the comparative values of India Directors in terms of years, which, it appears to me, may hereafter be applied with considerable practical utility, as a standard for estimating the pretensions of candidates for the Direction, and that with tolerable approximation to correctness.

This writer does not seem, however, to be familiar with the mathematics, particularly those branches of mixed science, which enable statesmen to apply, as Condorcet and the French philosophers did, scientific formulas of calculation to the chances and events of political life.

As I confess myself struck with the ingenuity of the writer's hypothesis, and its evident applicability to much of the ignorance and prejudice which prevail concerning India, in quarters where such discreditable qualities ought least to be seen, permit me, Sir, in the valuable pages of your compilation, to attempt developing the crude conceptions of Sir Charles Forbes's correspondent; perhaps I should rather say, permit me to reduce to a regular formula, and a shape applicable to practice, the proposition of that writer.

The problem proposed, is to find the real value of the alleged Indian experience of any Director who has visited that country.

The Letter-writer avers, that the progress of a colony like India, is, in twenty years, equal to that of an *old* mother country in a century.

Hence, that a man who has been absent from the said colony for twenty years, is no fitter to judge of its condition, feelings, opinions, &c. than the SPECTATOR would be to write a HERMIT IN LONDON, if the "Spectator" could be supposed to rise from his grave so to do.

This last notion is a mere rhetorical flourish: science has nothing in common with ADDISONS and M'DONOUGHS! For our purpose, the *figures* of the previous paragraph, namely, 20 years for the colony, and 100 years for the old country, are sufficient; we require no illustrations or comparisons.

The Q. E. D. then, of the writer, is, that the Director who has left India a given number of years ago, is as unfit to judge of the state of men and things there, at any *present* assumed time, as an English statesman would be, to step on any fine morning into the Cabinet Council, take his seat, and discuss men and measures in Europe, after having been in his grave, or exiled to some infinitely remote region, for a term of years, about five times as great as that of the supposed period of the given Director's absence from India.

To reduce the above reasoning into strict algebraic form, we have—

$$x = y - \frac{a\,c}{p}.$$

where a, is the elapsed period of the supposed Director's absence from India.

p, the expression of the supposed progress of the colony, in a given number of years.

c, the rate of advancement of the old country, in a given time (a century, I suppose), while the colony makes the same progress in a *smaller* number of years.

y, the particular year of our Lord Christ, in which the calculation is supposed to be made; and,

x, the result; or the unknown quantity, expressing the fitness of the given Director, in years of our Lord, previous to the present time.

To illustrate the above general enunciation by a *particular* enunciation:—

Let $a = 7$ years (supposed length of time since any Mr. A. left India).

Let $p = 20$ years, as laid down by the writer of the Letter to Sir C. Forbes.

And $c = 100$ years, or the rate of advancement in an *old* country equal to 20 years in the *new*.

$$\text{Then, as, } p : c :: a : \frac{a\,c}{p};$$

$$\text{Or, as } 20 : 100 :: 7 : \frac{7 \times 100}{20} = 35.$$

$$\text{And, } \overline{y - \frac{a\,c}{p}} = x;$$

$$\text{Or, } 1824 - 35 = 1789:$$

$$\text{Therefore, } x = 1789.$$

The result of this investigation, therefore, proves that a Director, who has been seven years from India, knows about as much of the actual state of society there, or of men's minds and feelings, and is about as well qualified to judge of the fitness of Governors, the propriety of their acts, or the suitableness of such acts to those with whom they have to deal, as a worthy ex-statesman, dead and buried in 1789, would be to judge of the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers in England, under existing circumstances of society here, and political phases of affairs in Europe, if the said defunct were suddenly to burst his cearments, arise from his sarcophagus in Westminster Abbey, and so resuscitated, to proceed to take his place in the Council Chamber at Carlton Palace; or at a Cabinet meeting in Downing-street, to settle our bickerings with the Holy Alliance, or to draw up instructions for our non-descript agents to the Spanish American States.

Only fancy, Sir, the excellent fitness for such things, of a statesman of 1789—the period when the French Revolution was on the point of explosion; when a squabble with Spain about an acre or two of American *ice* at Nootka Sound was enough to bring us to the verge of war with that jealous colonial power, now stripped of them all, by her own mad insolence!

It is evident that this *canon* may be applied to any given case of a Director, or other individual of Leadenhall-street, claiming credit for local experience. You have only to vary the quantity $a =$ the number of years' absence, and y, the actual "*Anno Domini*," when you have the *real* value of the boasted experience, by the above theorem. I need not point out to a gentleman of your discernment, the amusing applications that might thus be made of this discovery of a Directorial Algebraic Test. Yours, FLUENT.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

Our facetious, though strictly mathematical correspondent, has hit upon a fertile theme for some of the most useful anecdotes that could be presented to the public eye. What, for instance, could be more entertaining, as well as instructive, than taking the Yellow Book containing the List of India Directors—(the parties who figure in which are not much unlike the Yellow Admirals that we hear of in the navy, who are laid by on the shelf as useless and inefficient)—and with a double column ruled for the purpose, placing on the one side the names of the actual Directors, with the dates of their appointments; and on the other, the name of some individual, long since dead and forgotten, with whom, in point of fitness from experience, such Director might be fairly compared. To begin with the venerable Mr. Bosanquet, and the veteran Mr. Elphinstone; the former becoming a Director in 1782, and the latter in 1786; being therefore, according to the scale of our correspondent FLUENT, about as fit to direct the affairs of India, at this period, as any two men, who lived respectively 200 and 170 years ago, would be to navigate a ship on the present improved system of nautical science; or direct the construction of a steam-engine. If such a list could be accompanied with biographical sketches of the individuals named; not merely laudatory apologies, but bold and spirited delineations of their weakness and incapacity as public men—for with private life we have no desire to intermeddle; it would be as useful as it would be entertaining; and if some able hand will undertake the task, we will take care that his confidence shall not be betrayed, and that his labours shall be adequately rewarded.

SONNET.—ON LEAVING INDIA.

Now for green-budding hopes, and fancy's flowers,
That would not flourish o'er thy sterile soil,
Grave of the Wanderer! where disease and toil
Have swept their countless slaves. Though danger lowers
Above mine homeward path, no shade o'erpowers
The soul's exulting day-dreams. Love's sweet smile,
And Friendship's fervent voice so void of guile,
Delight and cheer the visionary hours!
Hail! twilight memories of past delight!
Hopes of the future blending in my dreams!
Your mingled forms of loveliness and light,
Fair as the summer morning's orient gleams,
Chase the dull gloom of sorrow's cheerless night,
And gild the soul with bliss-reviving beams! R.

CAUSES AND CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT WAR WITH THE ASHANTEES.

War, even when carried on between those nations of Europe which claim for themselves exclusively the appellation of civilized, and when conducted on principles imbued with some slight tinge of humanity, is yet deservedly regarded as the most dreadful scourge of the human race. For the glory of a few—for the mere idle breath of an empty fame to a fortunate commander, thousands are devoted to misery and to destruction, and thousands more are doomed to share, in some degree, the consequences of their ruin. These dreadful results of the caprice, the avarice, or the ambition of individuals, may, however, be esteemed as light inflictions, when compared with those which occur in countries distant from Europe, In other climes, and especially in Africa, war assumes but too frequently the character of utter extermination, and the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, marks the course of the conquering army, which, still thirsting after blood, proceeds without ceasing in this dreadful career, until vengeance is at length wearied into forbearance. With an enemy of this ferocious character, a handful of our countrymen are at present engaged in the operations of defensive war; an enemy, whose tenderest mercies have hitherto been limited to the sparing of the unarmed; but who has constantly, even in his least savage moments, sacrificed every armed individual who had fallen within his power. That this may be, ere long, that it may even already have been, the fate of our few unfortunate countrymen on the Gold Coast, is dreaded by all; every one has heard of, and has lamented the melancholy end of Sir Charles M'Carthy, the active, intelligent, and able Governor of the British forts along the coast. What may be the doom of the survivors we almost dread to inquire; what succour, what relief, they are to expect from the Government at home, we know not; we know not whether it has been decided to support them by the transmission of a sufficient force, or whether means are to be adopted for their removal from a scene of so much horror. Surely they are not to be left to their own unaided resources. This would be indeed to cast them into the lion's den; and some there are, we fear, among them who, not so spotless as the prophet, could not rely upon their innocence to deliver them. If such a one there be, who, from motives of personal interest and individual advancement, has thrown oil upon the smouldering embers of discord, and kindled them into a flame, how dreadful must be his feelings at the present moment, and how severe and heavy a retribution must he not suffer for the misery he has caused! We will not, however, anticipate; but proceed to give a brief notice, derived from a work just published by Mr. Dupuis, of the principal events which preceded the attack of the Ashantees on the British residents on the Gold Coast. The details of the occurrences which succeeded, are already but too well known.

The British settlements on the Gold Coast consist of eight forts, which possessed, in 1819, a population of forty-five white inhabitants. These are erected in towns, lying chiefly within the territories which formerly belonged to the Fantees; and for which, a ground rent, as it

may be termed, was secured to the Government of that nation, by notes under the hands of the respective English Governors, who held their appointments from the Royal African Company. On the invasion, however, of the Fantee country, in 1807, by the Ashantees, the latter having proved victorious, a formal acknowledgment was made by Col. Torrane, then Governor in Chief, that by right of conquest, Fantee, including Cape Coast, and every other town in the neighbourhood, belonged exclusively to the empire of Ashantee; and the King's title to the notes formerly possessed by the Fantee rulers, was expressly recognised, the arrears then due being paid to him, together with a present which he demanded. The payment of these rents was continued for a time, and the most friendly dispositions towards the white people were manifested by the Ashantee King, until 1816, when the English of Cape Coast, having interfered to protect the Fantees, who had several times proved restless under the government of their conquerors, he blockaded that town, from which he was only induced by presents to withdraw his forces. In the succeeding year, a mission was despatched to him at Coomassy, and a treaty concluded by Mr. Bowdich, who had, of his own authority, superseded Mr. James, his superior officer, by which it was agreed, that the Governors of the respective forts should at all times afford protection to such of the Ashantees as might resort to the sea-coast, reserving to themselves the right of punishing them for secondary offences, and agreeing to remit them to the King for punishment in case of any crime of magnitude. In every case of aggression by the natives residing in the towns under the cannon of the British forts, the King engaged to complain thereof to the Governor in Chief for redress, undertaking not to resort to hostilities without previously endeavouring, as much as possible, to effect an amicable arrangement. In pursuance of another article of the treaty, Mr. Hutchison, one of the gentlemen of the mission, remained at Coomassy, as Resident; to whom the King, on many occasions, acknowledged the satisfaction he derived from his connexions with the British.

About the close of the year 1818, at the time when Sai Quamina, the King of the Ashantees, was making preparations for the invasion of Gaman, Mr. Hutchison was recalled by Mr. Smith, the Governor in Chief, to fill the office of salesman in his warehouse, which was emptied of rum, powder, and cloth, in the space of a few days only; the tributary sovereigns and caboceers having been directed by the King to purchase their stores from Cape Coast alone. At this period, friendship and confidence marked the conduct of Sai Quamina; and the servants of the Royal African Company, while parting with their stores, were all civility and gratitude. This favourable prospect was, however, soon overclouded. The King departed upon his projected expedition; and reports of his defeat, and the destruction of his army, were quickly circulated among the inhabitants of Cape Coast, which, it is strongly suspected, were fabricated within the Castle. The Fantees resumed their restless disposition, and looked forward to their release from the yoke of the Ashantees, to which they had unwillingly submitted. At this crisis, two royal messengers came to Cape Coast Castle, to claim, under the treaty, the protection of the Governor against the people of Commenda, whither they had been sent with a jaw-bone or two, as trophies of the success of the Ashantee arms, and by whom they had been treated with

some violence, and turned out of the town in contemptuous defiance and ridicule. Their application for redress was neglected by Mr. Smith, the Governor in Chief; and in the succeeding March (1819) another messenger arrived from the Ashantee camp, to complain of this inattention. The King, he said, had expected, upon the faith of the treaty, and the friendship that existed between them, that justice would be done; however, if the Governor declined taking that trouble, he would send down some troops for that purpose: he had also heard with anger and regret, that the natives of Cape Coast were not disposed to be his friends; that they talked foolish things, as if they wanted him to come down again to the waterside; but he trusted the Governor would look to it for him, because he was then engaged in war.

Such was the substance of the message, which was, however, interpreted by the government linguist with many exaggerations and even falsehood; adding that "the King would certainly come down to Cape Coast in forty days, and punish those who had abused him." By this artifice, by whomsoever invented, or for whatever purpose, Mr. Smith could not, however, have been deceived, as he thoroughly understood the native language; but affecting to receive the message with the interpolation of the linguist, he desired the messenger to return to his master and acquaint him, that he might come down "in forty days, or in twenty, or as soon as he thought proper!" The messenger in vain represented that he dared not return with such a message, which would be an insult to the King: he was at length compelled to depart with it; and preparations were made on the coast to repel the invasion, which was anticipated as its result. The elders and chiefs of the town were privately instructed to arm their people, and defend themselves in case of necessity; and a wall of circumvallation, extending across the hills, and intrenching the town and castle, was hastily erected, and loop-holed for defensive warfare. Every thing announced a rebellion on the part of the natives, supported and encouraged by the British authorities, against the nation which the latter had solemnly recognised as the masters of the soil, and with which they had entered into a treaty of alliance.

The conduct of Sai Quamina was very different from that pursued by the Governor in Chief. The news of the preparations was conveyed to his army, and the captains, unsheathing their swords, demanded to be led down to the coast, to punish the refractory; the King however, enraged as he was, suppressed his feelings, telling his captains that he held a "book" with the white men, from whom he would endeavour to procure satisfaction. In conformity with this promise, a second messenger, of high rank, was despatched in September, who brought with him the treaty. This, he declared, the King regarded as "fetische" (sacred), and therefore had sent it to the Castle, that Mr. Smith might read its contents, and determine whether or no he was bound to give satisfaction for the injuries committed at Commenda and at Cape Coast. If he held that he was not bound, he was desired to retain possession of the treaty, in order that the King might avail himself of his resources without scruple, as it was contrary to his notions of good faith to make war while that deed remained in his hands. Mr. Smith on this evinced some confusion, declaring that "he had nothing to do with it;" and a scene of tumult took place between the arguments of the Ashantees, and the pleadings in mitigation of the town chiefs, which was at length inter-

rupted by the messenger declaring that his orders were peremptory; unless Mr. Smith would promise to do the King justice, he should leave the treaty in the Castle.

At this critical juncture, Mr. Dupuis (who had been sent out about nine months previous, to fill the office of Consul, at Coomassy, under a commission from the King of Great Britain, but had been prevented from proceeding up the country, at first by the rains and subsequently by the warlike aspect of affairs,) requested the Governor to acquaint the messenger with the nature of his mission, and the desire he entertained to see the King of the Ashantees; for, singular as it may appear, all his applications to Mr. Smith, to forward the intelligence of his arrival and business to Coomassy, had hitherto been evaded. The scene was now changed; the messenger rose, bowed, and took Mr. Dupuis by the hand, in token of respect and good will; and, after some hesitation, inquired whether he was to leave the treaty, or whether that gentleman would "talk the palaver" with the King. This was left to his own discretion, and he retired, with the treaty, to his quarters in the town, to await further instructions. Even at this period, Mr. Smith gave it unequivocally as his opinion, that to forward the mission to Coomassy would be "the height of imprudence and madness."

In the ensuing December, a nephew of the King was sent as Ambassador to Cape Coast Castle, who, after enumerating the various causes of complaint, demanded, from the inhabitants of the town, a fine of 1600 ounces of gold, for their evil disposition towards the King, and also a similar sum from the Governor, as a compensation for the infractions of the treaty; unless these demands were complied with, he declared that no peace could be granted. The latter of these propositions was at once unequivocally rejected, as inconsistent with the dignity of England; but this refusal was qualified by an offer to negotiate, upon equitable terms, the differences that existed between the King and the natives of the town. The Ambassador declared that he could not alter what the King had decreed, and the audience broke up in dissatisfaction.

Apprehensive of a repetition of the trick which has been noticed in the translation of a former message, Mr. Dupuis, on this occasion, stationed an Interpreter in the hall, who informed him that the government linguist had omitted certain complimentary parts, and particularly one relating to himself. On this he sent a present to the Ambassador, from whom he learnt that the King had desired his best compliments, and wished much to see him in the capital; that he had sent a person in the Ambassador's train to conduct him to Court immediately; and that he regretted much that he had been so long detained at Cape Coast. On the receipt of this message, Mr. Dupuis immediately declared to Governor Smith his intention of proceeding, without delay, to Coomassy; the Government at length acceded to the propriety of conciliatory measures; additions were made to the presents carried out from England; and, in February 1820, Mr. Dupuis left the Coast on his important and difficult mission.

As the Consul of the King of Great Britain, Mr. Dupuis felt not a little surprise at having a volume of instructions sent to him previously to his departure, by the servants of a trading company, accompanied with a declaration that, unless he would agree to be guided by them, the presents should be withheld, and one of their own body appointed to

attend the Court. Unwilling to break openly with the Governor and and Council, in the critical circumstances under which the whole of the settlers were placed, Mr. D. merely protested against their right to interfere, and returned their instructions to them, after his departure, through the medium of a friend. This specimen of the jealous policy of the servants of the Royal African Company, can only be equalled by the message which was subsequently sent to the King, in the midst of the negotiations, stating that Mr. Dupuis was not authorized to conclude any treaty, being merely employed by the King of Great Britain to convey the presents; a statement which, but for the favourable protection of the King, and the friendly views he entertained towards him, might have proved fatal to that gentleman.

It would be unnecessary to our purpose to enter into a detailed account of the mission of Mr. Dupuis; a single instance of the behaviour of the King will suffice to evince the strength of his attachment to the English. At an early interview with the Consul, so gratified did Sai Quamina feel by the condescension of the King of England, in sending an Ambassador to him, that he voluntarily took, in the most solemn manner, an oath of inviolable friendship and fidelity to his Majesty, pledging himself to serve him, and to fight for him, as the Consul should direct; and this oath, variously modified, was subsequently taken in his presence, by his principal ministers and officers. The result of the embassy was a treaty of alliance, whereby the claims on Cape Coast were relinquished, and the former friendship and mutual kindly intercourse was again established. On the return of Mr. Dupuis to the coast, Ambassadors were despatched in his company, who were directed to proceed to England with presents from the King, and peace and friendship seemed to be renewed, which was again broken by the servants of the Company. They not only refused to accede to the terms of the treaty, but forbade the payment of any portion of the accustomed tribute. Under these circumstances, the longer residence of Mr. Dupuis was unnecessary, and he applied to Sir George Collier, who then commanded off the coast, for a passage to England for the Ambassadors, which was refused on the authority of a standing order of the Admiralty, expressly interdicting the carrying away any of the natives. In vain was it urged that the prohibition must be regarded as intended only to prevent the carrying away of slaves, and that the neglect of so favourable an opportunity would endanger not only the trade but the safety of the British on the coast. Sir George Collier adhered to the letter of his instructions; and Mr. Dupuis, feeling himself called upon to explain the whole of the proceedings to the Government at home, was under the necessity of leaving the Ambassadors at Cape Coast, having first obtained from them a promise that no hostile steps should be taken until after a sufficient time had elapsed to allow of a communication from England.

Faithful to this promise, affairs remained in tranquillity on the coast until February 1821, ten months after the departure of Mr. Dupuis, when the Ambassadors retired from the town, the communication of which with the country was immediately cut off. The immediate cause of this rupture, was an attack made by the English upon the town of Mouree, to obtain possession of the murderers of a black man belonging to Cape Coast. In this affair, the cognizance of which belonged, by Mr. Bowdich's treaty, to the King of Ashantee, nearly fifty of the natives were

killed, and it was succeeded by a total stoppage of the trade with the interior. The British Cabinet became at length aware of the necessity of taking into its own hands the government of the Coast, and Sir Charles M'Carthy was despatched for that purpose, with full powers.

This change of Governors, it would appear, again induced, in the King of Ashantee, hopes of a change in the dispositions of the whites, and for several months every thing remained quiet, the prohibition to trade continuing as before, but no steps of active hostility having been taken. The lapse of time having, however, at length proved to him the fallacy of his expectations, it is imagined that he laid an interdict upon the tongues of such of his subjects as visited the white settlements, as no information whatever could be obtained from them relative to the interior, or the position and strength of his forces. In this state of mysterious suspense the coast continued for many months, and every possible precaution was taken by Sir Charles M'Carthy to prepare for an enemy, whose approach was hourly dreaded, but of the time of whose coming, or the quarter against which his attack would be directed, no one could form any opinion. Entirely unaware of the real strength of the enemy he had to oppose, and misled by its apparent indecision, Sir Charles, it is said, seriously meditated on marching to Coomassy, to dethrone the King of the Ashantees in his own capital; but from this dream of secure superiority he was suddenly roused, by the bursting of the storm which it was vainly imagined had passed away in the distance. About the month of August 1822, Sai Quamina died, and the war, which had hitherto been restrained, was commenced with vigour by his successor. That the long interval of inaction which preceded this explosion may be attributed to a high sense of honour in the late King, and a dread of breaking the oath of fidelity to the King of England, which he had taken, appears highly probable from other traits of his character; his successor, however, was bound by no such ties, and the first act of his reign was an edict against the British, wherein they were accused of perfidy, infractions of treaties, violations of public faith, treachery, cruelty, &c.; to revenge which, and to appease the shade of the departed conqueror, he vowed continued war against them until he had obtained satisfaction; declaring, in the form of the great oath of his predecessors, that he would not cease from hostility until he had watered the grave of Sai Quamina with the blood of the white men.

The first act of aggression which succeeded this manifesto, was the putting to death, in conformity with the negro custom of warfare, of a black corporal in the British service, who was surprised by a party of Ashantees. To avenge this insult, the field was taken, in August last, by Captain Laing, who obtained some considerable advantages, which it was proposed by Sir Charles M'Carthy to improve. The unfortunate issue of these operations is too recent, and too deeply imprinted on the memories of all, to require repetition.

At the commencement of the present article we have acknowledged ourselves indebted for the facts which it embraces to the Journal of Mr. Dupuis.[1] Though foreign to our present object, we cannot omit the

[1] Journal of a Residence in Ashantee. By Joseph Dupuis, Esq. late His Britannic Majesty's Envoy and Consul for that Kingdom. Comprising Notes and Researches relative to the Gold Coast, &c. 4to. pp. xxxviii. 264, & cxxxv. Illustrated with a Map, and 16 Plates.

opportunity of strongly recommending a perusal of this work to our readers, as well calculated to furnish them with correct notions of the savage race with whom we are now contending. The picture traced by the author, of the Court and of its customs, will be found highly interesting, and will serve to correct some of the exaggerations contained in the narrative of Mr. Bowdich; while the account of the country through which he passed, and of the scenes which he witnessed, will be read with pleasure. The second portion of the volume, which contains the information he collected relative to the interior of Africa, will prove very attractive to the inquirer into its mysterious geography, over which fate appears to have cast a veil that has hitherto continued impenetrable to the eyes of western nations, which these researches may tend in some measure to remove. We regret indeed that we cannot, at present, enter further into the variety of interesting subjects which it embraces, but must recommend our readers to see it and judge for themselves.

EXPOSURE OF INDIAN ABUSES IN THE CIVIL, MILITARY AND MEDICAL SERVICES.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, Cheltenham, Aug. 14, 1824.

I THINK it was one of the hired defenders of proceedings of the Company and its Governments against you,[1] who, in the recent Debates at the India House, characterized your Journal as a "useful Publication," and said that it would do a great deal of good in this country. So I think too, though not half so much good as a Free Press could do in India, by shaming men in authority there, lest their stretches of power, and abuses of public trust in matters of patronage, should get to England. However, since we cannot have all we wish, we must take what we can get; and therefore, if my wretched health shall enable me so to do, I purpose to give you occasionally a *refresher* or two, upon Military and Medical points, for our "honourable and liberal masters," who, if their hirelings said no more than was set down for them, will, of course, be delighted to have their attention drawn to abuses and wrongs of any kind.

At present I shall be content with only giving you a sketch of a few heads of topics, upon which I hope I may be able to give you a few hints during the season. Need I add, that even if you suspect who your correspondent is, you must not even betray your conjecture to any one; for there are many who would be glad to ingratiate themselves, by betraying a poor devil, guilty of corresponding on grievances otherwise than through the legitimate channels, *alias* shut and clogged channels. You must be well aware, from all that has been done in your own case, that any body who lets out the secrets of the Prison House, will meet with no mercy at home or abroad, whatever purchased advocates may insinuate to the contrary.

The first topic on which I shall most likely trouble you, will be the

[1] It is remarkable enough, that on both occasions on which it was necessary to take up the Company's Defence, it was not the Directors themselves, but their hired Advocates, who were placed in the front of the battle.

shameful ill-usage met with by the Medical service, as a body, from the Company, at all times. Can it be true, that in the late order given out for new-modelling the Army, on the suggestions of the Marquess of Hastings, nothing has been done for this suffering and neglected class of the Company's servants? If so, it only adds to a long catalogue of grievances they have to complain of; and which shall be detailed, if I have health and strength, to show the world what is the real and true value of a service which so many are running after, as if it were the most lucrative and honourable in the world.

The next point I shall enter on, will be one that affects every branch of the service, when on leave in England—the supercilious neglect, not to say insolence, they meet with, from their lords and masters.—There is not one man of the service in England, I am convinced, at the present moment, who has not, at some time or other, boiled with indignation at the treatment to which I allude. That treatment shall not, at least, be kept in the dark, if I can help it.

Another matter of general interest, as far as the Army and Medical branch are concerned, will relate to the pay and allowances, in India, and the furlough pay and pension. There is no mistake more universal than the idea that prevails among parents and guardians at home, of the advantages of the Company's service. It will be well to let all such know the truth. They shall have, in rupees and in English money, the exact value of every man's allowances, on the Coast and at Bengal, (for Bombay I must trust to some other Correspondent's coming forward;) and I shall show, by authentic and minute lists of prices of necessaries and luxuries, when marching or in garrison, how far a Subaltern or a Captain's allowances, so much boasted of, are capable of supporting him, in that country, like a gentleman, and without debt,—supposing him to have no private resources, or no money to begin the world with, but what he receives from the Honourable Company.

In connexion with this, I shall enter on a fruitful subject of remark, namely, the condition of a poor officer in India, under the present system of *exchange*, who has occasion to come home for health, or to send his wife thence for the same reason, or his children to educate. It will be seen then, at what rate, (in pagodas, rupees, or other coins,) the pound sterling of the English King's pay was originally calculated—how much was lost to the officers by that unjust exchange—and how much more they must now lose of this reduced pay in rupees, when they convert it *back again* into sterling, to revisit home for the indispensable purposes above stated—at the present rate of exchange. No one would believe the loss; and many will say the Company cannot help the fall of exchange. But I shall show,—1st. That they could have converted the English into Indian money, at a just rate, in fixing the pay-tables at the time of the Mutiny in 1796:—2dly. That they are bound in honour and equity to convert it back at the same rate of original conversion, or at least at some liberal average of exchange, to any of their officers who wants to remit his little savings to his native country, or is obliged to take furlough, or send his family home.—3dly. I think I can *demonstrate* that the present rate of exchange, so ruinous to poor officers, is connected with the low rate of interest, and the want of exports from India; and that *these* are the consequences of the Company's Governments not allowing any European to lay out his capital in the improvement of land

and of agriculture; a restriction by which every man in India suffers, directly or indirectly, be he black or white—Company's servant, or Free Merchant.

Perhaps these hints may stir up others to write on some of them, who are more skilled in such things than a man who has been busy for fifteen years in professional study, and hard duty. All I want to see is, that darkness and mystery shall be put an end to; and the Company's service and system be rightly and generally known, so that they may, *in good time*,[2] take on themselves a more liberal line of conduct to their servants (not Civil servants) in India, and towards India herself.—Alas! poor India!

I shall resume this subject in my next; and, in the mean time, I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A Man on Furlough.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We rejoice to find a growing spirit of inquiry on the one hand, and a disposition to furnish information on the other, rapidly spreading throughout the British community, as it regards India. We are satisfied that all that is required is full and frequent discussion, which must lead to such exposures as will fill the supporters of oppression with dread, if they cannot feel shame, and strike all else with astonishment as well as horror. We entreat those, who, having made their fortunes in India, must possess abundant facts, and can have nothing to fear from detailing them, to render justice, however tardy, to the unhappy Natives, from whose labours they have acquired their wealth; and to all others, whether abroad or at home, who are interested, as every Philanthropist ought to be, in the freedom and happiness of mankind, we pledge the most cordial assistance in effecting these great ends. We are fully aware of the importance of inviolable confidence; and we may add to this pledge, the assurance that this shall never be betrayed.

SONNET.—ON DEVONSHIRE.

Thy pleasant valleys, groves, and swelling hills,
  Clothed in their verdant beauty, all must own
  Unrivalled in the land. But not alone
Thy fair domain, romantic Devon, fills
The gazer with entrancement: there are thrills
  Of feeling more intense—a finer tone
  Pervades the raptured soul, as nobly prone
To share or kindle gladness, or the ills
Of darker bosoms soothe, with that sweet art
  Which pure and gentle spirits only know,
Thy matchless daughters hospitably smile
  A welcome to the stranger, who shall throw
His farewell glance in pain, and find the while
A sweet home-feeling lingering in his heart!

R.

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[2] Before 1833, that is to say.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

THE PRESS IN INDIA.—BANISHMENT OF MR. BUCKINGHAM.

On Friday, July 23d, a Special General Court of Proprietors was held, in pursuance of the following requisition:

To the Honourable the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, London.

We, the undersigned Proprietors of East India Stock, being duly qualified, request you will call a General Court of Proprietors, for the purpose of taking into consideration the present State of the Press in India, and the late proceedings which have led to the Banishment from India of the Editors of the Calcutta Journal.

DOUGLAS KINNAIRD,
CHAS. FORBES,
JAMES PATTERSON,
EDWARD B. LEWIN,
WM. GOWAN,
W. MAXFIELD,
J. YOUNG,
HUGH COOK,
JOHN BITTLESTON.

The minutes of the proceedings of the last Court, having been read,

The CHAIRMAN stated the object for which the Court had been specially summoned; and the requisition was read by the Clerk.

MR. HUME.—Sir, although I am not one of those who have signed the requisition, yet accidental absence alone prevented me from taking that step. I cannot avoid expressing my regret, that when a subject of such vital importance as the state of the Indian Press unquestionably is (for whether well or ill conducted the subject is of vital importance), any disposition should be shown in this Court, and more especially by the gentlemen behind the bar, to put an end to the discussion of the question in a premature way. When the magnitude of any question under consideration was such as not to allow gentlemen to deliver their opinions fully in one day, the usual practice had been, to adjourn the question to another day. In the present case this practice has not been adhered to; but I am not, however, sorry that a new Court has been called, instead of the former Court being adjourned; because gentlemen are now at liberty to originate their view of this subject in any way they may think proper, without reference to what has heretofore been stated; and the mode in which I intend to treat it is somewhat different from that disclosed by my hon. Friend (Mr. Kinnaird) at the last Court. On that occasion, he gave the Court much information on the state of the press in India; you heard from him an accurate detail of important facts connected with the subject; his arguments were so forcible, and his illustrations so pertinent, that I am surprised his address did not produce a greater effect on the Court. I did expect that gentlemen, some from the general liberality of their character, and others from their conduct on former occasions, would have been ready to concede every possible information on this question. I have, however, been disappointed; and, when I see a number of men leagued together to prevent the production of information on any subject that ought to be laid before the community, I cannot help thinking that there is something hollow, something rotten, beneath all their pretences, which prevent them from coming forward in a bold and manly way. I can see no other ground for the refusal of information with reference to the subject before the Court, respecting an act which is admitted by the Court of Directors, to be one of coercion; and, as I will presently show, of overstretched power on the part of one of their servants abroad. (Hear.)

A sense of that justice, which every Englishman has a right to expect, ought to prompt those who possess the power, to lay before the Proprietors the demanded information. It would then be the duty of the Proprietors to consider the subject in a calm and dispassionate manner; to divest themselves of every angry and prejudiced feeling; and there can be no doubt that after the lapse of so long a period, they would investigate it in a cool and collected manner. But when I see men opposing the fair examination of such a question, after so long a period of time has elapsed since the circumstances out of which this discussion originates happened; when I see them resisting every attempt to obtain information on the subject; I cannot but suspect that acts are committed in India, from time to time, which are not able to bear the light. (Hear.) Indeed, the conduct that has been pursued throughout the business, is a proof that a strange dread exists of the truth being known, and of a public examination into the facts of this case. We are bound, as a public body, having under our management 70 or 80,000,000 of the natives of India, by the most sacred obligation, to see that the interests of those natives are properly attended to. We have in England, indeed, a powerful check upon the exercise of authority; a check which, I hope, we shall always hold in reverence—I mean the press. (Hear.) It is, without question, the greatest blessing which can be conferred upon a nation, and they who

have endeavoured to curtail, to fetter, and to destroy that blessing in India have, before the people of England, irretrievably disgraced themselves. (Hear.)

When compared to the great question of a free press, which, I maintain, is essentially necessary for the welfare of the people and the good government of India, the individual case of Mr. Buckingham is merely as a drop of water in the ocean. I regret exceedingly that any statements of a personal nature, more than were necessary to bring before the Court the conduct of a public man, have been mixed up, in one or two instances, with the discussion on a former day. The attention of the Court is, by this means, diverted from the great subject immediately before it, and directed to topics of comparatively little importance. Not that I overlook or think lightly of the tyrannous conduct, the monstrous stretch of undue power which the Indian Government has exercised towards certain individuals. I do not underrate the severity and injustice of their sufferings; but my attention is rather directed to the extensive mischief which must be inevitably entailed on India by the continuance of the system which has recently been acted upon.

A learned Gent. (Mr. Impey), whom I do not now see in the place he usually occupies within the bar, resorted to mystification in treating this subject. As he is not present, the remarks I shall make respecting what fell from him shall be but few. I had considered all the attempts which were made to combat the powerful statement which my honourable Friend (Mr. Kinnaird) made, as altogether beneath notice; but when a legal gentleman has stood up in this Court, and taken on himself to lay down the law of the case, and has, in fact, misstated that law, in every particular, I conceive it to be my duty to show that his knowledge of the law is incorrect, or, rather, to point out his utter ignorance of the law, relative to the regulations of the press in India. But first I wish to ask a question, which the Court of Directors can, and I hope, will return an answer to. I am desirous to be informed why the learned Gentleman to whom I allude always takes his seat and speaks behind the bar? As I know the learned Gentleman is not a Director, I should like to be informed why he sits amongst the Directors? Would the same privilege, I would ask, be conceded to my learned Friend near me (Mr. R. Jackson), who has spent so much of his valuable life, and so usefully, in this Court? It is pretty well known, that when a proposition was made to that effect, the Court of Directors took three days to consider the subject, and ultimately refused the proposition, conceiving that it would give too much importance to him. I have, therefore, a right to ask the question, and to be informed, in what capacity Mr. Impey sits behind the bar? (Hear.)

I will now enter upon the subject of discussion, and it shall be my endeavour to make myself intelligible to those who favour me with their attention, in as small a compass as possible. It is only within these twenty-four hours that I thought I should be able to attend; but the subject has been for many years so near my heart, that I must hitherto have been acting an idle part, were I not now prepared to state how, in my opinion, the Indian press should be conducted, and what regulations are necessary for its management and well-being. Whether the Marquess Wellesley imposed *this*, or the Marquess of Hastings *that* regulation, is merely a matter of history, and appears to me to be of very trifling consequence. Such circumstances only serve to illustrate the system which has been in operation, and to the principle of which we ought to direct our attention. An ignorance of the real condition of India is, doubtless, the occasion of many of the mistakes which arise with respect to that country. Some individuals misunderstand the power intrusted to them; others maintain that their view of that power is correct; and thence arises that confusion which prevents men whose occupations and dispositions do not lead them to the examination of subjects of this nature, from separating the chaff from the wheat, and from fairly considering this question of authority when it is brought properly before them. On this ground it is I regret that a subject of such interest, as regards India—a country far superior in extent and population to the whole of this great nation, as it is justly called—is ever decidedly opposed. Most deeply do I regret that a subject of such vast importance should constantly meet with the opposition of those who ought to be best acquainted with it. It would appear that their object is to keep the English people in ignorance of the real state of India, and of the views of its Governors. There are, I doubt not, some persons both within and without the bar, who consider us a mere trading company, who only seek our own pecuniary advantage from the charter. But, certainly, since the charter was first granted, such a vast alteration had taken place in the times and circumstances, that the man who shall direct his attention solely to commercial concerns, mistakes his duty either as a member of this Court, or of the British community.

Rather than consider whether Mr. Buckingham has been banished from India, and ruined in a way which reflects any thing but credit on those who have authorized the act—rather than inquire

whether Mr. Arnot has been banished, and burned and sunk in the sea—we shall do better first to consider the great general question, and to take these cases only in exemplification of its operation. There is, without doubt, much individual suffering, but the cases are only threads of that immense clue which it is our duty to unravel, so that we may discover how duties are performed and powers exercised in our extensive Indian possessions. If we look at the intentions of the Legislature in the proper light, and estimate the opinions of all honest men, we shall find that we are not bound to look to the individual object of commercial profit, but, as Proprietors of East India stock, with sovereign powers to govern India, and to promote the welfare of the millions intrusted to our care, to ask ourselves whether our delegated authority has been exercised wisely and beneficially? These are duties on which few in this Court allow themselves time to reflect. (Hear!) To them it is enough if they receive their dividends regularly—if they vote money when they are called upon to do so—if they agree to every thing which the Directors propose—and, by such acts they consider they are performing their duty. But if any one will take the trouble to consider the change that has taken place in India since the Company's first settlement there, he will easily perceive that this is a very erroneous idea of the duties which devolve on the Proprietors. Their situation is, in fact, altogether changed. (Hear!) From subjects they have become sovereigns. The best interests of the Indian people should be the great care of the Company; and, as Englishmen, their honour and interest is to prevent every abuse of their delegated power in that country. They are the governors of 70 or 80,000,000 of souls, and, consequently, the duties they have to perform are very important. If an abuse of power take place there, and, when a complaint is made, all information on the subject is refused, could any proprietor with sincerity and honesty say that he was not, by such means, the cause of mischief to millions? Ought he not to lay his hand on his heart, and to ask himself how far, by refusing to inquire into the acts of bad governors, when made known to him, he has shielded delinquency and aided the growth of oppression? (Hear.) These inquiries are of the highest importance, and I am sorry I am unable to bring them before the public in the way they ought to be exposed; but we shall not, I trust, wait long for the time when the subject of Indian misrule will be fully and fairly considered by the English people. At no very distant period we shall have a very serious account to render; and, if I have correctly observed our own acts of omission and commission, we shall not deserve much consideration from Parliament when the time arrives for the renewal of our charter.

I ask, again, will you allow the consideration of any subordinate subject—even of the sufferings of two much-injured individuals, to divert your attention from the main question—the abuse in the general government of India? (Hear!) Let us look at the last charter, and we shall find our duty well and briefly laid down. The 53d of the late King declares that it is "the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement." (Hear!) To this are attached other regulations, which are new and more important in matter than any preceding charter contains. The Legislature, then, has a right to expect from the Company the performance of those duties which they have voluntarily undertaken, and which the Legislature has distinctly pointed out. Of these duties the most important is, to consider how far the regulations adopted by the Indian Government are or are not beneficial to the country; (Hear!) to examine whether they promote or retard the prosperity of the people. For my part I think we have not done our duty. (Hear!)

Amongst many who have the management of Indian affairs, I believe a very general good intention prevails. There are many, I believe, who wish the country well. But when I look to the page of history, and consider what the nature of man is—when I see amongst the high and low, the rich and poor, a disposition to adopt such measures as are calculated to promote the individual happiness and welfare of the governor, in preference to the good of those he governs, I cannot indulge the hope that the government of India will be quite perfect and free from that bias. When I see that the acts of the Government are made subservient to the wishes and interests of the governors, who are in possession of immense power without the least check, it is then that I feel how great is the responsibility which rests on this Court. What, then, should we do? Is it not our duty to abrogate any measure or regulation which tends to retard the welfare of even one individual, not to speak of millions; and, therefore, I contend that the refusal to agree to the motion of my hon. Friend, (Mr. Kinnaird) for information respecting an act of oppression, reflects disgrace upon the Court; because it is a refusal to perform a sacred duty. (Hear.) It is a stain upon the humanity of the Court—upon all those who opposed the

motion—for it proved that they were hostile to inquiry. What, I would ask, are we bound to do in India? Is it not our first and most important duty, as sovereigns over a great empire, to establish a good government there? By good government alone can people be safely and easily ruled; but, as things are constituted at present, it is impossible for good government to exist there. Abuses will insinuate themselves on all occasions, unless a system of checks is established, which will effectually prevent the selfish feelings of the mind from operating to the detriment of the community. And what check is the best and most effectual? What most likely to produce good and to prevent bad government? By a parity of reasoning I am led, in order to answer this question, to turn to this country, which, to use our own phrase, is "the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world." And why is it so? Because she possesses institutions which other countries, oppressed by the rod of tyranny, do not enjoy. Which is the most valuable and most powerful of these institutions? It is not the House of Commons, for that tribunal may be converted into a grievous tyranny, the abuses of which there would be no means of redressing, if it should adopt the resolution of excluding all persons from reporting its proceedings, and should indulge in dark and secret debates. Our courts of law might, by the same process, be rendered susceptible of abuse. But, happily, we are in possession of a press, which is the most efficient check and preventive of abuse. If the press were suppressed, in what situation, I ask, would England be placed? She would be low indeed; for, much as I value her other institutions, much as I admire the intelligence that every where prevails in this country, still, I fear, in spite of all those institutions and all that intelligence, that there would be a more frequent occurrence of those infamous acts which occasionally disgrace even this country, if the press did not probe out suspicious circumstances and bring them to every man's door, so that he is enabled to form a judgment for himself. But for that engine, this country would be groaning under a most odious tyranny—a tyranny with the exterior forms of a regular constitution: for that tyranny is by far the worst where the responsibility of public acts is divided amongst a number of persons, and there is no individual responsibility. (Hear!) At Algiers or Tripoli, if an individual in a distant province oppresses the people with such severe tyranny that the smart of their sufferings, overcoming the apprehension of danger which might attend complaints, impels them to make an application for redress, then swift punishment is inflicted on the offender. But the case is very different where the responsibility is divided amongst many. What is the first thing for which the wisest men of all ages and conditions have praised this country? Do they not consider us a great and happy people, in consequence of the civil advantages we enjoy, and particularly on account of the benefits which a free press bestows upon us? Do they not make a comparison between our condition and that of nations who groan under an odious and irresponsible tyranny? Where the responsibility is vested in one man, if he outrages the feelings of the people, he is liable, as a matter of course, to lose his head. But in a country where there is a legislative power—where there is a House of Commons nominated by the people—if its acts were performed in secret, and their proceedings carried on in a private manner, a despotism more enormous than any country was ever cursed with would be established. (Hear!) The occurrence of this state of things is, happily, prevented by the press; and, therefore, I consider it as the best engine to promote good government that ever existed or ever can be devised.

I will not pay any gentleman present so ill a compliment as to inquire of him whether he does not think the press tends to keep power in awe, and to administer to the happiness of the people. If circumstances of a political nature which occur at our own door, are viewed with microscopic eye; why should our attention not be equally directed to transactions which occur in our Indian empire? Why should we withhold the benefits of a free press from its population? The Procunsuls of old never enjoyed greater power than do our Governors General. The page of history will show us how bad was the government of those Proconsuls who had uncontrolled power placed in their hands. But had a press been then in existence, to pour forth the complaints of the people, the frequent broils and disturbances which history describes as consequent on that system of bad government, would not have happened. That man must be little versed in history, who will not at once admit with me, that the deplorable scenes which have taken place under distant governments never would have happened, if the transactions had been regularly transmitted to those who were at the head of the Government at home. And as a proof of this, I advance that in almost every instance where a man has been found bold enough to denounce those tyrannical proceedings, the punishment of the perpetrators has invariably followed. The richest man that Rome ever produced found the force of public opinion too strong for him. I ask, therefore, can they be considered friends to

good government, who wish to stifle what is going on in a distant department? Can they be held as friendly to good government who endeavour to screen those who are placed in proconsular Governments, and to prevent any exposure of their acts from reaching the public ear, except such as come through the parties themselves; who, if errors have been committed, must have been the cause of them?

I hold in my hand a letter, addressed to an hon. Bart. (Sir C. Forbes), which contains a detail of facts, a series of sound arguments, and a body of close reasoning, that will, I think, convince every unprejudiced man of the necessity of the establishment of a free press in India. (Hear.) I conjure every man, who, as a member of this Company, has a duty to perform towards the people of India, to read this pamphlet, which, I doubt not, will impress on his mind the melancholy fact, that he has been neglecting that duty, and in consequence has been the cause of misery to millions. (Hear.) In this letter he will find bad government traced through all its ramifications. Why, if the press in England is considered an organ of such importance, should the blessing of its influence not be extended to India? In what, I ask, is India different from England?—And why should we not bestow that blessing on India, which, if the people of England did not possess, they would all be slaves. Let him, if there is any one who wishes to put down the press in England, state his reasons for that measure. But if there is none who entertains that wish; if all agree to support and uphold the press in England, why should it be attempted to suppress it in another country?

With the deepest regret, I heard the opinions put forward by the hon. and gallant Bart. (Sir J. Malcolm) on this subject. It is perhaps supposed that the arguments of the hon. Bart. will have considerable force; but I have taken the trouble to contrast one argument with another, and I have found them completely at variance. The effect of the hon. Bart.'s arguments is completely neutralized, by contrasting one half of his speech with the other. (Hear.) Though the hon. Bart. did at one time approve of the radical doctrine of freedom of discussion, yet, it would appear, some circumstances have of late given his mind a bias, so as to induce him to deliver a contrary opinion.

The twenty-fifth Director (Mr. Impey) has told us that there is no public in India. Whom will the learned Gentleman allow to be a public? I shall be glad to have a definition on that point. The learned Gentleman admits the propriety of imparting instruction. He would promote literature; he would diffuse information; he would, on these points, meet the wishes of the Legislature. But how is this to be done? Will the shackling of the press effect this object? In former times, when a manuscript was procured, it was a work of time and expense to have it copied, and but one person could read it at a time. But now, by the aid of the press, a thousand copies can easily be multiplied, and thousands can, at the same moment, collect the seeds of knowledge. To shackle the press, therefore, would be to carry the natives of India back to the darkness of the 14th century, when the invention of printing first dawned upon the world. The effect would be to plunge the whole population of India in ignorance and barbarism. If the recommendation of the learned twenty-fifth Director be followed, the wish of the Legislature must be disregarded. The Legislature recommends that useful information, with moral and religious instruction, should be extended to the inhabitants of India. Now I ask, have the Missionaries, by the diffusion of religious information among the Indian population, made any great progress? I am one who think that the Missionaries should afford them the most extensive means of acquiring religious information, and then leave them to judge for themselves; for were they brought to make a contrast between the idolatry and superstition of their own religion, and the mildness and benignity of the Christian creed, I must consider them worse than Esquimaux if they did not abandon the former, and apply themselves with zeal to cultivate the latter. Every man, therefore, I declare most conscientiously and solemnly, who wishes to fetter the press in India, is an enemy to the diffusion of moral and religious information among the people. (Hear!)

It is curious to observe that among the foremost of those who wish to manacle the press, and thus to prevent the diffusion of the Christian religion, are some gentlemen who acted in Calcutta as Presidents and Members of different Bible and religious societies. Those gentlemen obtained credit in India for liberal and enlightened principles, in supporting those institutions, and yet they now step forward as advocates of a system which would go to subvert the effect of all their previous efforts. God forbid that I should be one to recommend the exercise of coercion towards the Natives of India; but I should, at the same time, not consider myself as acting up to the principles I profess, did I not afford to the Indian population the most extensive means to form a correct judgment with respect to the excellence of the Christian religion. (Hear.) Every Proprietor who seeks to fetter the press, and thereby to prevent the spread of religious and moral instruction, will be answerable for this

act of oppression as though it were his own individually; and he will stand before his Maker, guilty of withholding what he was bound to bestow. This is not a question of pounds, shillings and pence, but a question between God and his conscience, as to the performance or neglect of his duty. This question is elevated far above any mean consideration. I would ask how those gentlemen can reconcile their inconsistency, who in India acted as members of different societies for the diffusion of religious information through the medium of the press, and now wish to put down that press? Are they sincere, or is their conduct founded in hypocrisy? Can I give them credit for sincerity, when I see them opposing the very thing by which the objects they profess to have in view can most readily be obtained? Let him, who in India appeared anxious for the dissemination of knowledge, reconcile, if he can, his conduct in supporting religious societies, with his hostility to the Indian press.

But, it is said, there is no public in India. To this I reply, that in India there exist a great variety of societies—there are Bible Societies, Literary Societies, and public institutions, in every form, to a great extent. On this subject I cannot refrain from reading a passage in the able pamphlet I have mentioned. The author says—

> There is then, it seems, no European public in India. It was not thought so of old, when the European inhabitants met in their public buildings, in their halls and churches; when they petitioned the Crown, in spite of Sir Elijah Impey; when they subscribed to loyalty loans, and addressed the King, when his life had been threatened. They had education societies, Bible societies, in short, all the means of diffusing information. Every thing then proved the existence of a public; and individuals considered the press, at that period, as a means of working on that public.

Are we not enjoined by our Charter to promote religious instruction, and if we do not perform that duty which is so expressly pointed out, are we not liable to be deprived of that Charter? Gentlemen seem to think the liberty of the press an exception to the general rule, declaring the propriety of the diffusion of useful knowledge. They should, however, show what grounds they have for this opinion. If it be proper to put down the liberty of the press at Calcutta, is it not equally proper to suppress it at Madras and Bombay? Is one rule to prevail at Bombay, another at Madras, and a third at Calcutta? This incongruous situation of things is, however, actually the case at present. Is there any act, I ask, which reflects more credit on the Marquess of Hastings than his removing the restrictions from the press? This proceeding was highly creditable to the noble Marquess, and the revival of those vexatious restrictions is, I must say, highly discreditable to those who have countenanced it. The hon. Bart. (Sir J. Malcolm) has told us that the Indian community consists of persons, some high, some low—but that there is no middle class of society.

Sir J. Malcolm.—I alluded to the native population.

Mr. Hume continued.—The hon. Bart. has said, that there is not in India, as in England, a class of persons upon whom the press in its ordinary course was likely to operate beneficially. There is in this some inconsistency; and I believe I can point out one or two persons, who at one time thought there was a community in India, though their opinions on that point may be changed now. I believe that community will be found addressing Government on their acts, and receiving very gracious answers. There is inconsistency in the acts of the hon. Bart. himself. Has he never attached his name to an address in India? If he has, his act is certainly at variance with his declaration.

As for Mr. Adam, I consider him as a public servant, and, in that light, unmixed with other considerations, I view his conduct with regard to the act now under discussion. I have, as carefully as I am able, examined all the circumstances connected with Mr. Buckingham's case, and have endeavoured to ascertain the motives by which Mr. Adam was actuated in adopting the severe measures he has done. In coming to a decision on this point, I cannot help noticing a circumstance which occurred in the House of Commons, when the conduct of Colonel Macquarie was under consideration. Several members bore very flattering testimony to the general character of that officer, but Mr. Wilberforce observed—"I can only look to the facts immediately before me, I can only make this observation to the House of Commons, that Colonel Macquarie is a man, and liable to be moved by the passions of men. I therefore, would place such a check on his power, as would effectually prevent its abuse." In speaking of Mr. Adam, I will say the same thing. I envy not the honour of the address which that gentleman received on laying down his temporary power in India. I envy not the honour that can be conferred by those who would turn round and fawn on the very man against whose acts they had previously protested. No doubt they acted as they ought to do in a place, where, to use Mr. Adam's words, in his attempt to answer the unanswerable arguments of Mr. Buckingham—"there is not, and cannot be, any freedom of opinion." Mr. Buckingham I consider a most meritorious individual—as the champion of a free press—as one who directs his chief endeavours to the

diffusion of knowledge, and in detecting various errors which made their appearance in the Government of India. I shall not inquire into any acts of Mr. Buckingham previous to those proceedings; but shall confine my observations to that gentleman's intercourse with Mr. Adam, which forms an isolated case. I repeat that I envy not Mr. Adam the honours he received from the *no-public* of India, after the commission of an act, which will be productive of dangers, the extent of which no man can see, if the voice of this Court does not condemn it.

All that is demanded is a free press—through the medium of which knowledge will be diffused, abuses will be detected, crimes pointed out, and circumstances brought to the ear of the Government, which could not reach it through any other channel. Once on the appearance of a complaint in Mr. Buckingham's paper, he was asked, "Why is the complaint not made to the Government?" This is mere trifling. Every body knows the difficulties which are to be encountered by those who wish to make communications of this nature directly to those in office. I could, if I chose, mention the case of many individuals who have fallen victims to power, because they have made communications to me. What is to be expected will happen in India, when such things take place in England? (Hear!) In England it was formerly a custom, I understand, to open private letters for the purpose of procuring information: the efforts of the press put an end to this system. It is reported, however, that letters are occasionally missing in India; and, if such is the case, is not a free press wanted to put down that intolerable evil? Is the Court aware that unless the name of the writer is put on the outside of a letter, no post-master will receive it? The case was not so when I was in India.

An hon. PROPRIETOR (Mr. Trant, we believe).—None but official letters are marked in that way.

Mr. HUME.—I understand that this is the case with private ones also. All letters addressed to the public press, by correspondents, are at least so written on. The Government officers, from high to low, watch with Argus' eyes: they have a most sensible feeling of their situation, and are in dread lest some danger may lurk in every letter addressed to a newspaper. Is it not the duty of the Court, under these circumstances, to inquire into the general state of liberty in India, and to ascertain the real state of the press in particular?

I will now call the attention of the Court to a few passages in Mr. Adam's pamphlet. That Gentleman remarks:—

It is said, by the advocates of the system, that a government will acquire strength and public confidence in proportion as its measures are publicly and fearlessly canvassed—and that while it has nothing to be ashamed of, it may court public scrutiny, not merely with safety, but with advantage even to itself. Thus a general position may be admitted to the full extent; but the question is, where and by whom is this scrutiny to be exercised? That the public, as it is called, of India is entitled to exercise it, or is qualified for the task, will scarcely be maintained by any one who has considered how that public is composed. That it comprehends many able and enlightened men every one will admit.

You will observe the *salvo* that is administered here. After he had spoken lightly of the Indian population, "as it was called;" he thought as he was one of "the enlightened men," he would be placed in an awkward situation, if he did not make the exception. The *ruse de guerre* is finely contrived, and admirably calculated to throw a slur on the society in general, while, at the same time, the writer escapes from any unpleasant consequences which might flow from it. For who, after such a compliment, can complain? Who can throw the first stone? Mr. Adam then asks, "But is the collective body therefore qualified to represent the public, in the sense in which the term is now used, and to exercise a controlling power over a Government, on which its members are all more or less directly dependent?" I entreat the Court to attend to what is meant by "a controlling power." It would appear to any plain man that some force was meant to be used; Mr. Adam has, however, left us in the dark on this point. The controlling power is nothing more than the power to point out abuses. To declare, for example, that an improper appointment has been made—that a chaplain has neglected his duty, or that an individual has committed an act which is detrimental to society. (Hear!) This is the whole of that "controlling power," the bare mention of which was enough to strike the ears as an allusion to a very different thing.

Mr. Adam is, I contend, a very uncandid man, in laying so much stress on that expression, and giving no explanation of its meaning. He next inquires—"Supposing such a local control to be desirable, according to the Constitution of the Indian Governments, can it be exercised with due sufficiency, or to any useful purpose of check, by men over whose fortunes and prospects the Government necessarily and legally possesses a species of power which precludes the notion of a constitutional control in the other party?"—Good God! if there is any state of society in which the press is more calculated to do good than another, it is where men's fortunes are so dependent on Government, that if they incurred its displeasure for acting, however virtuously, in opposition to its wishes, they might be crushed at once by the arm of power. (Hear!) In such a state of things

the press would hold out a glorious refuge for the oppressed. In this country, if a Judge on the Bench makes use of even an improper expression, it is immediately pointed out to him. The press makes him take care what he is about. In India there is, unfortunately, no such check; and whoever attempts to rectify abuse, is stigmatized as a man who has some selfish motive in view. (Hear!) A cry is then raised—"he is a troublesome fellow; he must be put down." In this sense I believe there is not a man in England a more troublesome fellow than I am; (a laugh)—and yet I have been told by public men that I am useful to them. A useless department may be so attacked and annoyed, that its previous supporters will be glad to relinquish it. Appeals are frequently made in England against abuses, and redress is frequently obtained; but all hopes of redress are futile in India: from an act of power there is no relief. The system has been handed down from the possessors of offices to their successors for a long course of time. No beneficial alteration is ever proposed, because each expects his turn, and wishes to enjoy the same power as his predecessor.

Mr. Adam declares that the Indian public can give no opinion on the measures of Government, and he has, unfortunately, printed that declaration. Now mark the consistency of Mr. Adam. He sent forth the declaration in April, 1823, and, in the month of December, a number of that *no-public* of India, residing at Benares, assembled to express their *opinion* of Mr. Adam's government, in the form of an address. (Hear!) I may observe that no Governor General, whether popular or unpopular, ever ruled in India who was not honoured with an address on quitting office. There is always a certain number of individuals to be found who are willing to pay this honour to a Governor General; and, if a Governor General should be the greatest tyrant that ever breathed, they would not be a jot the less willing to confer upon him the same degree of *eclat*. These addresses come officially under the notice of the Court of Directors; but, if they find A, B, C, and D, all equally bepraised, how can they ever arrive at the truth? If there existed a press, through which it could be stated who drew up the addresses, and the motives which caused them, their real value would soon be ascertained. The plain fact is, that all persons in office are desirous to please the Governor General, to obtain his patronage, and to get, if they can, a leaf out of his book. I do not blame these gentlemen for their conduct; but I blame the authorities at home for permitting such a system to continue.

Mr. Adam has declared to all the world that every European in India is dependent on the Government, and that it is absurd to talk of a public in that country. In his answer to the Benares address, however, he adopted very different language. In that address he was praised for the "purity of his motives, the wisdom of his councils, and the decision of his conduct." This, of course, was meant to include his conduct towards Mr. Buckingham. Mr. Adam, in his answer to the address, dated September 7th, says—"The manner in which you have spoken of my conduct, demands my warmest thanks. The approbation of those whose ability to judge of public measures is so well known, shall ever possess a high value in my estimation, and must always constitute a solid ground of satisfaction." It is difficult to suppose that Mr. Adam was possessed of common sense, when he sent forth two opinions so completely opposite to each other. Would any other man, I ask, have committed himself in so extraordinary a way?

The same observations are applicable to the answer to the Calcutta address, which spoke in the most favourable manner of the inhabitants. I cannot omit noticing the circumstances which attended the getting up of that address. I find that the very men who had deprecated the system which Government had adopted towards the press (I do not allude to lawyers, for they are accustomed to change sides), turning round upon their former opinions, and praising the chief supporter of that system, in the hope, I imagine, of possessing some paltry office for a few weeks. Can any man, reading these documents and hearing of these proceedings, say that there is no public in India? If gentlemen will take the trouble to turn to the *Asiatic Register* for 1799, they will find no less than twenty-nine addresses from Bengal alone, upon the occasion of the attack made by Hatfield upon the late King. Each of these addresses declared, most emphatically, that the individuals who subscribed to them were in the full possession, in India, of all the blessings of the British Constitution. I contend that it has always been customary for the Indian public to frame addresses which express their opinions. When flattery only is to be administered, nobody can be more willing to receive it than Mr. Adam and other men in power; but, when an unwelcome truth is to be told, their ears are closed, and they will not listen to it.

I call upon those who have authority to put an end to such a system. They should be ashamed to lend themselves to the support of a man who has betrayed such inconsistency as Mr. Adam has done—who has attempted to mystify the state of India—who has blown hot and cold with the same breath—who says, at

one time, that there is no-public and no public opinion in India, and, at another, that he will value the opinion of the same no-public to the latest hour of his life. (Hear, hear!) The inconsistency of Mr. Adam is really so absurd that one would imagine that this was all a mere fiction, were we not too fully convinced of its reality.

The hon. Bart. (Sir J. Malcolm) says, that it is the natives who form the no-public. What, are there then no natives of talent and consideration? If the hon. Bart. reflects, I have no doubt he will find that, in the course of his brilliant career, he has received as valuable assistance from natives as from any other quarter whatever. (Hear!) I maintain that the natives of India are a most sensible and intelligent race of men. Wean them from their idols, remove the nightmare of superstition which weighs down their minds, throw open the flood-gates of light upon their understandings, and they will prove to be as able, as enlightened a body of men as any upon the face of the globe. It is contended that there is danger in doing this. What danger can there be in letting them know the truth? It is said, "O! they will rebel against you." Do men, I ask, rebel for mere amusement? Do they rebel when they are happy and comfortable? Is not, on the contrary, rebellion always the last resource of those who suffer under oppression? I defy any one to refer me to any rebellion which was not originally caused by the oppression of the governors. It is only where the governors deprive the governed of their rights, that rebellion is to be found. What, then, has the Company to fear? "O! a great deal," it is said; "the natives out-number us fifty to one; they will turn upon us, and cut all our throats." Was this disposition displayed by them in the time of Warren Hastings, when a free press existed? Are their morals less pure? If they are, we are alone to blame. Do we now, after a lapse of sixty years, come forward and say, that the natives are much more dissatisfied than formerly? It is not the fact. The natives, on the contrary, are greatly improved, although I admit they might have been ten times more improved than they are. They are perfectly ready to enjoy any boon or advantage that is extended to them. I am not opposed to the imposition of what is denominated a proper check on the press in India. I am ready to agree that restraints, against which I protest here, should be in force there. I allude to the odious Six Acts, one of which is a restraint on the press. These Acts I would allow to operate in India, in the idea that they would be far preferable to rules which at present exist. I wish to live under laws, and not under tyranny—Asiatic tyranny—which is inimical to the interests of both Europeans and natives.

It has been asserted that the natives are ignorant of their strength, and that, if they came to know it, they would become rebellious. But what is the situation of things in the West Indies? There the proportion of blacks to whites is as seventy to one, and yet no mischief has been done by the press. In the United States 598 newspapers are in circulation; some of them in the Southern provinces, where slavery still exists to a great extent. In Virginia, where there are seventy slaves to one free man, there are 35 newspapers, and no ill effect is produced by them. (Hear!) The benefits of a free press are self-evident. Its influence in the improvement of morals does not depend on the opinion of the day: ages have passed away since its beneficial results have been acknowledged and appreciated. The dread of those who are opposed to its operation in India, may arise from a consciousness of acts of which I am ignorant, and they therefore fear a dreadful retribution. (Hear!) For my part, I consider such apprehensions as utterly beneath notice. Whence arises resistance against a Government? From the sufferings of the people—the deprivation of their rights, and the taking from them the justly claimed portion of the produce of their labour. If we are assured that no such proceedings are resorted to in India, and that good government prevails there, if we do all in our power to promote the people's happiness and to diffuse among them useful knowledge and religious instruction, why should the existence of 100 newspapers cause us any dread?

Unless we are compelled to reverse the picture, and to admit that India is ill governed, and her population oppressed, we have not the slightest ground for apprehension. Do you not wish to hear speedily of any grievances which may happen in India? Are you not for laying open to public observation the conduct of the *caste* which you yourselves have formed, (for your civil servants have been converted into a separate *caste.*) The manner of their education has made their ideas as different from those which Englishmen entertain, as mine are from those of a Turk. They are disinclined to afford that courtesy to the Company's military officers, which the situation of the latter ought to command. Here, indeed, if such airs were played off by any man, he would be checked and reproved; but in India the case is very different. There the importance of a military officer is looked upon as nothing, when compared with that of a civil servant. The young men of the first *caste* go out at a very early age, and when those who embrace the military profes-

sion are struggling to rise, their more fortunate countrymen who have chosen a civil life are elevated to be judges of life and death, entrusted with most extensive powers, and honoured with proconsular Government. The class I do not blame, for a finer set of young men does not exist, but I reprobate the system.

I am told that all this makes nothing against Mr. Adam; that he acted in conformity with the statute, under the impression that the articles inserted in Mr. Buckingham's Paper were improper. But I should like to be informed, why, if calumny and abuse formed a sufficient ground for putting down the *Calcutta Journal*, the *John Bull* was not likewise suppressed, whose Proprietors were all servants of the Company. (Hear!) I hold in my hand a report of the prosecution successfully brought by Mr. Buckingham against them. It is remarkable that they have never been able to make out a single charge against Mr. Buckingham, although twenty-six numbers of his paper have been selected and brought into Court, and have been scrutinized by Mr. Longueville Clarke. (Hear!) From the time Mr. Buckingham settled in India, until the time he was banished, no conviction for libel was ever had against him. Has Mr. Adam then, under these circumstances, acted an honest part? In my view of the matter, his conduct is far from honest. He spoke of the danger of wounding the feelings of others, but what has he himself permitted? A series of the most atrocious libels appeared, under his sufferance, in the *John Bull*: (Hear!) notwithstanding his pretended abhorrence of such practices, he let these libels pass unheeded. Now who are the Proprietors of that paper? They were John Pascal Larkins, Member of the Board of Trade; John Trotter, Opium Agent; Richard Chichely Plowden, Salt Agent, (a situation of vast profit;) T. Lewin, Esq. Clerk of the Crown in the Supreme Court; and C. B. Greenlaw, a Free Mariner, and Coroner of Calcutta. All these persons are servants of the Company. (Hear.) Their forces were united for the purpose of ruining Mr. Buckingham's paper, and when they found they could not do that by fair means, they had recourse to foul, and put in requisition all that was false and calumnious. Mr. Buckingham was a Free Mariner, and therefore my hon. Friend (Mr. S. Dixon) asserts that he proceeded to India under false pretences. But the Editor of the John Bull, it unfortunately happens, is likewise a Free Mariner.

Mr. S. Dixon.—Then he too has gone out under false pretences. If a man describes himself as one thing and acts in a different capacity, is he not guilty of assigning a false pretence?

Mr. Hume.—The question is whether the Government is justified in acting as it has done, and sending Mr. Buckingham home, because it is alleged he went out under a false pretence?

Mr. S. Dixon.—I also took into my consideration the circumstance of his having been repeatedly admonished.

Mr. Hume.—I speak feelingly when I say that I believe I have been admonished as often as any man living, and not in vain; for when I receive an admonition, I consider whether it be just or no, and if I decide in the affirmative, I mend my manners. (A laugh.) With respect to Mr. Buckingham, not a single conviction could his enemies procure, on any of his articles. All the appellations which had been heaped upon him, were proved to be, what they really were, falsehoods; and therefore the admonitions were uncalled for and unnecessary. Let any man give a candid opinion on the case, and I will rest it entirely on his decision. Let the conduct of the Government be remarked, which, professing impartiality, permitted free access to public documents to the Editors of the John Bull. These documents often made their appearance in that paper, which seemed to be an organ of this arbitrary Government, almost as soon as they were drawn up. I will read a few of the expressions which the John Bull has made use of. [Mr. Hume here read some extracts from the articles which were published in the John Bull, under the signatures of Nigel, Civilis, Sempronius, and others, containing a series of libels on Mr. Buckingham, (for which that gentleman prosecuted the paper,) charging him, indirectly, with having betrayed his trust, forged letters, and committed other acts deserving expulsion from society.] All the calumnies contained in this collection, and relating to transactions with Mr. Bankes in Syria, were declared, by nine of the most independent men in Calcutta, after deliberate investigation, to be utterly devoid of truth. A Government Paper used this language towards Mr. Buckingham, and yet that gentleman was banished from India by the immaculate Government under whose sufferance these articles had appeared.

For what cause was Mr. Buckingham banished? Because he made some animadversions on Dr. Bryce's appointment. If such an appointment had been made in this country, where is the man who would blame the Editor of the Chronicle, or Times, for pointing out such an abuse—for censuring such a monstrous junction of duties? The Directors themselves should have approved of the remarks on that appointment, which, I believe, they looked upon as improper, as it is known that they have sent out instructions to annul it. Is it then fair dealing to punish Mr. Buckingham for

that which cannot, by the most forced construction, be magnified into an offence?

Twenty-six numbers of the Calcutta Journal have been brought forward to prove the malicious intentions of Mr. Buckingham, but out of these his enemies have not been able to select one libel on public character, nor a single word of private calumny or scurrility. But the case is very different with regard to those who have opposed Mr. Buckingham. He brought an action against the Proprietors of the John Bull, and by the form of the action he gave them an opportunity of justifying their slanders, if they could; this, however, they were quite incapable of doing, and he obtained a verdict, and damages. Sir F. Macnaghten, in delivering his opinion, observed, "that in his mind there was no question of the malice of the writers in the John Bull, towards Mr. Buckingham. They were most malicious libels: he could not speak of them without horror." Such were the remarks of the Judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, with respect to the calumnies which had been directed against the fair fame of Mr. Buckingham. In what situation are we then placed, and what ought to be our cool and deliberate opinion of the treatment experienced by Mr. Buckingham? I have done all in my power to elicit the merits of the case on both sides. I have endeavoured to discover the motive by which Mr. Adam has been actuated, supposing that he might have been acting conscientiously, though he was wrong in principle. But when I find him acting most inconsistently; when I see him giving his support to the John Bull, while he drove, from the shores of India, Mr. Buckingham—the libels on whom the Judge declared he could not read without horror—I cannot but regard the transaction as one of the most flagrant and infamous instances of injustice and partiality I ever heard of. (Hear!)

Mr. Adam is not, it appears, an enemy to the press generally. He would suffer a calumnious press, which daily teemed with libels of a revolting description, to exist; but he would put down that press which was the source of wholesome truths, and over which he should have been anxious to throw the shield of protection. (Hear!) I look upon Mr. Adam as a very culpable man. The Court of Directors are likewise culpable: and, in my opinion, all who oppose this motion, the object of which is to elicit truth, will also be highly culpable. If the documents I mean to call for do not bear me out in what I have stated, I shall be ready to acknowledge that I have been wrong. Should I ever take a different view of the subject, from that which I at present entertain, it must arise from conviction, and not from partiality and prejudice. We are all here as jurymen; and I trust this subject will receive that due consideration which its importance demands.

I ask this Court whether it be a desirable object that the persons forming the East India Company should be classed amongst the most ignorant and arbitrary portion of the community? If they are unwilling so to be classed, I can assure them their conduct must be changed. We all know there is a Pope living at Rome; and I really believe, if the system upon which he acts were examined, it would be found to be the same in principle, so far as regards the diffusion of knowledge, as that which now prevails in India, under Mr. Adam's regulations. Each Pope, after his election, is in the habit of addressing a letter, which is called an "Encyclic Epistle," to the "Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops" of the Roman Catholic Church, and his present Holiness has written one in which he deprecates the dissemination of the Scriptures. Now, I will for a moment consider the hon. Chairman as the Pope [a laugh] on his throne, directing his letter abroad; and I think it will not be difficult to prove, that as many arbitrary acts against the press have been done, by him and his hon. Colleagues, as ever emanated from his Holiness himself. His Holiness said, "You are not ignorant, my venerable brethren, that a Society, commonly called a Bible Society, is audaciously spreading through the earth; and that in contempt of the traditions of the holy fathers, and against the celebrated decree of the Council of Trent, it endeavours with all its power, and by every means, to translate, or rather to corrupt, the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongues of all nations; which gives just cause to fear that in all other translations, the same thing may happen which has happened in regard to those already known —namely, that we may find there a bad interpretation, and instead of the gospel of Christ, the gospel of man; or, what is worse, the gospel of the devil!" Now was not the free use of the Bible, in the vernacular tongue, one of the great fruits of the reformation? Was it not that which gave such a powerful spur and stimulus to moral improvement? I imagine that very few individuals in this Court will deny this proposition. Very few will assert that the cause of religion and humanity has suffered in consequence of the Bible being translated into English. The benefit which is derived from the dissemination of the Bible in the vernacular tongue of each country of Europe, is, that it brings religious knowledge within the reach of every man. And, what is the object which the advocates of a free press in India have at heart?— It is to impart useful information, and religious knowledge, to the Natives, in

order to induce them to renounce their idolatry, and abjure their errors. Ought we not then to beware lest we check that spread of knowledge, by imitating the Pope, and shackling the press?

I would recommend gentlemen who oppose this motion, and who seem alarmed by some terrific monster—the creature of their imagination, not to regard so contemptuously the Court of Rome, when they behold such "fantastic tricks" played so near home. You certainly are acting rather on the principle of the Pope, than in accordance with the wishes of the Legislature, when you fetter the press of India, and attempt to stifle that regular improvement which carries human nature to its highest pitch in virtue and intellect.

About the time that Mr. Adam promulgated his regulations, a decree was issued by that bigoted petticoat embroiderer, Ferdinand, and the coincidence between the Regulations and the Decree is extraordinary. Mr. Adam's Regulations were published in April, Ferdinand's Decree in May. Ferdinand, fearful lest the principles of his subjects should be corrupted, directed that a register should be kept at the frontiers for the purpose of entering the titles of all books about to be imported into his dominions. An index was made out containing a list of books that might be admitted on paying duty; and also of those that were to be excluded. This, it must be confessed, is bad enough; but the case is worse with regard to India; for there the Governor General has the power to seize any book that may be introduced —a system revolting to those principles of freedom which Englishmen ought to cherish.

About the same time, the King of Portugal issued a manifesto against the press. One would suppose that they had been all bitten together (a laugh); or that some baneful comet had shed its influence over Spain, Portugal, and India, at the same moment. The King of Portugal having learned that "some Portuguese, whose opinions were, he thought, not correct, had left their native land, and emigrated to foreign countries, where they meant to write on politics in their mother tongue," directed "that a criminal information should be issued against every man who circulated a newspaper containing religious or political statements, and ordered, that all inhabitants of his dominions, whether natives or foreigners, should not receive any pamphlet or newspaper, published in a foreign country, in the Portuguese tongue, without his license." Mr. Adam, by one of his Regulations, declares it to be "deemed expedient to prohibit, within the territory of Fort William, the future establishment of printing presses, except with the previous sanction and license of Government." In other words, none are to have presses, but those who write in praise of the governors,—no matter what became of the governed. They may be ground to the earth; but not a voice is to be raised to the Government of India in their behalf, unless it comes through the official channel; and where, I should like to know, is the official man who will stand forward to advocate the cause of the native population?

The penalty for a breach of this regulation is excessively severe. King John and King Ferdinand only confiscate the books; but in India, the individual who circulates a prohibited book, may be fined at the discretion of two magistrates, and totally ruined by a multiplication of penalties. (Hear!) This is an alarming state of things, and ought not to be permitted to exist. This, however, is not all. When Sir F. Macnaghten registered those Regulations, he said he would take care that licenses should be granted for newspapers, and he pledged himself, as a man of honour, that the license for the Calcutta Journal should not be withdrawn. But scarcely was the ink dry, and the seal affixed to the bond, when that license was withdrawn. (Hear!) I have seen a letter from Mr. Buckingham's agents, which states, that it was intended to refuse the license to those who applied for its revival. (Hear, hear, hear!) It is also mentioned that no license would be granted so long as Mr. Buckingham was in any way concerned in the paper. (Hear, hear!) This, in my opinion, clearly shows that there has been a personal feeling in the whole of the proceedings against Mr. Buckingham. It is not my wish to make personal observations; but I state this, lest individuals should give too much credit to a man, because he received a good character from others. Will you suffer such a state of things to continue? Will you give the death-blow to freedom, by refusing information, and sanctioning such tyranny?

The hon. Bart. (Sir J. Malcolm) says, that his observations on a former day applied solely to the natives. I wish the Court to see how the question of a free press affects the natives of India. Gentlemen say they are very ignorant. I admit it: I allow that the natives require information. In all this I agree. But what then is our duty? Certainly to remove that ignorance. (Hear!) And has any instrument ever been found so effectual for the propagation of truth and knowledge as a free press? (Hear!) It surprises me that any objection should be urged against the existence of newspapers in India. There have always been native newspapers in every Court. Even when powers are at variance with each other, they permit persons to reside at the adverse Courts for the purpose of procuring

intelligence. What would be said in Europe, if I, being at the head of affairs, were openly to send persons to the Courts of France and Spain, to transmit home to me every circumstance that transpired. This, however, is done in India. A person who had attended the durbar of Holkar and Scindiah, sent me intelligence relative to the troops. This is not an isolated case. You will find a whole host of writers assembled together from Delhi, Oude, Calcutta, Benares, &c. and through them, information is obtained by their respective employers, of the conduct pursued by the different Governments.

In 1822, six newspapers were set up in Calcutta, in order to promote the happiness and improve the intellect of the natives. There is as strong opposition amongst those papers, as there is amongst our own Journals. The New Times and the Morning Chronicle could not exhibit greater hostility towards each other than is evinced by some of those papers. One of them was established by Ram Mohun Roy, who labours constantly to support the cause of Christianity, by showing how superior it is to the idolatrous system of the Hindoos. Another, on the contrary, opposed the doctrines of Christianity, and endeavoured to show that they were absurd. This collision of intellect is calculated to elicit the sparks of truth, which must ultimately be triumphant. It does not become individuals of great acquirements to look upon these intellectual struggles with contempt. The talents of all men are generally more nearly on a level than many persons imagine. If I were to venture to make a comparison, I should say that the cultivated and the uncultivated mind resemble two watches, the one of which keeps good time, because it is properly regulated and wound up; but the other, although it possesses all the works necessary to enable it to go well, errs, because the same pains are not taken to direct its movements. Thus it is with the minds of men: the powers of all are nearly equal, and it is the spring of education alone which produces proper and well regulated efforts.

I cannot, I think, do better, than refer here to an observation which was made the year before last by Lord J. Russell, on his motion for Parliamentary Reform. The noble Lord compared the number of readers now with that which existed 60 or 70 years ago, and finding that it had increased more than a hundred fold, he argued that such a change should be made in the system, as would meet the increased intelligence of the age. I come to the same conclusion with respect to India. All the bad passions of the human mind have their origin in ignorance and barbarism. I would, therefore, endeavour to give the people of India knowledge, by making them a reading and a thinking people, and giving them such an education as would enable them to feel and to appreciate duly the blessings of freedom. Other doctrines, however, unfortunately prevail in India. Ram Mohun Roy's paper, which has been productive of so much good, had been suppressed by Mr. Adam. Ram Mohun Roy, in the Memorial which he presented to the Supreme Court, declared that however anxious he was to impart knowledge and instruction to his brethren, he could not proceed under the degrading terms imposed by Mr. Adam's regulations. (Hear!) By such a course it is that we shall produce a stagnation of the native intellect, and become the oppressors of a people whom it is our first duty to protect.

Besides the two native journals which I have mentioned, there is, I understand, one devoted entirely to the furnishing of news, and another which is devoted to the estimable and praiseworthy object of putting a stop to the abominable practice of *suttees*, or the burning of widows. If Mr. Adam's system is to continue in force, the most effectual means of putting an end to this shocking practice will be destroyed. I trust that this great question will never cease to be agitated until justice is done to the natives of India, by placing them in that situation in which it is the intention of the Legislature that they should be placed. The Proprietors have the power of discussing this important question whenever they please. If the Directors refuse to call a Court for this purpose, ten Proprietors, by posting a notice in the Royal Exchange, can compel them to perform their duty, or otherwise they will forfeit their charter. The Court has acted unreasonably in refusing information on this subject. As a member of the Court of Proprietors, I will, as in duty bound, do every thing in my power to support the natives of India.

I feel it necessary to make a few remarks on the state of the law, as it respects the question before the Court. The learned twenty-fifth Director has, I think, been guilty of much misrepresentation on this point. The 13th of Geo. III. enacts that all offences and misdemeanours shall be tried in the Supreme Court by juries. This continued to be the law until, in an evil hour, Mr. Adam obtained Judge Macnaghten's sanction to his abominable regulations. (Hear!) The English law was then taken away, and the people of India placed under the talons of arbitrary power: the press is silenced, and every abuse will be allowed to exist, unless the persons committing it shall themselves think proper to hold it up to public notice and indignation. I may be met by the assertion, that Mr. Adam has acted legally. I deny that he has, according to my construction of the

Acts of Parliament. I deny that he has the power to send any individual who may be in India without a license, to Europe, without previous trial. By the 33d of Geo. III. section 131, it is enacted, that if any person, having obtained a license from the Court of Directors, shall so conduct himself as to forfeit his claim to the protection of the Government, it shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council to declare the license of such person to be void. This applies strictly to Mr. Buckingham's case. When his license was withdrawn, he became, in the letter of the law, an unlicensed person. By a clause in the last charter, it is decreed, that all provisions contained in former acts, not specifically repealed, shall continue to have the force of law. Now the enactment to which I have alluded is not repealed, and therefore, the privilege of trial before deportation exists in full force. I therefore maintain, that the twenty-fifth Director's exposition of the law is wrong.

[A Proprietor here asked Mr. Hume to produce the Act.]

I am not prepared to produce the Act, of which I have not a copy with me, nor did I expect to be called upon to do so; but I have no doubt that I have correctly stated the object of the enactment, as my notes are made from the Act itself. I must say that is a monstrous thing for a learned man like the twenty-fifth Director to attempt to impose upon those who are unlearned. (A laugh.) He ought to be more cautious in future. However his mistake in the present instance should teach the Court that all is not gold that glitters, and all is not true that is asserted. (Hear!) On every consideration of law, justice, and policy, the Court are called upon to denounce the proceedings which have taken place with regard to the press and Mr. Buckingham, for those proceedings have been impolitic, illegal, and tyrannical. I have not mentioned half the points which it is of consequence to know in relation to this important subject, but I trust I have said enough to satisfy impartial men, that the view which I take of the question is not an unreasonable one.

I will now, thanking you for the attention which you have bestowed on what I have offered, conclude with observing that we shall disgrace ourselves by supporting such a system of intolerance as this: a system under which Englishmen who boast of living under a Government which is "the envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world," can be transported from a country, at the distance of half the globe, without trial by judge or jury, whether right or wrong, innocent or guilty, whilst a Governor General dares not lay his finger on an American, a Frenchman, a Portuguese, or any other foreigner, without a regular accusation and trial. Mr. Adam had first silenced Mr. Buckingham, and then sent forth his charges against him, instead of acting the part of the British lion, meeting his antagonist boldly, and on fair terms, and leaving it to the world to decide between them. Shall we allow our own countrymen to be placed in the degrading situation of felons, liable to transportation without trial, whilst the natives of other countries cannot be removed before trial and conviction? (Hear!) If the system which Mr. Adam has commenced be followed up, India will be brought into a state of the most imminent danger; and every man in this Court will be personally answerable for the consequences which may result. Consider the situation in which the natives of India are placed by such a system. They are now rapidly becoming enlightened, and deserve to enjoy the privileges to which they are constitutionally entitled. The great body of the natives are as capable of discussing the merits of good government as Englishmen are. If you sanction with your approbation a system by which the natives are prevented from acquiring information, and from making their complaints known to the Government, you may yet live long enough to repent of your unwise conduct. Whilst the elements of explosion are in existence, is it wise to shut the safety-valve? An example of the evils which arise from shutting the mouths of the natives, and preventing their complaints from reaching the ear of the Government, is afforded by the events which occurred a few years since in the province of Cuttack. The intelligence that this province was in arms against the mild Government of India, came upon the Governor General and his Council like a clap of thunder, so little did they expect it. It is quite impossible to describe the surprise which the event occasioned. And what were the causes which produced that event? Mr. Adam had been censor of the press for three years. Nothing was allowed to be published which was not agreeable to him: all complaints of the oppressions of the Proconsulate Government were stifled. The abuses which prevailed were not trifling. Three fourths of the landed proprietors were fleeced of their property: this took place in a province which was the nearest but one to the capital, and yet such was the state of the press under Mr. Adam's censorship, that not a whisper of complaint was allowed to escape. So ignorant were the Government, that the inhabitants of the province had any grievance to complain of, (I had this information from a person who was himself a member of the Government at the time,) that the news of the revolt filled them with astonishment. I am prepared to show that all

the scenes of bloodshed and devastation which ensued for some years, were brought about by the want of a free press. If Mr. Buckingham's paper had existed in the province, the evils which occasioned the insurrection would have been made known, and remedied, and such a state of things would never have occurred. (Hear!)

This subject has never yet received the consideration which it deserves. The late Director, Mr. Davies, I must do him the justice to say, attempted to bring this business forward. I was not then in a situation to agitate the matter in another place; and I did not like to do so here, because I knew that I was very ignorant of the details of the case. I confess, however, that I failed in my duty in not having attempted to unveil a scene of cruelty and oppression which I am convinced has never been surpassed in any age or country. This is an instance of the effects which result from a suppression of the monitory warnings of a free press. In spite of all the efforts of the gallant officer under whom I served in India, (and a more active, honest, and unsophisticated man I never met with,) it was four or five years before peace was restored; and during that period the Company had been put to a great sacrifice of blood, exclusive of, what perhaps touched their hearts more nearly, the loss of a large annual revenue from the province. If such scenes as these could take place in a province almost close to the seat of Government, what may not occur in more distant provinces where a free press is not suffered to exist?

It is in behalf of the natives of India that I speak. If injustice be done to an Englishman, he can always find some honest man to take up his cause, and make his injuries known to the world; but what remedy has an unfortunate native? I will here beg leave to read a document which reflects great honour on the natives of India. It is a Memorial presented by six natives of Calcutta to Judge Macnaghten, complaining of the regulations which put an end to the freedom of the press. If any man in this Court be capable of penning a more able letter, I am much mistaken. I cannot conceive it possible to take a more correct view of the situation in which India is placed by the abrogation of the freedom of the press, than that which is taken in this appeal of the natives to the justice of the Government. My hon. Friend (Mr. Kinnaird), on a former day, read some extracts which I will not again refer to, but will read others which appear to me to bear strongly on the general question:—

Your Lordship may have learned from the works of the Christian Missionaries, and also from other sources, that ever since the art of printing has become generally known among the natives of Calcutta, numerous publications have been circulated in the Bengallee language, which, by introducing free discussion among the natives, and inducing them to reflect and inquire after knowledge, have already served greatly to improve their minds, and ameliorate their condition. This desirable object has been chiefly promoted by the establishment of four native newspapers, two in the Bengallee and two in the Persian language, published for the purpose of communicating to those residing in the interior of the country, accounts of whatever occurs worthy of notice at the Presidency or in the country, and also the interesting and valuable intelligence of what is passing in England, and in other parts of the world, conveyed through the English newspapers, or other channels. . . . . . While your memorialists were indulging the hope, that Government, from a conviction of the manifold advantages of being put in possession of full and impartial information, regarding what is passing in all parts of the country, would encourage the establishment of newspapers in the cities and districts under the special patronage and protection of Government, that they might furnish the supreme authorities in Calcutta with an accurate account of local occurrences, and reports of judicial proceedings, they have the misfortune to observe that, on the contrary, his Excellency, the Governor General in Council, has lately promulgated a rule and ordinance, imposing severe restrictions on the press, and prohibiting all periodical publications, even at the Presidency, and in the native languages, unless sanctioned by a license from Government, which is to be revocable at pleasure, whenever it shall appear to Government that a publication has contained any thing of unsuitable character. Those natives who are in more favourable circumstances, and of respectable character, have such an invincible prejudice against making a voluntary affidavit, or undergoing the solemnities of an oath, that they will never think of establishing a publication which can only be supported by a series of oaths and affidavits, abhorrent to their feelings, and derogatory to their reputation among their countrymen. . . . . Your memorialists are persuaded that the British Government is not disposed to adopt the political maxim, so often acted upon by Asiatic Princes, that the more a people are kept in darkness, their rulers will derive the greater advantages from them; since, by reference to history, it is found that this was but a short-sighted policy, which did not ultimately answer the purpose of its authors. (Hear.)

Having read these passages, I may rest satisfied, I hope, I have shown the Court that they have affairs to attend to of a much higher nature than their mere commercial transactions; that their first duty is to watch over the interest and happiness of India. They are bound to consider whether the measures recently adopted would not tend to keep the Indian population in a state of mental darkness. I can see no danger which can result from agreeing to the motion with which I shall conclude, except that of exposing a bad Government. In concurrence, therefore, with the Indian population, I call upon you to change a system, the object of which is to keep them in a state of ignorance and barbarism. For the purpose of obtaining the necessary information, to guide us in this object, I now beg leave to move the following Resolutions:—

1. That it is declared by the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155. § 33. to be "the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may lead to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement."

2. That no means have been found so effectual to secure to mankind the enjoyment of these blessings, as the diffusion of useful information by means of the press.

3. That there be laid before this Court copies of all the minutes and orders of council at the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, relating to the public press; and also copies of all correspondence between those Governments and the Court of Directors and the Board of Control respecting the same; to enable this Court to ascertain how far the regulations heretofore and now in force, for the guidance of the press in India, have assisted or retarded the benevolent and national objects, which the Legislature has declared it to be the duty of this country to promote.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD seconded the motion.

The resolutions having been read from the Chair;

Mr. R. JACKSON said that he, in common with many other Proprietors, was desirous of knowing what opinion the Court of Directors had conveyed to India; and he wished that the Chairman would, if he saw no objection to such a proceeding, communicate what that opinion was to the Court.

The CHAIRMAN said he had no objection to comply with the hon. Proprietor's request; the Clerk should read a copy of the letter, in which the Court of Directors had expressed their opinion of Mr. Adam's conduct. (*a*)

The Clerk then read a letter, dated July 30, 1823, in nearly the following terms:

Sir,—We have received your despatches in which you acquaint us that Mr. James Buckingham having *forfeited his claim to the protection of Government*, you have declared his license to be void. (*b*) We take the earliest opportunity of conveying to you our decided approbation of this proceeding. (*c*) When we take into consideration the offensive and mischievous character of many of the articles which have appeared in Mr. Buckingham's Journal, the frequent admonitions which he has received, and the obstinacy with which he has thought proper to persevere in the cause which had drawn upon him the displeasure of Government, we feel that you are fully justified in revoking his license. (*d*) We also take this opportunity of informing you that you shall receive our cordial support, in whatever measures you may adopt for restraining the licentiousness of the press, from which, if not checked, the most dangerous consequences must ensue. (*e*)

Mr. HUME asked whether the letter which had just been read was the only one which had been written upon the subject by the Court of Directors.

The CHAIRMAN replied that it was.

Mr. R. JACKSON then addressed the Court as follows:—I yield to no one in the most ardent attachment for the liberties of my country, and for the freedom of the press, as having been instrumental to those liberties. (*f*) I believe that the question at issue between my hon. Friend and myself will be found to be whether that which we both so ardently love, can be best maintained by what he pleases to call a free and uncontrollable press, (*g*) or

(*a*) It is impossible not to admire the ease and frankness with which the Court are ready to produce *some* papers, even on a mere hint from others, when these papers are such as they think likely to do them credit. Why do they not as readily produce *other* papers, when strenuously called for? The reason is obvious: because they know that these would *not* do them credit.

(*b*) It would have been well if the Court had asked themselves, how it was possible for any man to forfeit protection who had offended no law.

(*c*) The opportunity was *early* indeed. These despatches came home in the same ship with Mr. Buckingham, and reached the India House on the 15th of July. On the 30th the answer was written: a degree of celerity amounting almost to "breathless haste;" and such as the East India Company *never* display, except when acts like these are to be supported.

(*d*) The horror of *ex-parte* proceedings, which Mr. Impey, on the part of the hon. Court, was instructed to profess, could not have been very seriously felt on this occasion: as the opinions here expressed were formed entirely on the *ex-parte* report of the proceedings sent home by Mr. Adam. Mr. Buckingham had not then been heard in his defence, either in writing or in speech. The muzzled state of the press of India allowed no man to speak for him there; and the apathy and indifference of the press in England, on Indian subjects, had, up to this period at least, prevented the discussion of this question here. The assuming all these things as true, therefore, upon the mere ipse dixit of Mr Adam, is a complete begging of the question, and should be regarded as wholly unsupported by proof.

(*e*) This assurance of support for restraining the *licentiousness*, amounts to an avowed determination to destroy, as far as in them lay, the *liberty* of the press in India. It is as vain to hope for any mode of entirely rooting out the one without injuring the other, as it is to destroy the obnoxious qualities of drugs, and still preserve their medicinal virtues.

(*f*) This is the usual opening of a legal advocate who means to oppose that liberty, and may be found at the commencement of almost every speech yet delivered in Parliament and Courts of Law, when the object has been to restrain the very liberty here eulogised. The object is in all the same—to induce a false belief of attachment to the thing condemned, and thereby to obtain great credit for the *necessity* of the restraint proposed; as much as to say, "I, who *love* the freedom of the press as much as any man, cannot be supposed to wish to restrain it more than is really necessary;" the fallacy is almost too plain to need exposure. But it is pleasant to find Mr. Jackson, the second legal advocate of the Court of Directors, (Mr. Impey being the first,) admitting, at the very outset of his oration, that it is not our liberties that have won for us the freedom of the press, but the freedom of the press that has been instrumental in obtaining for us every other species of freedom. We beg the reader to bear this especially in mind.

(*g*) Another fallacy, and a misrepresentation together. No one in India ever asked for a free and *uncontrolled* press; but for that very press which Mr. Jackson so much admires, and thinks best, namely, "free, but subject to *legal* and constitutional control." This is all that was ever asked for India. This is what Mr. Jackson reveres and admires; and yet (matchless consistency!) this is what he strenuously opposes.

by that which I have ever ranked amongst the greatest blessings of mankind, a press free, but subject to legal and constitutional control. With the gentleman to whom this debate so much refers, (Mr. Buckingham,) I have not the honour to be acquainted, nor indeed had I, until within a few minutes, the least knowledge of his person. I understand that Mr. Buckingham is a gentleman of very superior abilities, and of most respectable private character, but he is before us to-day as a public man; and I, in the discharge of my public duty, shall not hesitate to speak frankly, with respect to every part of his conduct which has led to the conclusion which I, for one, am bound to approve of. I concur with the Court of Directors in approving of the conduct of Mr. Adam; and I am of opinion, that if the Court of Directors had not expressed their approbation as they have done, they would have compromised their duty. (Hear!)

In the course of my hon. Friend's speech he has particularly drawn our attention to three considerations—first, what is the law? secondly, has that law been wisely and virtuously administered? and, if it has not, let Mr. Adam be subject to all the blame which he would so justly merit; but, if the law has been administered in a becoming manner, let us, whilst we make every consideration for the honesty and uprightness of Mr. Buckingham's intentions—let us, at least, not desert that line of conduct to which we have accustomed and attached ourselves, namely, that of standing forward as the protectors of our absent functionaries, to defend their measures when called in question, and their characters when unjustly assailed, as I believe Mr. Adam's to have been. (Hear!) The third consideration to which my hon. Friend has called my attention is, whether it be consistent with sound wisdom and enlightened policy to allow the freedom of the press to exist in our colonial settlements in the East Indies to the extent, or, I should rather say, the non-extent, the unlimited range which my hon. Friend and those who support him profess to be their desire to see it carried. (*h*) It is, in the first place, important that we should ascertain what is the law of the case, especially since it has been so emphatically alluded to. It is a great mistake to suppose that the law which authorizes the removal of persons residing in India without licenses is of recent origin—it has existed, in Act after Act, for the last 200 years. It has always, during that time, been the principle of the Indian Government, sanctioned by the Legislature of Great Britain, that the non-access of strangers was the only way to preserve our possessions. I see, by their gestures, that some hon. Proprietors entertain a little doubt on this point; the Court shall judge between us. By the charter of Elizabeth, which was granted more than 200 years ago, (*i*) it was enacted that "none of the Queen's subjects, but the Company's servants and their assigns, should resort to the East Indies, under pain of forfeiting their ships and cargoes, with imprisonment till the offenders should give a bond of 1,000*l*. not to trade there again." The Act of Charles, after reciting the Acts of Elizabeth and James, provides that the Company "may seize on all British subjects residing in India without the Company's license, and send them home to England." Nearly 100 years after, the 5th of George I. provides that, if "any British subject be found in India without a license, the Company may arrest and seize him, and remit him to England to answer for his offence, according to law." The 9th of Geo. I., entitled, An Act for the better securing the trade of the East India Company, enacted "that all persons found in the East Indies without license, would be held to commit a high crime and misdemeanour, and might be seized and sent to England, and lodged in the next county jail to the place where they should be landed, until they gave securities to stand their trial." A similar enactment was contained in the 33d of the same King. I believe there is no Parliamentary rule more strict in its construction than this, that when the Legislature continues, through a long series of years, to repeat the same enactment, it is to be held that the operation of the enactment has been found beneficial. When we find that Parliament has undeviatingly persevered in enacting the same principle, we have a right to refer to that as a proof, above all other arguments, that the law has been found to be wise and useful. (*k*) (Hear!) Then

(*h*) It is impossible that Mr. Jackson could have read, with any attention, the correspondence and discussions that took place in India, if he says this through ignorance; and it is impossible that his intentions can be honest, if he says this from design. No man, either in India or England, ever desired an *unlimited range* for the press, any more than they would for poison or the dagger: they only asked that the former should be as free to every man as the latter; to be punished only when abused, and after a trial and conviction at law.

(*i*) With Mr. Jackson, as with most other lawyers, the *antiquity* of a statute seems to be its greatest merit, and a law made 200 years ago to be much better than one made yesterday. On this principle every repeal of an old Act must be a species of treason against the state, and an insult to the "wisdom of our ancestors:" which, when it was in its perfection, sanctioned the burning of heretics, witches, &c. What a pity that such wise laws as these should have ever disappeared before the folly of our degenerate days!

(*k*) There are several laws of this "wise and useful" order, that have been continued from the earliest times, and which, no doubt, Mr.

how does the case stand? In the last Act of Parliament which relates to the subject, namely, the 53d of George III. we find that the Legislature, so far from abridging any of the powers given to the Indian Government by former Acts, re-enacts and enlarges those powers, and specifies the particular mode in which they shall be carried into execution. This Act, after enacting that all persons in India shall be subject to the Local Governments, goes on to declare that, "if any persons, having obtained licenses to reside in India from the Court of Directors, shall at any time so conduct themselves that, in the judgment of the Governor General, they shall be held to have forfeited their claim to the countenance and protection of the Government, it shall and may be lawful for such Governor General to declare that the licenses of such persons are void; after which such persons shall be deemed to be in India without licenses, and the Governor General shall be authorized to seize them and send them home to England." I think there can be no difficulty in collecting from these Acts that the law is this—that if any person be found in the East Indies without a license, he is guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and is liable to be seized and sent to England. (*l*)

There is a distinction between the case of Mr. Buckingham and that of Mr. Arnot. Mr. Buckingham remained in India, up to a certain period, under what is called a free mariner's license. I will not do more than merely allude to Mr. Arnot's case, because the transaction between Mr. Arnot and Lord Amherst not yet being fairly before the Court and the public, I should hold it to be unjust, either to Mr. Arnot or his Lordship, to enter into any part of the subject until we have every part of the question as fully before us as Mr. Buckingham has taken care that we should have every thing which relates to him. Mr. Arnot's case, however, differs from Mr. Buckingham's in this, that he was in India without any license whatever; and, under those circumstances, it became the bounden duty of the Governor General to remove him. If, therefore, there existed no other reason for the removal of Mr. Arnot than that he was in India without a license, it became the imperative duty of the Governor General, the moment his attention was directed to the circumstance, to send him home. I have said that Mr. Buckingham resided in India under a free mariner's license. I have no objection to the enlarged construction which has been given to that license by some persons; but I must observe that the license only permits an individual to be in India in the practice of a seafaring trade, and that, on the face of it, it declares that if the party to whom it may be granted shall, in any respect, depart from the rules and ordinances of the East India Company, from that time the license shall be void. I merely mention this for the purpose of showing that, if the letter of the law had been strictly enforced against Mr. Buckingham, as that gentleman and his friends desire it should be enforced against Lord Hastings and others, we should have been spared all this painful discussion about the liberty of the press and the injuries which Mr. Buckingham says he has received; for, the moment he set up the *Calcutta Journal*, his license became void, and he might have been removed. The hon. Bart. (Sir C. Forbes), I see, shakes his head; but I repeat that, from that moment, Mr. Buckingham's license became forfeited, and the Governor General could have sent him to England for that, if for no other reason. (*m*) It has, however, been the practice of Lord Hastings, and other Governors General, not to look very nicely into the licenses which individuals may possess, and to allow gentlemen having free mariner's licenses to remain in India, and to engage in any profitable speculation, so long as they continued to conduct themselves in a proper manner. But I have no hesitation in saying that, if I had been at the head of the Government in India, and had found a gentleman, with a free mariner's license, abusing the privileges which were conceded to him, for the purpose of disturbing the welfare of the empire, (*n*) I would not, as the Government have done with respect to Mr. Buckingham, have entered into a lengthened correspondence with him, but would at once have said, "You have, in my judgment, departed from the object of your license; I will inquire no further, but I order you home immediately." (*o*) (Hear!) It

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Jackson equally admires. One of these is the decision of certain disputes by the trial by combat: another, fines for not attending church; some of which have been very recently inflicted. If this absurd principle were acted on, no very old law could be repealed; and the longer an abuse *has* continued, the longer, according to such an argument, it ought to be continued in future!

(*l*) All the *old* enactments which, according to Mr. Jackson's view of the case, must be so much better than the *new* ones, were directed to the punishment of those who originally went to India without licenses at all: but the recent law is directed to the taking away licenses from those who have them; and then punishing them for being without what they have been forcibly deprived of! Oh, admirable spirit of legislation!

(*m*) This is so alarming a doctrine, affecting the safety and security of three-fourths of the British settlers in India, that it deserves to be prominently noticed here.

(*n*) This, however, should at least be proved.

(*o*) If Mr. Jackson thus interprets *law*, he might make a good Judge; at least an acceptable one to those who have the power of appointing to the Bench: but while he remains an Advocate such notions are rather out of place.

really appears to me that the Government of India would have escaped much bitter accusation if they had done that which, from forbearance and tenderness towards Mr. Buckingham alone, they abstained from doing. (*p*)

Let us now see whether or not Mr. Buckingham's conduct has been such as morally to justify the proceedings to which the Government of India has resorted. This brings me to the second of the propositions, which I intend to discuss; for I think I have established, beyond dispute, that the Government has the power, when it *believes* an individual to have forfeited his claim to its protection, to declare his license void, and to send him home. (*q*) It remains then to be seen, whether in administering the law, the Government has acted wisely. It must be admitted, I think, that I at least state the question fairly; and there can be no objection to my endeavouring to make out my case by a few extracts, from what must be admitted to be an authority in this case, since it is a pamphlet published by Mr. Buckingham himself, and circulated amongst his friends. (*r*)

I will pass over all Mr. Buckingham's early history, except that part which relates to his being at Bombay without a license. I only allude to this, to show that the local Governments have uniformly acted on the principle of remitting unlicensed individuals to England. (*s*) Sir Evan Nepean, the Governor of Bombay, listened with great attention to all the objections which Mr. Buckingham urged against his being sent home, and it is evident, from the correspondence which took place, that Sir Evan Nepean would, if it had depended on himself, rather that Mr. Buckingham had remained at Bombay, to develope those enlightened principles of oriental commerce which Mr. Buckingham, with a talent peculiarly his own, had brought under the notice of the Bombay Government. But, notwithstanding, Sir Evan Nepean felt bound to direct Mr. Buckingham's removal to England; he said, "I have no choice; I must administer the laws of England"—for they are the laws of England. Let us have no quibbling on this point to-day. The law which directs a Governor General to send home an individual, without trial if you please, is as much the law of England as any other law. It has been enacted and re-enacted by the Legislature, for upwards of two hundred years, and I ask any contemplative man who hears me, and who has studied Indian history, whether he does not, in his conscience believe, that if the liberty which is contended for to-day, had been conceded 150 years ago, we should not at this moment be, if not without an Indian empire, at least in a far more disadvantageous situation than we now are with regard to it? (*t*) (Hear!) When we read the opinions of the greatest men who have either written or spoken on the subject of India; when we find them all unanimous in speaking of the unexampled good fortune of Great Britain, in possessing, almost without question, the greatest empire ever known, containing a multitudinous population, which ranks amongst the *happiest portion of mankind*, it is but fair to come to the conclusion, that the laws which have been passed by the Legislature are wise, and have conduced to the best of all ends, namely, the consolidation of the empire, and the happiness of its subjects. (*u*)

(*p*) If the advice of Mr. Lowndes had been followed:
"Off with his head—so much for Buckingham,"
no doubt much bitter accusation would also have been spared: and, indeed, to do Mr. Lowndes justice, his mode is shorter, more effectual, and not at all more unjust than Mr. Jackson's.

(*q*) Supposing the law had said, "When, in the judgment of the Governor General, a man has committed murder, he shall be hung," would he be justified in hanging a man merely because he *believed* he had committed murder? Would no inquest, no proof be required; no trial, no defence allowed? "Forfeiting claim to protection," must mean something or nothing. If it means something, then there is a limit; for a man who has *not* forfeited this claim, cannot be lawfully sent home. If it means nothing, it would be honest at once to say so, and repeal the clause; for no limiting clause can be necessary, if the mere will of the Governor is to determine.

(*r*) This pamphlet consisted of the correspondence with the Indian Government, at various periods, and was privately printed in India; the Government there not permitting the publication of its own official documents.

(*s*) They have not uniformly done so; and there are at this moment at least 500 British subjects in India without licenses, who have been settled there for years, and never once molested.

(*t*) Here then is an honest avowal, though an accidental one, that the good of the people in India has no part in our system of ruling them. If the liberty of the press had been given to India 150 years ago, says Mr. Jackson, India perhaps would have, by this time, been free and independent; but *we* should have been worse off. Yet, both Englishmen and Indians *had* the freedom of speech and writing 150 years ago; and it is the new laws, the censorship of Lord Wellesley, and the licensing of Mr. Adam, that have *taken this away*. If, however, Mr. Jackson thinks that the wiser the Indians become, the less advantageous their empire will be to us, he should, if only for consistency's sake, propose that every attempt to enlighten them should be discouraged, and that they should be kept in everlasting darkness. This would be speaking plainly, at least.

(*u*) If, indeed, it were true, that the natives of India were amongst the *happiest portion of mankind*; then, we might fairly infer that they were wisely governed: but *if* they are so happy, why not let them give utterance to their joy? If they are the happiest of mankind, their ignorance must be better than wisdom; idolatry superior to Christianity; slavery, to freedom! Happy people! How neglectful in us, who are all seeking happiness, not to imitate your admirable examples; and become also numbered among the happiest of men!

Mr. Buckingham, after having been ordered home by Sir Evan Nepean, obtained a free mariner's license, and made several voyages in the East Indies, and at length found himself at Calcutta, where the owner of the ship which he commanded had destined her to engage in a traffic, which it will not lessen Mr. Buckingham in the opinion of the good and humane, to know, that he at once abhorred and refused to be concerned in, and thereby relinquished profits of no ordinary kind. (Hear!) In this situation, Mr. Buckingham looked around him, to see in what manner he could employ the talents with which he knew that it had pleased God and nature to endow him (for there are few persons who do not know their scale of worth among their fellow-creatures); and he very naturally embarked in the concerns of a public newspaper. But this was not done without consideration. Mr. Buckingham made a sort of probationary experiment in two other newspapers (not as principal but only as conductor), before he became proprietor of the Calcutta Journal. I mention this, because I shall, by-and-by, find it impossible to reconcile the fact of Mr. Buckingham, a shrewd and intelligent merchant, having conducted two newspapers, and paid 3,000*l.* for the proprietorship of another, with his statement, that he was unacquainted with the Regulations which had been sent by the Government to every editor of a newspaper, until some time after he purchased the Calcutta Journal. (*u*) Mr. Buckingham became the proprietor of the Calcutta Journal in October, 1818; and in about nine months afterwards, he had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of—whom? Of that very man, the Marquess of Hastings, whom he (neither justly nor generously, as I conceive, to the noble Marquess) so often refers to, as having given the most uncontrolled freedom of the press to all India. (*v*) (Hear!) I must be excused for calling the attention of the Court to a certain statement which was made by an hon. Friend of mine, whom I do not now see in his place, but whom I will refer to as the individual who opened the debate on this subject at the last Court (Mr. Kinnaird), and which statement, I conceive, to reflect upon the honour of the Marquess of Hastings. It should be remembered, that the Regulations which I have alluded to, were issued under these circumstances:—In August 1818, the Marquess of Hastings revoked the censorship of the press; but substituted these Regulations, which the editors of newspapers were given to understand they must conform to. The Marquess of Hastings's reasoning was this: "I have taken away the censorship, and I trust to the prudence of the editors of newspapers for observing these general rules." It has pleased Mr. Buckingham, and his advocates, to treat these Regulations as a matter of little importance; to say that the Marquess of Hastings merely framed them to calm those poor silly souls who ignorantly anticipated that danger would arise from the removal of the restrictions upon the press; that he threw them out as a "tub to the whale," or "a rattle to amuse children." (*w*) Few persons entertain a higher opinion of the Marquess of Hastings's merits than I do; few persons have more attentively observed the whole of his administration, and I can safely state, that I never joined in any votes, with more heartfelt satisfaction, than I did in those by which this Court expressed their favourable opinion of his Lordship's government; and I entertain little doubt, that at no distant period, when some sharp points of controversy are smoothed down, and good humour is restored to both parties, with reference to the Marquess of Hastings's conduct, that I shall again be called upon to join in a vote, which will be equally honourable to his Lordship and to ourselves. But I should disguise my feelings, if I did not say, that if the Marquess of Hastings's conduct, with respect to the Regulations in question, had been such as is attributed to him, it would cast a shade upon his illustrious administration: (Hear!) and I should be sorry ever to believe that he adopted such a line of conduct. Happily for the Marquess of Hastings, we have his own language, issued by himself in Council, in broad contradiction to the conduct which is imputed to him; and I will give you, from Mr. Buckingham's own mouth, the interpretation which he put upon the Regulations, when he acknowledged their validity, before long impunity had made him bold, and he thought proper to speak of those Regulations in a manner too contumelious for any Government, having regard for its own dignity, to endure. As I have before said, Mr. Buckingham had been but a few months proprietor of the Calcutta Journal, before he gave offence to the Government, by certain articles which he published. Those articles were such as could hardly

(*u*) These regulations were contained in a private circular of the Chief Secretary, which was never published; and was communicated to the Editors of Newspapers some time before Mr. Buckingham landed in India, and were by many besides himself not then known to exist.

(*v*) This error can never be too frequently corrected. It was *not* an uncontrolled freedom; but a freedom controlled by the laws, and by that best guardian of the laws, a Trial by Jury, which Lord Hastings was supposed to have given; and this was all that was ever desired.

(*w*) Mr. Buckingham never joined in these assertions. He always considered this part of the conduct of Lord Hastings inconsistent, and has always said so.

have been expected to proceed from a person of gentlemanly feeling, characterized as they were by goarse *ribaldry*, applied to public authorities which ought to be respected. The Court will judge of the nature of the offence, from the language in which the Governor General in Council thought proper to animadvert upon it. (*x*) The Chief Secretary of the Government, by order of the Governor in Council, sent a letter to Mr. Buckingham, stating, that the attention of Government had been drawn to certain *offensive paragraphs*, published in the Calcutta Journal; one of which is as follows:—

"We have received a letter from Madras, of the 10th inst., written on deep black-edged mourning post, of considerable breadth, and apparently made for the occasion, communicating, as a piece of melancholy intelligence, the fact of Mr. Elliott's being confirmed in the Government of that Presidency for three years longer. It is regarded at Madras as a public calamity, and we fear it will be viewed in no other light throughout India generally.

I put it to the hon. Bart. (Sir Charles Forbes), who resided for some time at Bombay, whether, if Mr. Elphinstone on his arrival there, to assume the government of a population of some millions, had met with such a salutation as this,—if the first thing that met his eye at the breakfast table, had been a newspaper, issued in deep mourning, on account of his assumption of the Government—(*y*)—he would have considered it a fair exercise of the liberty of the press? How any man, having in his hands the Regulations of Lord Hastings, should write such an article, surprises me. (*z*) The first of the Regulations prohibited the editors of newspapers from publishing "animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors; on other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India; or disquisitions on political transactions of the local Administration; or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta." With the exception of these interdictions, which would exist under any Government, (*a*) the editors were allowed to write as they pleased. All that was required of them was, that they should not bring into contempt, both with the Natives and Europeans, the highest constituted authorities in the country. (*b*) It appears to me a matter of astonishment, that Mr. Buckingham's friends should take upon themselves to say, that the Marquess of Hastings put forth the Regulations respecting the press, as a rattle for the amusement of children, and that he never intended them to be acted upon, when, in the very letter which I have already referred to, it is stated, that the Governor General "considers the paragraphs above quoted, to be highly offensive and objectionable in themselves, and to amount to a violation of the obvious spirit of the instructions communicated to the editors of newspapers, at the period when this Government was pleased to permit the publication of newspapers, without subjecting them to the previous revisions of the officers of Government." The letter concluded in these terms: "On the present occasion, the Governor General in Council does not propose to exercise the powers vested in him by law; but I am directed to acquaint you, that by any repetition of a *similar offence*, you will be considered to have forfeited all claim to the countenance and protection of this Government; (*c*) and will subject yourself to be proceeded against under the 36th section of the 53d of Geo. III. cap. 155." The Regulations here alluded to, although they had been circulated some time before, and were in the hands of every editor of a newspaper, Mr. Buckingham states, were now for the first time officially brought under his notice. Let those, who can, believe that Mr. Buckingham gave 3,000*l*. for the Calcutta Journal, without knowledge of these

(*x*) This is something new. The better way to enable the Court to judge of the offence, would have been to have given the opinion of the original writer of the article also, and not Lord Hastings's character of it only. If every act were to be judged of, not from the act itself, and the explanation of the actor, but from the description of the person most deeply interested in giving a false colouring to it, then every man should be judged of according to his *accuser's* statement, without waiting for his defence; and no counsel should be heard in Courts of Law, but those opposed to the prisoner's innocence. This, from a practising advocate, as Mr. Jackson is, is really admirable!

(*y*) The Paper was *not* in mourning, but contained the assertion of a letter having been received, written on mourning paper, which was the fact.

(*z*) Lord Hastings's regulations were not then in the Editor's hands; nor had he any reason whatever for supposing that the press was not as free in India as it was in England, subject only to the Trial by Jury in a Court of Law.

(*a*) Can Mr. Jackson, the legal officer of the East India Company, be serious, when he says, that under any government these interdictions would exist? Do they or could they exist in England? Such interdictions leave nothing of any useful kind open to newspaper discussion, which *must* be employed on the topics prohibited—"the measures and proceedings of public authorities in England or India, connected with the Government of that country," to be productive of the great end of public discussion, establishing a check on the conduct of those in power in that country.

(*b*) This was *not* all that was required. It was required that they should not discuss their measuress at all. But *could* they bring good men into contempt? and if they could, was there no law to punish them?

(*c*) No *similar offence* ever was committed; and, therefore, *this* warning, unlawful as it was, was strictly and uninterruptedly attended to.

official regulations, which were to be the rule of his conduct, and must, in a great degree, have determined the value of the property. (*d*) Upon receiving the letter from Government, Mr. Buckingham very properly made an apology (*e*) to Government. In a letter which he addressed to the Government, he said, that instead of "offering any observations, tending to the extenuation of my conduct in this or in any previous instance, as departing from the spirit of the instructions issued to the editors of the public journals in India, &c. I shall rather confine myself to observing, that I sincerely regret my having given cause to his Lordship in Council to express his displeasure, and the more so, as there is not an individual among the numerous subjects under his benign Government, who is more sensible than myself of the unprecedented liberality which has marked his Lordship's administration in general, and the immense obligation which all the friends of the press owe—" to what? to his having granted uncontrolled license? to his having removed all restrictions from the press? No! but "to the measure of the revised Regulations in particular." (*ee*) This was said by the same gentleman, who at a subsequent period of his career, modestly reviled these very Regulations. (*f*) Mr. Buckingham continued thus: "The very marked indulgence, which his Lordship in Council is pleased to exercise towards me, in omiting, on this occasion, the exercise of the powers vested in him by law, will operate as an additional incentive to my future observance of the spirit of the instructions issued *before the commencement* of the Calcutta Journal, to the editors of the public prints in India, in August 1818, of which I am now [*for the first time*] fully informed, and which I shall henceforth make my guide." If he has made this his guide, Mr. Adam has been wrong; and so has Lord Hastings, who, be it remembered, took every step himself with regard to Mr. Buckingham; but if he has not made them his guide, if he has not observed them, and if, on the contrary, he has violated them, and that too with no little degree of contumely, who will say that the expatriation of such a person, enjoined as it was by law, was unjust. (*g*) (Hear!)

Mr. Buckingham's next offence against the Government was in giving an account of a meeting at Madras to address Lord Hastings. Mr. Buckingham alluded to the meeting only, for the purpose of introducing the Marquess of Hastings's answer to the address, (*h*) upon which he put a construction which was, I think, by no means generous towards his Lordship. Mr. Buckingham naturally took pleasure in noticing the speeches which were made upon that occasion. Among others he gave a detached passage from the speech of a gallant Officer, now present (Colonel Stanhope). That speech was one of great ability, distinguished for those high and generous feelings which I know the gallant Officer to possess, and which have prompted his late efforts to afford relief to the oppressed, to lift up the falling, and to cheer the faint;

(*d*) A foreigner landing in England, taking a seat in a church, and hearing he was in a country of toleration, might never think of asking whether there was not a law which subjected him to heavy penalties if he did not attend in his place every Sunday, though such a law does exist. An Englishman landing in India, and hearing that the press was as free as in England, which almost every one there believed, might never ask, if there were not regulations subjecting him to displeasure for using this freedom; and yet such regulations might exist. There is nothing wonderful in this. It was moreover literally the fact.

(*e*) This is a misnomer—an expression of regret is not an apology. Apologies were often asked, and once, indeed, insisted on, on pain of instant punishment: but they were firmly and uniformly refused, as degrading to any honest man to make, unless when conscious of being in the wrong.

(*ee*) These revised regulations were the abolition of the odious censorship, and the substituting proceedings at law instead of arbitrary punishment, which all who *then* admired Lord Hastings (and Mr. Buckingham was among the number,) firmly believed to be the revision which he had intended, and made, in the state of the laws for regulating the press.

(*f*) These regulations were understood when spoken of as *better* than the censorship, to mean that *proceedings at law* would be the future course. These same regulations were deservedly reprobated, when it was understood that *banishment without trial* would be inflicted for even a *supposed* breach of them, to be judged of only by the offended party. The law which apportions punishment to men *convicted* of false and malicious libel, by a jury of their countrymen, is a good law: but a law that should apportion banishment, without trial or conviction, to any one who should merely be *supposed* to have committed this offence by an angry Judge, himself perhaps the party libelled, would be a detestable law, and as such would be contemned by all honest men in England. It is this which constitutes all the difference.

(*g*) Mr. Buckingham *has* made them his guide; as will hereafter appear. His opponents, in the John Bull particularly, have broken them times without number; and have even been convicted of libels in a Court of Law, while Mr. Buckingham has always been pronounced innocent there. Yet the innocent is punished: the guilty honoured and rewarded. What is the answer to this? It is not, however, true that expatriation is *enjoined* by the law for offences through the press: it seems to be *permitted* for any purpose the Government may see fit, and here are the blessed fruits of this discretion.

(*h*) This is unfortunately untrue. The proceedings of the meeting were published in the Calcutta Journal of the 17th of June, 1819, and the reply of Lord Hastings to the address from Madras was not even uttered by his Lordship until the 24th of July in the same year. How one could publish a report in June, for the mere purpose of alluding to what happened in the July following, Mr. Jackson can, perhaps, best explain.

in short, to every thing which patriotism and generous feeling could suggest in favour of a people, with respect to whom I hope there is but one feeling in the hearts of all who call themselves Englishmen. (*i*) (Hear!) The gallant Officer upon that occasion made use of the following language:—"I allude to the suppression of the censorship of the press at Calcutta; that this generous act of power should, I think, be referred to in your address; the establishment of a free press in Asia, is, in my estimation, the most magnanimous act of the Marquess of Hastings's administration, and is that which will come most home to the bosom of high-minded men." Now what the gallant Officer was pleased to call the establishment of a free press, was the revocation of the censorship, and the substitution of the regulations which I have before referred to. No man could applaud Lord Hastings for the removal of the censorship, without at the same time approving of the regulations in question, which, in fact, formed part of the measure. (*k*) The gentlemen of Madras addressed Lord Hastings in very flattering terms; and some little allowance should have been made for the language in which his Lordship returned a complimentary answer to a complimentary address. Lord Hastings said—"My removal of the restrictions from the press has been mentioned in laudatory language. I might easily have adopted that procedure without any length of cautious consideration, from my habit of regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned." Upon the *conviction* of a special and urgent cause, (*l*) his Lordship accompanied the removal of the censorship with the regulations, which he thought allowed of every fair exercise of the faculties of the mind, and which Mr. Buckingham himself had allowed to be the greatest blessing that could be conferred upon India. (*m*) I read only *detached passages*, because my object is *merely* to satisfy the Court that the authorities in India, and the Court of Directors here, are justified in all that they have done; and that we are bound to give them our support. (*n*)

The controversy in which Mr. Buckingham engaged respecting the post-office, once more brought upon him the animadversions of Government. The Chief Secretary informed Mr. Buckingham, by letter, that the Governor General perceived, with regret, that the indulgence which had before been shown to him had made no impression; and that his Lordship on that occasion contented himself with requiring from Mr. Buckingham a distinct acknowledgment of the impropriety of his conduct, and a full and sufficient apology to the Government of Fort St. George, for the insinuations inserted against it in the Calcutta Journal. In reply to this communication, Mr. Buckingham wrote a letter of extraordinary length, which I call his *second apology*, (*o*) and which contains this passage:—"I conceived accordingly that the regulations or restrictions of August 1818, were as effectually abrogated by this step, as one law becomes repealed by the creation of another, the provisions and enactments of which are at variance with the spirit of the former." Here we see this idolater of the constitution, this abhorrer of every degree of despotism, desirous, when it suited his own purposes, to place the Marquess of Hastings in the situation of the veriest despot that could be imagined, possessing the power, by a passage in his answer to a complimentary address, to revoke the deliberate acts of himself and his Council. I look, but in vain, in the countenances of my hon. Friends for symptoms of that holy indignation which must warm their patriotic hearts, when they find the person whom they stand forward to protect, justifying his conduct on his alleged belief that a single line in answer to a complimentary address, had force enough to revoke the act and opinions of the Governor General in Council; that act, too, being founded on an act of the Legislature. I acknowledge Mr. Buckingham to be a man of great ability, but I cannot help ranking him amongst the greatest casuists whose works I ever read. Mr. Buckingham's understanding is too enlarged to permit him to believe in what he asserts; it is impossible that a man of his intellect

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(*i*) The allusion here is to the struggling and oppressed Greeks. It is safe for Mr. Jackson to applaud their resistance to their Turkish invaders, because he is not one of the latter number: but he thinks it is not safe to aid in relieving the unhappy Indians from their English invaders, because he is not only a Proprietor of East India Stock, but an Officer of the Company who rule those from whom his profits are derived.

(*k*) And if the infringement of such regulations were to be punished, after a trial by jury and conviction at law, men might *honestly* approve even these, as much better than a censorship at least; but punishment *without* trial was then never contemplated.

(*l*) The unfairness, not to say misrepresentation, of this passage, will be shown hereafter. Lord Hastings's expressed conviction was quite the reverse of that here stated.

(*m*) That is, the substitution of legal proceedings *after* publication, in lieu of a censorship *before* publication.

(*n*) It will be shown hereafter, that the detached passages were read *merely* to deceive and misrepresent.

(*o*) And yet the whole letter went to deny the necessity of *any* apology, as well as to refuse to make it; and Mr. Adam expressly complains of Mr. Buckingham for having, in this instance, had the *insolence* to *refuse* an apology, and to write a long letter of justification instead! Can mere ignorance of this fact account for Mr. Jackson's misstatement? Let the reader judge.

could for a moment suppose that the *ipse dixit* of Lord Hastings could revoke the solemn act of the Governor General in Council. (*p*) (Hear!) Mr. Buckingham's letter continues thus :—" I regret, however, to learn, by the terms of your letter of the 12th instant (Jan. 12, 1820), that I have mistaken the extent of the indulgence and freedom which his Excellency meant to allow the Indian press....... From your letter I must conceive the full existence of those restrictions of 1818, which I had believed to have been abrogated, as that letter makes it the basis of my offence, that my remarks on the Government of Fort St. George, are obviously in violation of the spirit of those rules to which my particular attention had before been called." At last then, supposing Mr. Buckingham to have been ignorant of the regulations respecting the press at the time he gave 3,000*l.* for his Journal, as well as when he circulated it amongst millions of the population of India (for it is a fact that his paper had a great circulation beyond that of any other in India), a black-edged paper, on account of the appointment of the Governor of a Presidency.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD interrupted the hon. Proprietor, to inform him that he was mistaken in supposing that Mr. Buckingham's Paper had exhibited a black edge.

Mr. R. JACKSON.—Mr. Buckingham said to all India—" We have received a black-edged paper, in consequence of Mr. Elliot being appointed Governor of Madras for three years longer." I desire it to be understood that I do not impute to Mr. Buckingham the actual circulation of a black-edged paper; but I ask, whether there is any material difference between the circulation of such a paper, and the announcement that it had been received? (Hear! from Mr. Hume.) Will any one say that Mr. Buckingham did not disseminate, as far as lay in his power, the fact of a black-edged paper having been circulated on account of the appointment of Mr. Elliot, as a proof of the calamity which the inhabitants of the presidency were about to undergo? (*q*) I leave it to the understandings of those who attend to me to decide whether this was not a publication deeply disparaging to the Government of Madras, and whether any Government would not be undermined, if libels like this could be circulated with impunity? (Hear!) (*r*) However; it is clear, that supposing Mr. Buckingham had heretofore mistaken the regulations for the press at this time, namely, in Jan. 1820, he acknowledged a full understanding of, and a determination to be governed by, them. Let us pursue this gentleman's career, and see how he kept his word, and acted up to the professions which he made to the Government.

It appears that another complaint was soon made by the Government. It is for the Court to judge whether there was proper ground for the complaint; it is enough for me to show that in the opinion of those whom we have appointed to administer the Indian Government, Mr. Buckingham's publications were such as to call for their interference. In the beginning of 1820, a letter appeared in Mr. Buckingham's paper respecting the mode in which the troops of the Nizam were paid, imputing to certain public officers that they, in order to derive an illicit profit, were issuing base coin to the native troops; and stating that it would be better, at once, to deduct a portion of their pay, than to resort to such a practice. This, it must be confessed, was a pretty idea to disseminate amongst the native troops. (*s*) Mr. Buckingham and his friends have more than once quoted the Marquess of Hastings's opinion, that our power in India hangs upon opinion. (*t*) They should at least define upon whose opinion it hangs. Is it upon the opinion of the native Sovereigns, or of the native army, or of the native population? There is not one of these classes whose opinion the paragraphs which appeared in Mr. Buckingham's paper did not tend

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(*p*) Mr. Buckingham may not, perhaps, be able, with a clear conscience, to return the compliment here lavished on him for ability, and enlarged understanding, though Mr. Jackson's love of casuistry may not, perhaps, be so much a matter of doubt. The plain fact is this—Lord Wellesley, by his mere *ipse dixit*, placed a censorship on the press: Lord Hastings, by a private circular, took it off; and in his reply to the Madras address, praising him for this, stated, on his own *ipse dixit*, what were his views in breaking the fetters of former rulers and former times. If an *ipse dixit* can make a rule, it can surely repeal it. If an *ipse dixit* can pass an order, it can surely explain its meaning. Mr. Buckingham has always contended that a mere *ipse dixit* should do neither; but when his opponents apply to *one* act of the Governor General, he appeals to another, and a subsequent one, professedly explanatory of the former, and done too in the presence of all his council, and before the assembled public of India, while the first was really done in a corner. But it is not a little inconsistent in Mr. Jackson to exclaim against laying any stress on a long and deliberate speech (for it was not a single line as he affirms) of the established Governor General of India, as to *allowing* the freedom of the press, when he would have the mere hasty opinion of his temporary successor, Mr. Adam, to be sufficient authority for utterly *destroying* it.

(*q*) It is distinctly said to have been a *letter*, written on deep black-edged mourning post.

(*r*) Certainly not, if the Government were such as all men admired and esteemed. Black-edged papers even might then be circulated freely. They would excite only ridicule and contempt.

(*s*) No writer could convince them of this fact, unless it were really true.

(*t*) Mr. Buckingham has repeatedly and expressly denied any participation in this sentiment. It is not an empire of opinion, but an empire of force.

to alienate from the Indian Government. The letter in question is an illustration of my remark. Can any one who considers the composition and extent of the native armies contemplate, without trembling, what might be the effect of a statement published in a newspaper, that they were defrauded by being paid in base money? The Resident at Hyderabad expressed great indignation on account of the letter, and called upon the Government to demand the name of the writer. The writer was in consequence given up, by his own consent, and Mr. Buckingham was passed over. (*u*)

In November, 1820, a letter, signed Emulus, appeared in Mr. Buckingham's Journal.—I have forsaken for a time Mr. Buckingham's own statement, because it happens that the particular instances to which I am now referring are not mentioned there; (*v*) but no one can doubt that they occurred, because here are the minutes of Council in which they are stated. The letter of Emulus contained the following passage:—"No species of merit (I shall advance it without much apprehension of contradiction) receives in this country (India) a commensurate remuneration; but, on the contrary, every indication of rising genius is repressed, with the most undisguised and inconsiderate wantonness, and every excitement and emulation is barbarously withheld, except by the pernicious means of political influence, or, as it is generally termed, interest; now, not the remotest prospect remains to an officer in India of rising to a participation in the honour and emoluments attached to the numberless situations in the service, and the man of independent mind, who disdains to crouch to and fawn on his superior, is condemned to afflicting and perpetual indigence. His condition closely resembles that of a slave condemned to the galleys, who toils with constant and unremitting exertion in the service of a cruel and careless master, without a distant prospect of emancipation, or the remotest hope of personal benefit."

If our Indian empire depends upon opinion, is it possible to conceive a more mischievous publication than this, teaching every boy, every subaltern, that his merits, be what they might, would go disregarded and unrewarded by the Government? When my hon. friend speaks of a great community being satisfied, he speaks of a thing which is impossible; there must always be a great number of *dissatisfied* persons in society. If, as Mr. Elphinstone states, nine-tenths of the Europeans are in the army, considerable time must elapse before a numerous body of young men can be promoted. It was, I think, hardly possible for a young soldier to read a paper like this, written as it is with great eloquence, without being half maddened by it. (*w*) Was it not, therefore, the duty of the Government to say to Mr. Buckingham, "Here is another breach of the regulations which you applauded and promised to be governed by." The letter was referred to the Advocate General, who gave it as his opinion, that it was a libel, and proceedings were about to be commenced against Mr. Buckingham, when that gentleman did that which was most prudent, namely, made an apology (*x*) to the Governor General, stating that he had no participation in the sentiment of the writer. The prosecution was abstained from, on condition that he should instruct his counsel to let the motion which had been made in the Supreme Court, by the Advocate General, for a criminal information against him, pass without opposition; and that he should address to the Governor General in Council, an apology comprehending, in distinct and unequivocal terms, the professions contained in a letter addressed by him principally to Lord Hastings, for the purpose of the same being read in Court by the Advocate General, as the ground of the instruction of that officer to drop the prosecution. Whether any ill-timed lenity was exercised upon this occasion, I will not take upon myself to determine; but the offence was admitted, the apology was read in open Court, (*y*) and Mr. Buckingham was allowed to proceed with his paper. One would have thought that these repeated admonitions would have

(*u*) The sequel is here most disingenuously suppressed. The evil was inquired into, found to be correctly stated, and an immediate remedy applied. Was not this, as Mr. Jackson asks, enough to make men tremble? If so, it must have been with pleasure, at seeing the good produced by a free press.

(*v*) The cause of the omission was explained in the pamphlet, which was merely a compilation of what had not before been made public, namely, the Correspondence with Government, omitting all that had already appeared before the world, in the reports of proceedings in the Court of Law, of which this respecting the letter of 'Emulus' was one. Mr. Jackson, if he read the pamphlet attentively, must have seen this; and, if so, it was disingenuous not to state it.

(*w*) And yet, hundreds of young soldiers *did* read this; and not one among them all was half maddened by it. If *true*, it might have awakened their sympathy: if false, no one could detect it more easily than themselves.

(*x*) This, which is here again a misnomer, was an expression of regret at the displeasure given by the publication, and a repetition of the declaration already made in the paper, in which this letter had appeared, that the Editor had no participation whatever in the sentiments of the writer; but that he published them for the purpose of confirmation, if true;—of refutation, if false; which he himself believed them to be.

(*y*) That is, the expression of regret that the letter should have given offence to Government: and a declaration, which was sincerely made, that the Editor did not participate in the sentiments of the writer.

been sufficient to induce Mr. Buckingham to abstain from again *giving offence* to Government. (z) But they did not have that effect; for this reason, that Mr. Buckingham, like Mr. Cobbett, sought to raise his paper into immense circulation, and consequently to obtain immense profit by the boldness of his attacks. Mr. Buckingham's project was successful; for his paper yielded four times the ratio of profit which had ever been derived from any other paper in India. (a) But what may be done not only safely, but usefully, by Mr. Cobbett here, is, when done in India, dangerous to the very existence of the empire, (b) and therefore the Governor General, as was his duty, told Mr. Buckingham, that he must conform to the rules which he had himself applauded. Mr. Buckingham's reasoning, however, was this:—"My paper must have the greatest circulation of any in India; and I must have large profits; and in order to attain these I must minister to the vitiated appetites of my readers even to the risk of endangering the safety of the empire." (c)

A few months after this another letter appeared in the Calcutta Journal, on "Military Monopoly." Government held this letter to be as dangerous as the former, but the author was given up by his own consent, and visited with punishment, (d) and Mr. Buckingham was passed over.

The next thing of which the Government took notice, was an article charging them with circulating the "infamous prospectus" of the John Bull. I have no doubt that the establishment of the John Bull was a very gross job, and I am sorry to find that any members of the Government have been concerned in it. I think it was beneath their dignity. (Hear.) But Mr. Buckingham charged the Governor General in Council, not the clerks of the Government, with circulating the "infamous prospectus." It may be some comfort to know that the John Bull, and all other newspapers in India, will be just as amenable to the regulations for the press as the Calcutta Journal. (e) I believe I can take upon myself to state, that the gentlemen within the bar have heard with much pain that any servant of the Company was connected with it. (f) [The Chairman nodded, in assent.] Mr. Buckingham made an explanation on the subject of the paragraph in question, and the Government did not think it necessary to take any measures against him. (g)

The next in order of Mr. Buckingham's offences was an attack upon the Bishop of Calcutta. The Court will recollect that one of the regulations which Mr. Buckingham himself applauded (h) and professed to be governed by, interdicted the publication of "offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta;" and yet Mr. Buckingham thought proper to publish something which gave great offence to that Reverend Prelate. I am not called upon to discuss the merits of the publication. (i) In this large community we are in the habit of smiling at what may be published against us, and read the paragraphs which are intended to wound us with as much good humour as our adversaries. But the case is very different in a small community; (k) and one

(z) No specific admonition being given as to the things which *would* give offence, it was impossible, unless by abstaining from all subjects of public interest, to tell what would give offence, and what might pass without doing so.

(a) Was not this the strongest proof that could be given of the sympathies of the English gentlemen in India (for there are few, if any, other readers) being strongly in favour of Mr. Buckingham's opinions and conduct, of which this was so flattering a testimony?

(b) This is begging the question: Sir John Malcolm denies the danger entirely; but, a much better authority than either, experience, has shown that the empire never was so disturbed as when the press was fettered; never so tranquil and secure as when the press was free.

(c) This is altogether untrue. The 'John Bull' of India tried this, by the most unprecedented boldness of attack on private character; but it did not succeed; and, in such a community as India, it never could lead either to the honour or profit of those who should attempt it.

(d) The punishment was a mild letter of admonition from Government, the abuse having being inquired into, found true, and remedied.

(e) Unfortunately this is altogether wrong; the John Bull has not only broken, with impunity, regulations which the Calcutta Journal dared not infringe, but it has been convicted of libels of the grossest nature in a Court of Law, and still remains unvisited with any mark of displeasure from the Indian Government.

(f) Then, to be consistent, the Chairman should recommend an order for that paper also to be suppressed, as the Calcutta Journal has since been; but it still continues its slanderous career.

(g) This also was passed over, because the accusation made by Mr. Buckingham was true: it never was, and never could be truly denied.

(h) This is incorrect. Mr. Buckingham, though he professed his wish to observe, never once *applauded* the regulations, after their intent and meaning was explained

(i) It is curious to observe how these lawyers, Mr. Impey and Mr. Jackson, shrink from discussing the *merits* of the things complained of, as if this were a matter of no importance; whereas the justice or injustice of punishment can only be determined by reference to the merits or demerits of the act, for the commission of which it is inflicted. They do not discuss it, because they know it would end in their defeat.

(k) This is a fallacy that cannot be too often exposed. The British inhabitants of India are a much larger community, than the inhabitants of the Bermudas, or the West India Islands, in every one of which the press is free. But in the smallest village in England, discussion is as open as in the metropolis; and no one ever thinks of restraining it, because of the size or population of any given district.

should not be surprised that the Bishop of Calcutta, whom all voices unite in declaring to be a good man, felt himself offended at the manner in which he was treated by Mr. Buckingham. (*l*) The Reverend Prelate appealed to the Government, and requested it to take notice of the letter. The Secretary, in consequence, wrote a letter to Mr. Buckingham, who, in his reply, seems rather to have defended the letter which had given offence to the Bishop, for he says, "that he thought it nothing more than a modest discussion of the subject;" (*m*) to which the Secretary, in reply, says again, that "it is a gross prostitution of terms to represent, as a temperate and modest discussion, an anonymous crimination of an individual, involving at the same time an insinuated charge, not the less offensive for being hypothetically put, that his superior might have countenanced the delinquency." (*n*) The letter went on to inform Mr. Buckingham that, if he again offended, he would at once be deprived of his license, and compelled to quit India. (*o*) Mr. Buckingham replied again, by another letter of prodigious length, occupying nearly eight closely printed columns. How Mr. Buckingham and his friends can call the Government to account for want of patience, when they travelled through some of the longest correspondence I ever read, I am at a loss to conceive. (*p*)

The Secretary, in answer, said that his letter had produced no change in the sentiments of Government before communicated to him; that was to say, that if he continued to offend those whom we have delegated to govern the greatest empire in the world, (and whom we are bound, by every sacred principle, to support, if support they deserve,) to England he should go. This, one would suppose, would have been enough to induce Mr. Buckingham to alter his course; but then that would have caused a diminution of profit, and he indulged in a speculation which has, however, failed—namely, that he could go to the utmost length, and then had only to leave India and put a native editor in his place, who might set all the powers of the Government at defiance. (*q*)

I now come to Mr. Buckingham's next offence. On this subject I think that Mr. Adam has been somewhat unworthily used. The whole thing has been treated as if Mr. Adam had acted alone in the business, whilst, in fact, he acted in conjunction with the whole of his Council. Every term personally invidious to Mr. Adam has been made use of, and, on that account, I think, we are bound in honour not to let that gentleman's character go undefended. (Hear.) Mr. Buckingham, in his pamphlet, speaks of Mr. Adam doing this or that, which was, in fact, done by Lord Hastings. The only act done whilst Mr. Adam was in power was, the finally withdrawing of Mr. Buckingham's license, which Lord Hastings had declared should be withdrawn if that gentleman again incurred the displeasure of Government, which he did. The Grand Jury had, on a former occasion, found a true bill against Mr. Buckingham for a libel on the Six Secretaries, in a letter signed "Sam Sobersides;" the Petit Jury, however, subsequently came to a different conclusion respecting it, and could not agree. Mr. Buckingham, however, between the finding of the bill by the Grand Jury and the trial of the action by the Petit Jury, did that which, in this country, is regarded as amongst the highest offences—namely, circulated papers calculated to influence the Jury in their verdict. (*r*)

(*l*) If *all* voices united in declaring him to be a good man, what mere insinuation of one solitary voice could drown this universal applause? But offence was taken at what was neither meant as, nor even conveyed, a shadow of reproach.

(*m*) The words are—"I published the letter in question under a conviction that a temperate and moderate discussion of the inconveniences likely to arise, from a want of local control in certain points over Military Chaplains, might be productive of public benefit, without infringing on the respect due to the public character of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta."

(*n*) All this violent construction of the letter was utterly groundless; there was no "gross prostitution," no "crimination," no "delinquency," ever thought of. It was a mere question, as to whether Military Chaplains should be under Military control or not.

(*o*) The warning was—"There will be no previous discussion of any case in which you may be judged to have violated the laws of moral candour and essential justice. If you break these you shall be sent away." As no one could be found to explain what these laws were, and the Governor General alone was to be the judge whether they were broken or not, a warning to this effect was equivalent to saying, "You may speak as freely as you please: I will give you no fixed laws for your guidance: but if you say any thing that offends *my* notions of moral candour and essential justice, I will punish you without trial or even inquiry!" If this be the candour and justice meant, heaven help the unhappy beings who are bound to live under their laws, and of necessity to break them!

(*p*) The Government never was called to account for want of patience. An accusation may be short, when it consists of mere assertions: and so might a defence, if mere denial would suffice: but when arguments are required to rebut assertions, a defence will be always longer than the charges to which it relates.

(*q*) Here again is another fallacy. Such an Editor could only set the Government at defiance, in the same manner as the poorest subject of England can set the King at defiance; namely, by interposing the protecting shield of the law between himself and majesty; and such as every native of India ought to be able to do between himself and his rulers. If this be not a desirable security for the weak against the strong, then the Government of Turkey, where it exists not, is better than the Government of England where it does.

(*r*) This would seem to mean circulating papers privately among the persons belonging

On this account the Advocate General moved for a criminal information against Mr. Buckingham. I have read something about this information having been refused. That is not the fact; the information was granted by the Court, (*s*) and would have been tried, but for the reason which I shall state. It has been been said that, the moment Mr. Adam came into power, this information, which had been abandoned, was renewed by him. The true story is this:—The information was granted, and about to be tried, when, in consequence of one of the Judges coming to England and another going to Bombay, there was but one Judge left, and he refused to try it single-handed. (*t*) This happens in our own Courts continually. A Judge, when asked to try a cause, is frequently heard to say, "No; this is an important question, let it come on when the Court is full." (*u*) Sir F. Macnaghten did so. Sir Henry Blossett, however, arrived at Calcutta, and then, as a matter of course, the Advocate General moved that the information should be tried. But Sir Henry Blossett shortly after died, and Sir F. Macnaghten again declined to try the information single-handed; and, before the Court was again filled, by the arrival of Mr. Justice Pullen, Mr. Buckingham's license was withdrawn, and himself sent to England. The conduct which is attributed to Mr. Adam, with respect to this information, is not borne out by facts. The information was filed under the administration of the Marquess of Hastings. Is it to be endured that the character of an honourable man is to be assailed and reviled, because he is compelled to perform a painful and unpopular duty? (*v*) To give an instance of Mr. Buckingham's mode of expressing himself, and of his turn of mind towards Mr. Adam, in his progress from sarcasm to broad and open defiance, I need only state that, in his pamphlet, he speaks of the regulations "privately circulated by Mr. John Adam;" although he knew them to be the solemn act of the Governor General in Council, communicated to all the editors of newspapers by the Secretary of the Government. (*w*) Is it fair or candid to seek to create an unfavourable impression against this honourable functionary, by statements which are unfounded?

Mr. Buckingham next published a letter signed "A Military Friend;" which, in complimenting Mr. Buckingham on the benefit that had resulted from the system pursued by the Calcutta Journal, contained the following passage: "How much more has it done to stop foul play, and introduce improvements in bazars, and in the administration of military justice, fining, flogging, taxing, cheating; how much more than all the orders you can pick and cull out of that valuable compilation, as clear as it is rich—the Bengal Code." Will any man say that this is fit language to be placed in the hands of the native armies? for that is what is contended for. (Hear!) Mr. Buckingham being sensible of the great danger which he had incurred by the publication of this letter, gave up Lieutenant Colonel Robison as the writer. (*x*) This officer was tried by a Court Martial, and sent to this country. How the affair ended I do not know; but it cannot be doubted that his offence was looked upon as serious, when it was found necessary to send him to England. (*y*)

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to the Jury, who were to try the cause. Now the only papers circulated were the Calcutta Journal itself, which was equally open to all the world; and as to the Jury, not an individual of them was then known, for no Jury had yet been chosen.

(*s*) It was argued against by Sir F. Macnaghten, as cruel, oppressive, and illegal; but granted by the other two Judges, Sir Edward East, and Sir Anthony Buller; although the practice of the King's Bench is never to grant criminal informations except by the unanimous consent of the Bench.

(*t*) On the same grounds on which he had objected to its first being filed.

(*u*) And yet neither Sir Francis Macnaghten nor Mr. Adam evinced any of this delicacy, when the most important of all the causes ever yet argued in India, came on; advantage being taken by the one, as temporary Governor General, to prevail on the other, as temporary Chief Justice, and sitting singly on the bench, without even another Judge being then in Bengal, to pass a law utterly subversive of the rights of all the Native, as well as British, inhabitants of that part of India, and such as never would have been passed had the bench been full.

(*v*) It is begging the question entirely, to say he was *compelled*. The necessity is not even apparent, and very far, indeed, from being proved.

(*w*) They were so "privately circulated" that only six or eight copies were ever issued from the Censor's office, and these addressed individually to the Editors; being neither made public through the Government Gazette, as all Orders in Council and Regulations usually are, nor through any other channel. It was, therefore, strictly accurate to say they were "privately circulated."

(*x*) Colonel Robison's name was *not* given up because of apprehended danger, but because he himself authorized it, with a view to put the Government in possession of *proofs* as to the accuracy of his statements.

(*y*) This is full of inaccuracy; whether intentional or not, may, perhaps, be doubted. The facts are simply these: Col. Robison wrote a letter, eulogizing the good effect produced by the free press in India. The Government ordered him instantly away from his command at Nagpore, to precede his regiment to England. In the heat of indignation, he wrote an intemperate letter to the Governor General, on his cruel treatment. For this *last* letter, and not for what he wrote in the Calcutta Journal, he was tried by a Court Martial, and virtually acquitted; for though found guilty of the fact of writing the intemperate letter, he was acquitted of the charge of "scandalous" conduct in so doing, as his provocation was considered extreme. His coming to England was, therefore, no part

About this time Mr. Buckingham thought fit to call the regulations for the press "mere waste paper," because they had not been registered in the Supreme Court—those very regulations which he had before promised to observe. (*z*) It never was proposed that these regulations should be registered. The object of the regulations was stated on the face of them. The Government, in issuing these regulations, said to the editors of newspapers, "We grant you the *unlimited freedom of the press*, provided that you steer clear of these general observations: if you do not, we will not proceed against you by indictment, but will put into execution the Act of the 53d of the late King, and send you home as no longer deserving of our protection." (*a*) Mr. Buckingham, as I have before said, had formed the plan of engaging a native editor, who could not be removed from India, to conduct his paper. The only way of meeting this evil, was to render it necessary for all persons, natives as well as Europeans, to obtain licenses for the use of a press; otherwise, the press might have teemed with every thing offensive to the Government. (*b*) There is nothing PECULIAR in this regulation. In England no person can use a printing press unless he has registered it in the office of the Clerk of the Peace. (*c*) I do not mean to say that these regulations may not admit of some amendment, and, should my hon. Friend move that the regulations should be laid before the Court with the view of discussing them, I should offer no opposition to the motion. (*d*) I am willing to see whether they can be rendered more liberal. But when my hon. Friend calls for a voluminous set of papers, upon which he has been commenting for three hours, and which Mr. Buckingham has inserted in his own publication, (*e*) I cannot help thinking that something more is intended than is declared; and I cannot consent that the character of Mr. Adam should be hung up, as it were, until these papers are prepared. (*f*)

I have, I think, read enough to satisfy the Court that the Government of Bengal are fully justified in what they have done; however, there is one passage more to which I beg the attention of the Court. On account of the insertion of some offensive strictures on the government of the King of Oude, in one of the Indian papers, the editors of all the Indian papers, and Mr. Buckingham among the rest, received a circular from the Secretary of Government, containing the following passage:—"I am directed to communicate to you the *desire* of the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, that you will refrain from inserting in your paper any of these strictures, for which the information must at least be loose, but probably invidious, while their purport is wantonly insulting to a Sovereign who has shown the warmest attachment to the British interest." In his remarks on this circular, Mr. Buckingham expressed himself thus:

> In point of fact, and in point of law, the restrictions of June 1818, are mere waste paper. They have never been passed into a regulation, in the only legal manner in which regulations can acquire the force of law, by the sanction of the Supreme Court; and are of no more force or value than would be a circular of the Governor General in Council, commanding us to give up our residence for the accommodation of the King of Oude, if he were to visit Calcutta, or to give up our beds to his seraglio, and our table to his servants.

Here we see that this free mariner, having proceeded step by step, at length plants his foot on the neck of that Government which, two or three years before, he had approached with something like servility. (*g*) (Hear.) He had received warning after warning; indeed, there was no end to his warn-

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of his sentence from the Court, but merely because his regiment was coming home in the usual order of relief. His melancholy death, in sight of his native shore, though no doubt known to Mr. Jackson, was judiciously avoided, as a dangerous chord to touch. It was, therefore, safer to say as he did: "How the affair ended, I do not know." The world, however, knows well, and will long remember.

(*z*) A man may promise to observe a request, or even a condition, though he knows that in point of law it could not be enforced.

(*a*) An unlimited freedom, limited to opinions about the weather, and other equally important matters, but wholly excluding public men and public measures from discussion, is something new. It is not true, however, that banishment was threatened even for passing these "unlimited" limits. Not a word was said about sending offending Editors home; and Mr. Jackson must have invented this new reading for the occasion.

(*b*) And were there no Courts, no Judges, no Juries, to try and punish these offences, as well as fraud, forgery, and murder?

(*c*) There is every thing *peculiar* in this regulation; and particularly this—that the Government can refuse it to any man who asks, and take it away from any man who has it, without reason assigned; which cannot at all be done by any other licenses known.

(*d*) This pledge is worth remembering.

(*e*) This is not true. The papers wanted were Minutes of Council, and Correspondence between the Governments in India and in England, on the subject of the Press, not one line of which is to be found in Mr. Buckingham's, or any other publication extant.

(*f*) If these papers, however, would establish Mr. Adam's claim to praise when they *were* produced, the delay of preparation would be nothing.

(*g*) If it be "servility" to avow reverence for a Government, while the person showing it has little or nothing to *fear* from its power, and to lose that reverence when he is threatened by it with destruction, let the world judge whether this is not rather a manly kind of servility than a base and cringing submission, inspired only by terror, and an obedience exacted from fear and dread alone.

ings: (*h*) at length he was told that his next offence should be his last, (*i*) and that occurred upon the appointment of Dr. Bryce. We are not here to measure the merits of that appointment; I, myself, am not friendly to the uniting of spiritual and lay offices, and I think that those persons who are most anxious to support the established church, do, in fact, all in their power to undermine it in the affections of the people, when they make so many parsons justices of the peace; the natural effect of which is, to destroy those kindly feelings which ought to subsist between the clergyman and the humble part of his flock. (Hear!) Instead of occupying the magisterial seat, the clergyman should be employed in visiting the sick and comforting the afflicted. To the general principle, therefore, of uniting clerical with lay duties, I decidedly object: (*k*) but the Governor General having thought proper to do so in the case of Dr. Bryce, and, as one of the regulations for the press expressly forbids offensive animadversions on the acts of Government, (*l*) it was quite inexcusable in Mr. Buckingham to treat the appointment in so extremely disrespectful a way as he did. After the remarks on the appointment of Dr. Bryce, the Government revoked Mr. Buckingham's license. It is, however, erroneous to state that the license was withdrawn solely on account of those offensive remarks: the measure was founded upon a review of the whole of Mr. Buckingham's conduct, as the order of revocation clearly states. The order is as follows:—

The Governor General in Council having taken into his consideration the repeated and systematic violations, by Mr. Buckingham, the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, of the rules issued by Government on the 19th August, 1818, for the guidance of the Editors of newspapers at this Presidency, (a copy of which was duly communicated to Mr. Buckingham, by direction of the Governor General in Council), and having further taken into his consideration an article in the Calcutta Journal, of the 8th inst., page 541, and having referred to the license of the Honourable the Court of Directors, authorizing Mr. Buckingham to proceed to India as a free mariner, is pleased to direct that a copy of Mr. Buckingham's license be here recorded, and that the following Order in Council, recalling that license, be communicated to Mr. Buckingham by the Chief Secretary to Government.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas James Silk Buckingham, now, and for some time past, a resident of the town of Calcutta, has obtained from the Honourable the Court of Directors a certificate or license to proceed to the East Indies; and whereas the said James Silk Buckingham has, in the judgment of the Governor General in Council, forfeited his claim to the countenance and protection of the Supreme Government; it is hereby ordered and declared, that the certificate or license so obtained by the said James Silk Buckingham, shall be void from and after the 15th day of April, 1823. By order of the Governor General in Council.

W. B. BAYLEY,
Chief Secretary to Government.

I have now shown you, step by step, the provocations which the Government received. I have shown you the danger which, in the opinion of those whom you have appointed to guard the interests of the Indian empire, had occurred and was likely to occur, (*m*) from the unrestrained and licentious course which Mr. Buckingham was pursuing. Can you, then, be surprised that the Government thought proper, by a solemn act of duty imposed upon them by Act of Parliament, no less than by the oaths of fidelity they have taken towards you, to put an end to such a state of things? The Government said to Mr. Buckingham—"All your remarks with respect to the native armies, the native sovereigns, and the native population, have been improper, and calculated to alienate the affections of those classes from the British power, and to shake to the centre that opinion upon which it hangs; we cannot allow you to continue this course longer, and, therefore, we will send you away." (*n*)

With respect to Mr. Arnot, it is not true that Lord Amherst, at one and the same time, sent Mr. Arnot home and withdrew the license from the Calcutta Journal. Lord Amherst sent Mr. Arnot from India because he had no business there, having no license; but, on account of the great property which was embarked in the Calcutta Journal, he abstained from withdrawing its license until the new editor, Mr. Sandys, by following in the path of his predecessors, and dealing out contumelious remarks against the Government, compelled him to take that step. (*o*) But this subject

(*h*) Not one of them, however, was specific or intelligible.

(*i*) But it was impossible to say what this offence would be; for the Governor General might call any thing he chose an offence, and no one could dare to contradict him.

(*k*) Here then, what is a merit in Mr. Jackson to condemn, it is a crime in Mr. Buckingham to disapprove. If this be not casuistry, we do not know the meaning of the term.

(*l*) It forbids no such thing, as will be seen hereafter.

(*m*) No danger whatever had occurred; for at the date of Lord Hastings's leaving India, a few days only before this period, every address presented to him spoke of the unexampled tranquillity and security which reigned over every part of the British Empire in the Eastern world.

(*n*) If these remarks had been *calculated* to produce the effects here described, then the effects would have been produced accordingly; but it is on record, and was the perpetual boast of even the Government itself at the time, that never were the people of India more happy, and never was our empire of opinion more secure! How are these contradictions to be reconciled?

(*o*) This is again untrue. The Government, in utter violation of all the rights of property, withdrew the license of the Calcutta Journal,

is not now properly before us, and I will only trouble the Court with a few further remarks with respect to the third proposition, which I alluded to at the commencement—the establishment of a free press in India.

I can hardly argue this question gravely; it appears to be so full of danger and extravagance. (*p*) If the press were free in India, what would there be to prevent the army from having Cobbett's Register to teach them politics on Saturday, and Carlile's publications to teach them blasphemy on Sunday. (*q*) "But," says my hon. Friend, "I would have the offences of the press corrected by trial by jury." This, certainly, is a notable plan; when it is perfectly notorious that, in no one settlement, can any civil question, whatever may be its magnitude and importance, be tried by juries, on account of the small number of European inhabitants, which would render it impossible to procure a fair selection of persons to serve as jurors. (*r*) Let it be remembered, too, that Mr. Buckingham boasts that, almost every European inhabitant of Calcutta was a subscriber to his paper; and it is known that many of them were shareholders of it. Another important consideration was, the delay which a defendant might interpose; he might, perhaps, succeed in deferring the trial for six months, during which time he might continue to sow sedition every morning, and gather his crop every evening. Parliament, foreseeing these difficulties, has vested in the Government the power of at once removing, from India, any editor of a newspaper, or other person, who shall conduct himself in a way calculated to endanger the safety of the empire. (*s*) What would be the situation of India, if, instead of resorting to this power, the Government was compelled to put down the licentiousness of the press in the way in which it was done in this country? You shall hear, from the mouth of Sir F. Macnaghten, whose opinions you ought to attend to, because he is Mr. Buckingham's favourite judge. (*t*) He applauds him, on several occasions, as a sort of ultra-Whig, and is constantly quoting his opinions in contradistinction from those of other judges. (*u*) I believe that Sir F. Macnaghten is a friend of liberty, and I revere him for it; but that very circumstance ought to give additional weight to the opinions which I am about to read. The question which Sir F. Macnaghten had to decide was, whether he should record, in the Supreme Court, the regulations respecting the press. When the regulations are recorded in this manner, any person who violated them, whether

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not for any "contumelious remarks," for none were even charged against the Editor: but for republishing a pamphlet of Col. Stanhope's, containing a history of what had happened respecting the press several years before, and having no reference whatever to the existing Government, all the members of which had come into office as Governors and Councillors since these proceedings had occurred.

(*p*) Then the greater the reason for being grave and serious; for danger is not a fit subject for trifling. It cannot be argued at all, however, without the sure and certain defeat of those who oppose it; and they who know this, do well to avoid discomfiture.

(*q*) There is nothing whatever that can prevent both Cobbett and Carlile from being received from England, in their original shape, and read by as many of the army, or any other body, as like them; but we do not hear that they produce any ill effects. The idea of danger from mere Deism in India, is, however, almost ludicrous; for, among the hundred millions of our native subjects there, four or five millions are absolute atheists, fifty millions gross and ignorant idolaters, ten or twelve millions believers in a false prophet, and the rest divided among Jews and outcasts of no religion whatever. The hideous and bloody superstitions and sacrifices, that defile the face of Asia, are, perhaps, holiness and purity itself compared with Carlile's denial of the authenticity of revelation. Why, in India, blasphemy is "part and parcel of the law of the land;" and would Mr. Jackson, himself a lawyer, have so sacred a principle as this infringed on? It is the Christian Missionaries who are held to be blasphemers by our idolatrous subjects in India; and if we apprehend danger from blasphemy, we have much to do before the meaning of that term is settled in Hindoostan, where each looks upon the professors of every other creed but his own as blasphemers and outcasts from heaven.

(*r*) This betrays a degree of ignorance respecting India, and the extent of its society, that we should not have thought possible in one, who, for years past, has been looked up to as a sort of oracle at the India House; how shallow a one let the world judge. If the small number of Europeans rendered it impossible to get Juries for Civil Cases, it would render it equally impossible to get Juries for Criminal Cases; yet Mr. Jackson *knows* that all criminal cases are decided by Juries, and in a former part of his speech, he even talks of the Grand Jury finding a bill, and the Petit Jury not agreeing in their opinion when it came to be tried! Moreover he makes it one of Mr. Buckingham's deepest offences, that he circulated papers calculated to influence the minds of the Jury, which he here says can have no existence, as the *smallness* of the society in India will not furnish a sufficient number of men for the purpose! This, too, is said of a society in which public meetings have taken place, with from 800 to 1000 English persons present, one-fourth of whom, at least, are eligible, and are actually impannelled, to sit on Juries in causes tried in the Supreme Court of Calcutta! How must the Directors rejoice to find their Legal Advocate so accurately informed on points within his own especial province, and on matters which it ought to be his first duty to understand!

(*s*) This is not correct, even in point of *law*, (and if Mr. Jackson be not a lawyer, he is nothing). No man, who has a license, can be legally removed from India until two months after notice given to him of his license being withdrawn; during which time, if he sows sedition, the law alone can punish him for his crime.

(*t*) This is incorrect in point of *fact*.

(*u*) Sir Francis has rather been quoted against himself; for he seems to have followed St. Paul's maxim, and to have been "all things to all men."

Native or European, may be proceeded against.(*v*) It surprised me to hear my hon. Friend talk of these regulations as if they would have the effect of carrying back the natives of this vast empire to the darker ages. It is said that they are to cause a relapse into the barbarism of the 14th century, and to involve the intellectual hemisphere of India in the shadows of ignorance. I would call upon my hon. Friend to declare, candidly, what restrictions these regulations impose upon works of literature or science? What proper and virtuous effort of the mind may not be published in India? What is there that is beautiful in poetry, or instructive in prose, that may not appear? Are not the works of Shakspeare, Milton, Steele, Addison, Pope, Gay, Newton, or Locke, circulated there? If any persons should arise capable of giving to the Indian public a Spectator, a Tatler, or a Guardian, would they not be hailed with universal admiration? Is there, in short, a page that has been written in the golden age of our literature, or in the works (I had almost called them immortal) of Sir William Jones, which might not now issue from the press of Calcutta? (*w*) But I will inform the Court what Sir Francis Macnaghten says on the subject of the liberty of the press in India. I never heard a clearer or more dispassionate argument from the mouth of a judge. (*x*) Mr. Buckingham is very capricious in his likings and dislikings—as capricious as a young lover. At the commencement of his work he has praised Lord Hastings, Sir F. Macnaghten, and his eloquent advocate, Mr. Fergusson; and he has concluded by passing a severe censure upon them all in their turn. (*y*) Sir F. Macnaghten being about to adjudicate on the question of making the regulations for the press matter of law, by recording them in the Supreme Court, took a step which, in itself, is sufficient to show that a great degree of freedom prevails in India. It had been suggested that, as the regulations were merely matters between the Governor in Council and the Supreme Court, he need not *hear* the arguments of counsel against them; (*z*) but Sir F. Macnaghten was of a different opinion; he said, "All the world shall hear and object, if it think fit. The Act of Parliament says, that twenty days shall elapse between the publication of regulations and the registering of them; and this must be with the intention that all persons should come into the Court and object. I will hear what every man has to say before I record them." (*a*) The learned Judge accordingly heard Mr. Buckingham's friends, Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Turton, and the memorial of those six natives which the Court has heard read. If Mr. Buckingham did not write that memorial himself, he has taught somebody to write very like him.

Mr. Buckingham—I was not even in India when it was written.

Mr. R. Jackson—I think nobody can read that petition without, at once, fixing upon the person who had prepared it. I will not allow Mr. Buckingham's modesty to stand between him and his fair fame. (A laugh!) I cannot help thinking that he drew up the memorial. I will now read Sir F. Macnaghten's speech. [The hon. and learned Gentleman here read the observations of the learned Judge, which have been already frequently repeated.] (*b*) After making these observations, Sir Francis ordered the regulations to be registered. I trust that I have shown sufficient ground for the motion with which I mean to conclude.

I have endeavoured to satisfy the Court that the proceedings of the Indian Government have been regulated by law, and that that law has been wisely called into operation. If I have succeeded in satisfying the Court on these two points, the Court must also concur with me in thinking, that the Court of Directors would have compromised their duty had they abstained from expressing their approbation of Mr. Adam's conduct; and that we should compromise our duty if we do not cordially unite, with the Court of Directors, in approving of that honourable individual's conduct. I,

(*v*) It should have been added, that when they were *not* so recorded, no man could be legally proceeded against for disregarding them; and yet Mr. Buckingham was punished *before* they were even so made into a law.

(*w*) Certainly not—Milton's Speech for Unlicensed Printing, Locke on Government, Sir William Jones's Village Dialogues, contain doctrines that no man dare defend in India, but at the hazard of all his prospects in life.

(*x*) This is at once a proof of Mr. Jackson's intellect. An "argument" that was justly exposed to contempt by nearly all the public writers in England when it first appeared; an "argument" that contains more contradictions and absurdities than are to be found in the speech of almost any Judge that ever sat on a bench, is, to Mr. Jackson, one of the most clear and dispassionate that he ever heard! There is no accounting for understandings any more than for tastes!

(*y*) Because they all began, like Mr. Jackson, with praising the liberty of the press; and all ended, like him, with efforts to restrain it, and bring it into disrepute. The caprice is *theirs*, and not Mr. Buckingham's.

(*z*) This would have been an admirable mode, indeed, of administering the Laws of England.

(*a*) Like a true Judge, Sir Francis made this public challenge of full and free discussion; but when a letter appeared in the Calcutta Journal, from one of those persons, all of whom he said might urge their objections before the rule passed into a law; instead of answering the arguments of the writer, he threatened to commit the Printer to prison, for doing what he had invited every man to do, namely, for offering his opinion on the case. This is a fair specimen of the sort of liberty which lawyers and Judges praise and practise.

(*b*) See Oriental Herald, vol. i. p. 137 to 139.

therefore, move—"That this Court do cordially concur in the approbation expressed by the Court of Directors, of the revocation of Mr. J. S. Buckingham's license to reside in India, considering that gentleman's conduct, as editor of the Calcutta Journal, from 1818 to 1823, notwithstanding the repeated intimations which he received from the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, in Council, that he should be ordered to England if he continued to violate those rules and regulations which his Lordship in Council had ordered to be addressed to the editors of newspapers on the 12th of August, 1818, when he revised the existing regulations regarding the control exercised by the Government over the newspapers, as highly improper. And this Court is of opinion that, in withdrawing such license, the then Governor General in Council consulted his duty to this Company, and the due protection of those high interests which were intrusted to his administration."

Mr. SAMUEL DIXON thought he had as great a right as any of the gentlemen who had preceded him, to speak for two hours and three quarters at a time. Gentlemen went on arguing this simple question, under sixteen or seventeen different heads. He thought the education of a child sufficient to comprehend the real bearings in a plain form, and he blessed God that he had not the construction of words which would enable him to spread over two hours and three quarters of time, what common sense could dispose of in one quarter of an hour. It was a great fallacy of gentlemen to draw an analogy between the situation of a free press in India, and one in this country. He well enough knew that here a writer could not with impunity injure individuals by his aspersions; but see the mischief which such a writer might cause in India, by spreading irritable language, and creating that discontent among the natives, which the Government might have the greatest difficulty in controlling. Mr. Buckingham had, by his mode of proceeding, so placed himself at issue with the Government of India, that either one or the other must yield; and he must add, that the safety of India would be compromised, the moment any man could remain there in defiance of the authorities. Could any one believe that either the Marquess of Hastings, or any Member of the Council, could be actuated, in the steps they had taken towards Mr. Buckingham, by personal malice, or by any other feeling than the exercise of public duty? He was likewise persuaded that Mr. Adam stood equally justified; neither could he believe that Mr. Buckingham was ignorant of the line prescribed to him; but that he, on the contrary, made his election between the two points, and preferred going on at all risks, knowing that the worst was banishment—but banishment where? why, to his own native country, to England, where, if he thought proper, he could appeal to the laws for any redress to which he was entitled. These being his (Mr. Dixon's) opinions, he would beg leave to second the amendment.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM.—I feel, Sir, that I rise under singular disadvantages:—the lateness of the hour, and the exhausted state of the attention of the Court, must render it difficult to obtain an attentive hearing—but I shall endeavour, in what I have to offer, to be nearly as brief as the worthy Proprietor who has just spoken. I shall apply myself, therefore, at once to argument. It was my wish and intention, on first entering this Court, to have confined myself to the great general question, and to have endeavoured to keep myself and my personal affairs in the back ground. If, indeed these have been too much mixed up with the public question in dispute, I beg to observe that it has been from no wish of mine that this union has been made. The general question is that of the importance of a free press in India, and that alone I was anxious to discuss. But the learned Proprietor who followed the original speaker in the debate, has given the discussion quite another turn; and aware as I am of the weight which his authority has in the minds of many who have heard him, I consider it to be of the greatest importance to remove the erroneous impressions which he has apparently succeeded in making. I feel myself called upon, therefore, to reply to other points than those which I had expected to hear debated, and this must be my apology to the Court for any want of preparation that may be apparent in my arrangement.

I am, in the first place, quite surprised at the assumption on which the learned Proprietor near me (Mr. Jackson) founds so much of his argument. He assumes that the Government of India was a despotism, is a despotism, and always must continue to be a despotism. Now, I presume, we must all agree that a government of despotism, and a government of law are totally inconsistent and incompatible. A government of despotism, is one in which there are no laws to regulate or control the exercise of the supreme power;—such a government is Persia—such a government is Turkey—and such a government is Egypt. But the assumption of such a government as this is altogether unfounded, if applied to India, where, from time immemorial, there has been a government regulated by laws. The Hindoos have always had a government of laws, with statutes so numerous, that after twenty years of study, they are not

to be consulted without indexes and digests. The Mohammedans it is true have their code of laws contained in one book only—the Koran; but the commentaries on that single book, have become as elaborate and numerous, as those which have been written on the laws of England. In addition to these various codes and commentaries, there are the local regulations of the British authorities, already so numerous, that they can hardly be classified; and, in a bulky volume, which I have observed more than once handing about among the Directors within the bar, are statutes upon statutes for the government of their territories in India. How, then, can this be called a government of despotism, with this accumulation of the Hindoo, the Mohammedan, and the British codes of law, superadded to which are the laws made by the British Parliament, session after session, and the subsequent alterations and repeals of many of them? I say, Sir, upon these grounds, that the Government of India is one of law, and not of despotism.

As the learned Proprietor has exhibited a long list of legal authorities, to favour his view of the case, I may, perhaps, be permitted to advert to others, for the purpose of showing also that these very laws contemplated trial before punishment, and were never meant to justify the one without the other.—It is said that when a man's license is taken away, he commits a misdemeanour, *hourly*, as long as he remains in India. But even *this* should be tried before punished: as by the 13th of Geo. III. c. 83. s. 34, it is especially enacted that all offences and misdemeanours "shall be tried by a Jury of British subjects resident in the town of Calcutta, and not otherwise."—Sect. 36, of the same Act, enacts that no Regulation shall be of any force or effect whatever, until registered in the Supreme Court of Judicature; which alone is sufficient to show that the laws were intended to be supreme; and that pure and irresponsible despotism was not in the contemplation of the Legislature.

My personal conduct has been brought before this Court with considerable detail; and I regret that I must trespass on your attention while I vindicate myself from the aspersions cast on it. I have been accused of committing repeated "violations of law" in India, and of disregarding various "warnings," which it is said were given to me to direct my conduct. I beg to deny all these imputations. Neither the regulations of the Marquess of Hastings, nor those of Mr. Adam, were ever made law until long after I was punished for pretended breaches of them; and no specific act warned against was ever committed after warning given.—By the 24th of Geo. III. c. 25. s. 44, British subjects in India are made amenable to *Courts of Justice* for all offences committed by them, and not to the will of the Governor.—Sect. 64, of the same Act, makes even extortion and all *other* misdemeanours liable to proceedings at *law* before punishment. Indeed the whole spirit of the statutes made for India show that, though large powers were to be given to its Governors in urgent cases, the law was still to be supreme over all. One of these Acts, the 26th of Geo. III. c. 16. s. 10, specifically states that no temporary Governor General shall make any new rules or regulations without the consent of the *whole* Council; and it is now generally believed that Mr. Harrington, one of the Members, did not originally concur in the passing of this law, though his name subsequently appeared at the foot of the regulation.—By the 26th Geo. III. c. 57. s. 29, persons resident in India, are declared to be amenable to the *Courts* here, for *all* misdemeanours; and by the 33d Geo. III. c. 52. s. 45, which declares that persons guilty of illicit correspondence with native powers may be seized: it appears that even then, trial and legal proceedings must be had before punishment. The chief danger attributed to a free press in India, is the tendency which it may have to alienate the loyalty of the native powers from the British Government. But surely this view is most fallacious. I will ask, is not this more likely to be produced by an illicit and clandestine correspondence, than by open appeals through the press, carried on before the eyes of the Government itself? By the Acts of Parliament, it will be seen that even in the case of illicit correspondence, a specific accusation is enjoined, and the party accused is to be allowed a list of witnesses, with a public trial, and all the usual protection of the law. This is granted by law to men committing the highest political crime which any man can commit in India—carrying on illicit correspondence with the native Princes: whilst, according to the actual practice, all that protection is withdrawn from persons guilty of the lesser offence—if that indeed can be called offence which has a tendency to produce the very opposite effect to that ascribed to it. The bare recital of these acts will prove, however, a most important position, which is this: that when British subjects went to India, they were to have, according to the obvious and express intentions of the Legislature, specific rights. Why else indeed should the Government of this country have sent out a Supreme Court of Legislature to India, with such powers as are invested in it, to hear, try, and determine all offences that can be committed there?

It has been said that I have alternately praised and censured Sir Francis Mac-

naghten, and inconsistency is charged to me on that account. The fact is, that I have praised whatever has appeared to me just, and censured what has appeared to me unjust. I am not bound to defend the inconsistencies of others, or to imitate them myself. I hope, indeed, that I have arrived at a period of life which has enabled me to appreciate sentiments according to their just value, and without reference to the person from whom they proceed.

The doctrine of the learned Proprietor (Mr. Jackson), that the safety of India is mainly owing to the laws which prevent the accession of strangers into its territories, is most fallacious. I deny the soundness of this principle entirely, and ask, moreover, what are the East India Company themselves? Are not they and their servants all strangers? And is it possible that five or six thousand Englishmen resident in the great cities of India could improve the habits and minds of the natives by whom they were surrounded there, and effect a certain proportion of good by residing among them, and that 20,000 Englishmen, if scattered elsewhere throughout the country, would not produce the same benefits in proportion to their sphere of operation? Is all the good that can be done to India, to be effected through the immediate agency of the East India Company alone? Has your monopoly of trade given you also a monopoly of wisdom and virtue? and are the Company to be alone considered as capable of diffusing improvement in the East? When I deny this exclusive possession of a capacity to do good to the East India Company and its servants, I am nevertheless ready to admit, that there is not any where (speaking of them generally) a more worthy, or enlightened, or respectable body, to be found, than the servants of the Company in India; but the means and education which have made them what they are, are equally accessible to others: the free traders, and their agents, are enabled to import with them these good qualities equally, and must alike feel their necessity and advantages. I contend, therefore, that the *non-accession* of strangers (by which it appears persons not in the service of the East India Company alone are meant), so far from contributing to the safety of the Indian empire, has an entirely opposite effect, and that, on the contrary, it is the accession of strangers, which, when the hour of invasion or insurrection is at hand, will furnish it with its most efficient protectors. The great counterpoise* to the numerical superiority of the natives, which it is so desirable to encourage, is that of allowing the free colonization of India by Englishmen, which the hon. Proprietor appears to deprecate.

My desire to follow the learned Gentleman in the order in which he has introduced the points to which I feel it my duty to reply, will necessarily make my remarks appear without much connexion or arrangement; but I shall confine myself to these as closely as I can. When the act of persons going to India without a license at all, is spoken of as rendering them liable to removal, it should be added that even then the right of trial was still intended to be given. Shall those, then, who go out *with* licenses, that are subsequently withdrawn, be placed in a worse situation than those who go out *without* any authority whatever?

In referring to the Act of the 53d Geo. III., which gives the Governor General the power of sending Englishmen out of India, it is generally said, that this is an unconditional power, restricted by no limits. I dispute the propriety of this construction; for the words are—"when any individual shall, in the judgment of the Governor General, have *forfeited his claim* to the countenance and protection of Government." This claim must be founded on obedience to the laws; for protection and obedience are reciprocal, and no man *can* forfeit his claim to protection as long as he obeys the laws under which he lives. If the power of banishment were intended to be unconditional, would the Legislature have used such a form of expression as this? It must be clear, I think, that every individual who obeys the laws in India, has a claim "to countenance and protection" while there, as indeed have all men who obey the laws elsewhere. It is unjust, therefore, to withdraw that protection so long as obedience to the laws is observed. (Hear!) Applying these principles to my own case, I ask whether in all these things, or in any of them; and if in any of them, in which, I have offended? Have I offended any known law of England, or even of the East India Company? (Hear!) I have already said that no rule has the force of law, unless it be previously sanctioned by the Supreme Court; and these rules for the press, which it is said I have disregarded, never were so sanctioned, until *after* I had been punished for alleged breaches of them. It is an ancient maxim of lawyers, that all penal statutes should be construed strictly, and that in all cases of doubt, the doubt should be in favour of the accused. Here, then, it may be well doubted, as a mere point of law, whether the power of banishing those who forfeit their claim to protection, was meant to be unlimited or not; but the lawyers of Calcutta seem never to have inquired into the matter, or to have thought of putting this construction on the clause before; although they should have known that, in strict justice no penal effect ought to be given to a rule which had neither the form nor the force of law.

I have before said, that in the discussion of these points, I disclaim all personal feeling; my wish, as I set out with avowing, was to meet the general question of the importance of a free press to India; but I am driven from that to reply to very different topics, for the purpose of preventing the delusion which the misstatements I am endeavouring to correct would otherwise be likely to create. Great stress has been laid, both in the last and present debate, on the assumption that a free mariner, having an especial license to trade on the high seas, is liable, should he discontinue his profession, to have that license withdrawn, and I am reminded of the condition of my license having been forfeited the moment I quitted a sea-life for an occupation on shore. It is assumed that this license was intended to enable the possessor of it to do one thing exclusively, and no other: whereas, I take the fair meaning of it to be this—that the possessor should have an especial power of doing an especial thing, which other men without such a license could not do; but that, at the same time, the holder of the license should be free to do all other things, as other men, who are not prohibited. (Hear!) If it were strictly true that licenses were null and void the moment their possessors ceased to act on them, and that a mariner, who had a license to sail from port to port, could do nothing else without forfeiting it; then a hackney-coachman who is licensed to drive from stand to stand could never alight, or even visit an ale-house, without forfeiting his power to drive again, which is too absurd to deserve an answer. I maintain, therefore, that a free mariner does not, by quitting his profession, forfeit his license to remain in India. Does a merchant, by quitting one branch of trade for another, forfeit his license to continue in the country? Does an indigo planter, who afterwards becomes a general agent, also forfeit his? and are each of these, on quitting their particular occupations, no longer to remain in the Company's dominions? Such a construction of the law as this is utterly untenable. It has been said that Sir Evan Nepean, upon my arrival in Bombay, found it *necessary* to send me away, although I received the most flattering testimony from his own hand, as to the honourable and useful nature of my pursuits: but the learned Proprietor has forgotten to state that in the letter addressed by me to Sir Evan on this subject (and which he is pleased to compliment as ably written), it was specifically shown, that the same charter which gave him the power of removing unlicensed persons from India, gave him likewise the privilege of licensing them to remain in India, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors could be known from home.

The learned Proprietor has told you, that the natives of India are among the most contented and happy of the human race: that their cup is quite overflowing indeed with bliss; and that the great danger to be apprehended is, that free discussion would render those happy beings miserable. I value the happiness of the natives of India, Sir, above all other considerations: it is with me a pre-eminent feeling; nay, I hold it to be of infinitely greater importance than the existence of the East India Company itself. If any thing could be satisfactorily proved to have a tendency to lessen the happiness of the natives of India, I, for one, should set my face against it. But if they are really as happy as they are alleged to be, why not allow them the opportunity of expressing their joy? Ought you to attempt to repress the feelings of those who could only, were their condition such as is described, approach you with congratulations? Will it not be apparent to all the world, that he who stops the tongues or pens of men (happily, the action of their minds is not accessible to him), well knows that he impedes the publicity, or the utterance, of what would be deemed disadvantageous to himself? (Hear!) The world will laugh to scorn the man who says that people are all indescribably happy, at the very moment that he gags them to prevent the expression of their feelings. (Hear!)

Much importance has been attached to the paragraph respecting Governor Elliott; and it has been characterized as "ribaldry." I have not at this instant Dr. Johnson's definition of the term; but I have always understood it as meaning something coarse, vulgar, and exciting to mirth; but there was surely nothing of this description in mentioning an event as a public calamity. It is notorious, however, that the language was not mine: it came to me in a letter, written upon black-edged paper, and sent up by the regular post from Madras. In looking back upon that transaction, I have no hesitation in admitting that it was indiscreet in me to have introduced this communication as I did: but let it be remembered that the impression was then universal throughout India, that the press was meant to be as free as in England: some allowance also will be made, perhaps, when it is considered that I was then a sailor rather than an editor, the latter occupation being new to me; and that indiscretion is the characteristic of the former profession, there are many of the Directors behind the bar, bred like myself, on the ocean, who can no doubt bear ample testimony, and who will not, I trust, hastily condemn me for one indiscreet act. (Hear!) But, after all, if Mr. Elliot had been really the popular and

amiable man which his friends endeavour to represent him, could such a letter as this alter the fact; and would it not, on the contrary, have excited a strong sympathy in his favour? When the Marquess of Hastings was attacked on some occasion through the Madras press, he treated the matter with contempt, and he did right in so doing; the truth is, that men judge of others, not so much by what they hear, as by what they see, and therefore unfounded attacks have not at all the effect which some would impute to them. On the occasion alluded to, I did certainly express my regret, that I was ignorant of the existence of the regulations, which were then for the first time brought to my notice; and however strange it may seem to the learned Proprietor, it is undoubtedly true, that I knew nothing of them at the period of my first publishing the Calcutta Journal. I was assisted in the purchase of that paper by others who thought more favourably of my writings, and of my capacity to be of service to the Indian public, through the press, than I did myself. I repeat, however, that I knew not of these restrictions; the universal impression of the country at the time was, that there was no reservation intended in what Lord Hastings had already done, and that the press was as free as at home. This was my own conviction also, and I therefore never even inquired about what I had no reason to believe had any existence. It has been said that I not only knew of these regulations, but that I had spoken of them as "a tub thrown out to the whale," "a rattle for children," &c. Such I declare was not my opinion. I knew of no such thing; nor did I ever use these expressions—though others may have done so without my concurring in them. I am not bound to defend the Marquess of Hastings's consistency or inconsistency—for of the latter, not even his best friends can acquit him. I contend that when his Lordship uttered the Reply to the Madras Address, he not only expressed his admiration of, but encouraged, and even invited, free discussion: and though men may entertain opposite opinions at different periods of their lives, it is not easy to suppose that any man could entertain, at one and the same moment, such opposite opinions as those contained in the Restrictions on the Press, and the Reply which advocated its freedom: and the last, in point of time, was the better authority of the two. But though not bound to defend the Marquess of Hastings from the charge of inconsistency, I will endeavour to defend myself. (Hear!)

With reference to the judicial proceedings against me in India, I was pleased to learn, from Sir Francis Macnaghten, that the Advocate General had advised no prosecution in the first case alluded to, that of Mr. Elliott, from the conviction in his own mind that no verdict could be obtained. If the paragraph however had been so unjustifiable as was contended, could not twelve men be found in Calcutta to whom it might be submitted; and who, if criminal, would pronounce on it as such? I was always ready to avow my extreme regret at having published any thing which gave displeasure to the Marquess of Hastings, for I then thought that all men ought to be thankful to him for the revision of the old regulations; by which I always understood the abolition of the censorship, and the substitution of certain fixed rules in the place of vague caprice, with the understanding that the most lenient interpretation was to be given to these; and that proceedings at law were to be substituted for punishment without trial. In every one of these few instances in which my name was concerned, I affirm that I did observe these regulations, notwithstanding that they were not law; and that I did, in every instance, in which it was possible, attend to the "warnings" which were given to me; or, in other words, that I never repeated what I was once reprimanded for doing.

The learned Proprietor has read to the Court an extract of the Reply of Lord Hastings to the Madras Address, and I cannot but admire the presence of mind with which he stopped short at a certain point of that document, as a skilful pleader perhaps feels himself bound to do when the interests of his client are to be protected by deception.

The learned Proprietor has told you that Lord Hastings, in his Reply, professed his admiration of the right of free discussion: but how?—"to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned." "Here then, (says Mr. Jackson,) is an admission that the principle might be narrowed; and no doubt his Lordship saw this fully.' Thus far the learned Gentleman: but let me go on with the remainder of the speech, from the moment at which he so ingeniously makes this sudden and convenient halt. Lord Hastings continued: "The seeing *no direct necessity* for those invidious shackles, might have sufficed to make me break them. I know myself however to have been guided in the step by a positive and well weighed policy. If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion." Here, then, is a distinct admission, that there was *no necessity whatever* for the "narrowing" which Mr. Jackson has quoted this very passage to prove Lord Hastings as adopting. Whether this be a fair use of such an authority or not, let the Court judge between us. The remainder of his Lordship's speech need not perhaps be read. The sense of the

whole Reply is clearly this:—that good government had nothing to conceal, and might therefore challenge public scrutiny; and yet so little does this apply to the Government of the East India Company practically, that they appear to wish to conceal every thing. (Hear!) The Marquess of Hastings obviously invited public scrutiny, on the acts of the Government of which he was at the head; whatever might have been the reserved construction of the regulations on which he afterwards laid so much stress. As I said before, I have nothing to do with his consistency or inconsistency. It is for himself and his friends to explain these.

It has been said that I interpreted his mere speech as having the full force of a law: this, again, I deny. But it is strange enough that this should be complained of by those who contend that he had the power to make rules to fetter the press without the sanction of the Supreme Court, and to transport individuals, by depriving them of their licenses, without the concurrence of his Council. Surely, if he had a right to fetter the press with rules, and punish those who broke them, without the aid of his Council, he had equally the power, by the delivery of the speech so often quoted, to avow that he had taken off these restrictions, and explain the reasons why he thought they ought not to remain. (Hear!) If the Members of his Council thought he had so much power without their co-operation, they ought to have protested against it at the time; but the hon. Proprietor whom I see before me (Mr. Trant), knows that these Councillors did not dissent. I saw him at the Government House on that day, with a number of public functionaries high in office; and, whatever might have been their private opinions, there was but one public sentiment on the subject, which was decidedly in favour of the liberty given. I was justified in putting, under these circumstances, the interpretation which I did upon the Marquess's speech, and in acting upon it as if it had received the full concurrence of all his colleagues.

It has been said that I have described our empire in India as one of opinion; I have done no such thing: but, on the contrary, in opposition to this delusion, I have contended that our empire in India is an empire of force. (Hear!) The present fettered state of the press shows that even the rulers themselves do not believe it to be an empire of opinion, in the sense in which that is generally interpreted; but, suppose it were, and that the natives really wished us to govern them as we do, then there could be no greater argument used in favour of the liberty of the press, since it could not possibly be dangerous to hear our praises published by them from one end of India to the other.

With respect to the publication of the letter on the subject of the payment of the native troops, to which reference has been made, I fairly challenged the strictest investigation. I received that letter, as I stated, from an Officer, who vouched for, and was ready to prove, its truth. The communication attracted the attention of the Governor General, whose Chief Secretary wrote to me upon the subject, and I made him acquainted with the Officer's name, having previously received his authority so to do. It laid the foundation of an inquiry, and the facts alleged subsequently turned out to be true. Mr. Metcalf shortly after proceeded to Hyderabad, to succeed Mr. Russell as resident there, and various other reforms, arising out of this, were understood to have been carried into effect. What danger, then, arose to the service, from showing that the troops were paid in base currency? The exposure corrected the evil and obviated the danger. The native troops, besides, seldom or never see the newspapers printed in the English language, and, even if they did, and could understand them, no mischief could ensue from stating to them what they must themelves know to be untrue, if it really were so. Suppose the first regiment of Guards were stationed at Gibraltar, and there paid their regular pay in pure silver dollars, do you think the editor of *The Times*, or of any other English newspaper, could persuade them, contrary to the evidence of their own senses, that their dollars were sixpences, and their silver brass? (Hear!) Do you think, then, that it depends upon the editors of newspapers to persuade the natives of India that they are joyous or discontented, happy or miserable, contrary to the evidence of their own sensations and knowledge, and just as such editors please?

The letter signed Emulus has been also cited as something flagrant in the extreme. The writer of it complained that, in the Indian army, merit was overlooked, and interest governedevery thing. This might have been the writer's real conviction; but, for myself, I stated at that particular time, (1819,) that no opinion was more unfounded, and, on the day following the publication of that letter, I wrote a long article expressly to show that the imputation was not true; so that at the same moment Lord Hastings saw the charge, he also saw the refutation. This is, indeed, the only rational way to treat discontented men; to hear them, to reply to them, and to put them down, if they are wrong, by arguments and facts, and not to allow them to brood over their complaints in silence, or breathe them in whispers in small

circles, until the influence of the exaggeration or the falsehood increases so as to encompass large masses of society, and then become irresistible. (Hear!) The best way will always be found to let Truth and Falsehood meet and grapple in free and open encounter—if this were done, Truth would be sure to prevail. Lord Hastings, seeing the course I had taken, admitted that it would be unpleasant for him to resort to proceedings at law, and sent a friend to me for the purpose of explanation. It has been said that, on this occasion, I made an apology. This, however, I deny: what I did amounted to this, and no more. A letter was addressed by me to the Governor General in Council, in compliance with the conditions proposed by himself, which letter was read in the Supreme Court, expressing a regret that I had published any letter which had given offence to the Government, declaring that I did not participate in the opinion conveyed in that letter, but had, on the contrary, on the next day, exerted all my power to refute it.

It has been also said that I continued the career of boldness into which I had plunged, because boldness was necessary to profit. I beg to say that I did no such thing: not that such an experiment had not been attempted in India. There was a paper published there, the John Bull, which was bold enough in its attacks on private character, and which literally teemed with libels; not with what I alone should call libels, but what were proved to be such in the Supreme Court of Judicature, and pronounced by the Judge as not to be thought of without horror. That paper, indeed, might be justly said to have dared every thing for the sake of profit; but it did not succeed. If it be true that I am a libeller, as so many pronounce me to be, I ask you to show me the record which justifies the use of that term. I am proud to answer that it is nowhere to be found. Is it not fair to suppose that the Bengal Government would *select* for prosecution the worst articles they could find from my pen, and such as would best establish their own view of the case? If, then, I am such a writer as you have heard me described, they could have had no difficulty in finding abundance of such libels as would have suited their purpose, and made my conviction inevitable. But they were utterly unable to convict me of any libel, against public or private character, by legal means; and even in those cases which they prosecuted by their Advocate General, they were unable to obtain a single verdict. It is said that I libelled the Governor General, that I libelled the Commander in Chief, that I libelled the Government collectively, and private characters individually, that I libelled the Bishop of Calcutta, and was arraigned and tried by a Court Martial for my offences. I cannot account for the infatuation which could lead any man to pronounce such a tissue of misrepresentations as these; I cannot comprehend how such assertions as these should have come, as they did, from a legal gentleman (Mr. Impey), speaking with an air of authority from within the bar, or how the individual, so making it, can escape from an imputation which I shall not pronounce.

A distinction has been attempted to be drawn by the learned Proprietor (Mr. Jackson), between the Government circulating the prospectuses of the John Bull newspaper, and the inferior clerks or agents who might so have done. I can, at once, put down this attempted distinction; for I am ready to prove that the Government itself, through Mr. Secretary Lushington, ordered the Post-master-General of India to circulate the prospectus of the John Bull free of all charge; and this was admitted to me, with this justification, that, some years before, the prospectus of the Calcutta Journal had been sent free in the same manner. The prospectus of the Journal was, however, a mere announcement of a literary and political paper, without containing a slander on any man. The prospectus of the John Bull, on the contrary, set out with the avowal of this paper being intended to put down "the *guilty* profit and *guiltier* popularity of the Calcutta Journal." It was, in short, a tissue of calumnies and misrepresentations from the beginning to the end; and, by its free circulation, the Government were parties to the slanders it contained. This language, of *guilty* profit and *guiltier* popularity, was applied to a Journal which had always gone through the Courts of Law triumphant, and had never yet been convicted of libel, public or private. I asked the Government to circulate, equally free of charge, through the same channels, my reply to this prospectus that attacked me; but this just privilege was refused. It was a series of accusations, and not merely a prospectus; and I was denied the fair privilege of replying to the calumnies it contained, on equal terms. Here, then, is a specific charge against the Government of Bengal, of having given this undue support, in the manner I have mentioned, to a paper which all parties, in England and in this Court, both within and without the bar, hold to be infamous, and unworthy of a Government to connect itself with. I also wish to call the attention of an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Trant), who seemed to doubt the fact, when stated by Mr. Hume, as to the custom (whether enjoined by the Government as a rule, or not, I am not aware) of marking at the post-offices, in Persian characters at the back of every letter, the name of the

person who sends it to the post office, and those addressed to the newspapers especially. All letters, addressed to the Calcutta Journal, from the interior, were marked, although I did not often know the writers. A gentleman, an officer, in Kurnaul, a stranger to me, wrote a letter to the Journal, stating that he had seen a letter from Mr. Secretary Lushington, communicating a civil appointment to one of the Company's servants, and adding, in a postscript, "You are expected to take in the John Bull newspaper." (Hear, hear!) The writer of the letter thus addressed to me, mentioned, in a postscript of his own, that his prospects in life would be materially affected, and, perhaps, entirely ruined, if I divulged his name. I subsequently ascertained, by means of his name being written in Persian on the back of the letter, that he was an Officer in the Army; and he assured me, on his honour, that the statement which he transmitted was true. That name is safely deposited in my confidence; it never has been, and never shall be divulged to his injury. It is quite clear, therefore, that the Government in India countenanced and circulated the John Bull newspaper; and were parties to that slanderous and malignant career of falsehood, libel, and infamy, which is now, I believe, nearly at an end.

From this I pass on to the alleged offensive remarks on the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, which have been so much commented upon by various speakers here and elsewhere. I have already said that, in the offences charged on me, I did not even break the rules which were so much dwelt upon; though, for the reason I have before stated, they had never the force of law. Let me, however, briefly read the rule supposed to have been broken in the instance in question: it is this—Editors are prohibited from publishing "offensive remarks *levelled* at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta." It is true that the name of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta is mentioned in these rules; but, with respect to the paragraph of which the Bishop complained, all that it says is, that the writer had *heard* that the Chaplains had received orders from the Bishop, that they were not to hold themselves amenable to the civil authorities, but to the ecclesiastical alone. What was there that could be reasonably considered offensive to the Bishop, in this simple statement of a simple matter of fact? There was, surely, nothing here that could be called "an *offensive* observation, *levelled* at the Lord Bishop of Calcutta." "It is a gross prostitution of terms," to borrow the language of the Indian Government on this occasion, to say that this was a breach of the rules. I cannot repeat too often, that there is not a shadow of ground for saying that I disobeyed any even of these rules, unlawful and absurd as they were. Are these, then, the "offensive remarks" which even the Government could only characterise by the terms, "certain loose publications"? Are these "the indecent attacks on the Bishop of Calcutta," of which it has been said that I have been guilty? Is it probable, if they had deserved these epithets, that they would not have been prosecuted at law, and punished as they deserved? and that, at least, the parties complaining of them would not have called them so at the time? Yet, even then, they were merely called "loose publications," which may mean any thing or nothing, just as the parties using it may choose.

Some complaint has been made by the learned Proprietor as to the great length of my letters in reply to the Government, and great praise is given to them for having had the patience to read them through. It was they, however, who threw down the gauntlet; and should I shrink from taking it up? If they chose to enter the conflict on the ground of reason, were they not to have reason in return? Every body will admit that an accusation may be very brief, but not so a defence, for which a mere denial will not do.

It is impossible not to admire the manner in which the learned Proprietor has spoken of the indictment of the Secretaries. He says the Grand Jury found a true bill against me; but he adds, as if it were a matter of little or no importance, that, when they came to trial, the Petty Jury did not quite agree! Not quite agree, indeed! Is this, Sir, the way in which that transaction should be dismissed? The learned gentleman should have told you that they came to a unanimous verdict of acquittal, without even a moment's hesitation: he might have added, also, that the Court itself (indecently enough, I admit, for so grave a place) rang with the acclamations of the auditors, and that I was almost carried home in triumph, so great and so general was the feeling of satisfaction that prevailed at the issue. It may give the Court some idea of the notions entertained by the Government of India as to what is libel and what is not, to state that the article here published was a letter, in which it was said, by way of illustrating another subject, that if no redress could be had from Government except through their Secretaries, then no complaints would be redressed except such as the Secretaries pleased, or words to that effect. This is a mere truism, which is universally admitted. For instance—if the Secretary of the East India Company were the only chan-

nel through which complaints could be made, then on the execution of his duty alone must depend whether his masters were or were not informed of such complaints. I must beg your attention, for a few moments, to another point connected with this. During the time that elapsed between the indictment and the trial, certain discussions went on, the object of which was to discover whether this truism was a libel or not. It was for these discussions that the information was filed; but, when it was argued in Court, Sir Francis Macnaghten declared that, in his opinion, the information was illegal as well as cruel,—that the provocation I had received was extreme, and that the one case ought to be tried before the other. I had also been attacked by other publications in the mean time, but these were not once disturbed. The information was itself founded on the idea that we were discussing matters which were, in themselves, libels, whereas the issue proved that they were not; and therefore, in truth, the information ought to have fallen to the ground of itself. But, I ask, why did Mr. Adam revive this information nearly twelve months after my acquittal? Almost every one in India considered that the Government were already ashamed of the angry disposition they had evinced, and were permitting the subject gradually to die away. My Solicitor applied to the Company's Advocate General, Mr. Spankie, who is now in this country, and must remember the fact, and was by him informed that the Government did not mean to bring the matter forward, and that the proceedings might be considered to be at an end, on which I closed my legal accounts. Sir Francis Macnaghten had previously said that the information was illegal and cruel, and, in fact, when applied to, had refused to try it; but, when Chief Justice Blossett came out, the information was again revived, and brought before the Court for trial. It must have been handed up by Mr. Spankie, who had before told my Solicitor that the Government did not mean to proceed upon it. I attribute no blame to Mr. Spankie, personally, for this; he, no doubt, discharged his duty according to the instructions he received. This information was thus revived immediately on the arrival of Chief Justice Blossett, but that Judge did not live to try it; and, soon after this, my removal from India rendered it unnecessary to proceed.

It has been said that I admitted the legality of the restrictions: I never did admit, and never could have admitted, their legality. They were, to all intents and purposes, private; they were never registered in the Supreme Court. No persons appeared to think of them; not one individual in a hundred ever heard of their existence before they were called into force. Originally they were transmitted to the editors of newspapers only, and were unknown to all the world besides; but I repeat that I knew nothing of them at the period of my first commencing the Calcutta Journal, nor until a considerable time afterwards.

The learned Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) has endeavoured to show you that the present licensing of newspapers in India, corresponds with the licensing of presses in this country. This, however, is not the case; and I will show you, at once, a palpable distinction between them. The license for establishing a press in this country may be had by any man who applies for it, on the payment of a few shillings, and securities against libel; the object being merely to indicate where his press is to be found, and who are to be amenable to the laws for its offences. In fact, the license cannot be refused upon a proper application, and, when once granted, it can never be taken away. The printer here, cannot be punished by the deprivation of his license; even the verdict of a Jury cannot touch it; when once given it is irrevocable. In India, however, no printer can obtain a license but such as the Government chooses; and, when granted, it may be revoked at their pleasure, without trial or inquiry of any kind. There is no resemblance, therefore, between the Indian and the British license; you might as well compare the East to the West—there is, in fact, no point of similarity between them; they are, in every respect, opposed to each other. Great stress has been laid upon the magnanimity (as it is called) with which my private property was, it is said, respected when the new laws were passed. How is this, however, with respect to this very license for the continuance of the Calcutta Journal? If the license be of any value, it must arise from the security of its possession; for to give a license one day, reserving the power of taking it away, for any capricious reason, or for none at all, the next, is not conferring a very essential favour. I at first thought, naturally enough, that the protection of the Court would have been given to the license of the Calcutta Journal, of which I was the principal proprietor; but I have since found my mistake, for, by the systematic hostility with which my interests have been opposed in India, I find my property, at last, cut down and altogether destroyed.

One gentleman has said, in the course of this debate, that it was not for him to say whether the observations of mine, which had led to these proceedings, were just or unjust. Why, then, profess to talk of merits or demerits? and yet, at the same time, to profess an utter indifference as to whether the Government

or myself were right or wrong? I have, I think, shown you that the articles relative to the Bishop, to Military Pay, and others, which were alleged to have been libels, were not so. I have declared to you, and challenged the proof, that I neither broke any regulation nor disregarded any warnings that I ever received. I ask what warning I neglected? when and where was it specified? The warning could not mean that I should do nothing; there must have been some specification, something must have been prohibited. What was it? When warned not to speak of Mr. Elliott again, I refrained—when warned to respect the Bishop, I did so—when warned *to* abstain from military discussions, I did abstain; and, whenever I had been reproved for any *defined* offence, I never again repeated it. But let us even suppose that many distinct and definite warnings had been given (which, however, never occurred), the importance of each warning must depend upon its legality, and on the right of the party to give it. One man might say to another, "You must not go out in your carriage, or take your evening drive." The Governor might warn a man not to wear a white jacket, or appear in public in any garment but a green one: but has he legally the power to give, or ought he to have a right of punishing men who neglect, such warnings as these? The rules laid down for the press I have already told you were not sanctioned by law; freedom of publication had never been restrained in India by law, and no man has a right to warn another against a lawful act; he might as well assume authority to put a pistol to your breast, and warn you that, if you refused your purse, he would punish you for resistance. But would such a warning as this be lawful?

I come, at length, to the case of Dr. Bryce, which is considered to be the consummation of my misdeeds. For the sake of the argument, I will here admit that, to speak against any of the public authorities, including the Bishop of Calcutta, mentioned in the rules for the press, might subject a man to punishment though he should have broken no law: but I have yet to learn when the same protection which was given to the highest functionaries of the state, was shed around the sacred person of this Scotch clergyman also? Let the regulations be ever so minutely examined, and there will not be found one of them of which this could be called a violation. Did observations on the unfitness of Dr. Bryce, for a Clerk of Stationery, come within the interdict prohibiting offensive remarks levelled against the Lord Bishop of Calcutta? Was this a disquisition on the "political transactions" of the Indian Government? or was the safety of an empire in India to be endangered because of these animadversions on a Reverend Clerk of Stationery? Where, then, was the offence? The rules were in no respect infringed upon. I challenge any man to meet me upon that point with facts. As to private scandal, whilst connected with the press of India, no man was more free from imputation of indulging in it than myself. (Hear!) I had no conviction for libel ever recorded against me; but we all know that those who had, were honoured and rewarded by those in power, whilst I was expelled from the country by these same impartial rulers, without a trial, a hearing, or a defence.

It has been said that there was a specified and declared penalty attached to the infraction of the rules, and that proceedings had been instituted against me in consequence. I deny that such proceedings were known to me. The consequences of an infraction were stated to be these, that the individual should be "proceeded against in such manner as the Governor in Council may deem applicable to the offence." Not by transportation without inquiry or trial, for this is a punishment that cannot be applicable to *any* offence; but by a proceeding at law, and subject to the verdict of a Court. The power of summary punishment, which was here acted upon, was never intended to meet such offences as this, nor did the Legislature ever apprehend the danger from the freedom of publication which could alone justify such alarm. Even after my license was withdrawn, I had still the opportunity of writing for two months, that being the period allowed before removal could take place; and, if great mischief could have been done by the press, here was ample opportunity to effect it: but I had no power to make persons believe that they were extremely miserable, when they must have known whether they were happy or not better than I could possibly tell them. As well might Surajah Dowlah have attempted to persuade those who were suffering suffocation in the black hole at Calcutta, that they were as well off as those who breathed the pure air freely, as I, by any writings of mine, could have hoped to persuade a people that they were unhappy when they were surrounded by comforts and pleasures.

I have no wish to trouble the Court further; I should, perhaps, apologize for having occupied so much of their time, and, at least, thank them for the attention with which I have been heard. The Court must perceive that I have not gone through any prepared speech—I have merely, on the spur of the occasion, replied to Mr. Jackson, in the order in which the several points introduced by him followed each other, and I have done so under considerable disadvan-

pages; for, however fluent practice may have rendered my pen, I am not accustomed to address large assemblies, this being the first time of my ever having done so thus publicly and at any length. I came into this Court, as I have before stated, under the hope that the great general question of the importance of a free press to India, would alone have been discussed, and I was prepared to take my share in that discussion; but, as the learned Gentleman, to whom I have replied, thought proper to give an entirely different turn to the debate, and took such especial pains to create a false impression on the personal details of the question at issue, I could not permit his assertions to go unanswered, and have, accordingly, done my best to refute them. (Cheers.)

I know not, Sir, what opinions may be entertained of my general character in this Court, whether favourable or unfavourable; I believe, however, that you will give me credit for possessing the quality of perseverance at least. I am not the man to put my hand to the plough and look back. I regard this as only the first of a series of discussions which I hope to attend here and elsewhere, on the state and government of India. It is not merely for a redress of injuries done to me (which I ask not now) that I am anxious for discussion; neither is it for justice to my successor that I am alone interested; though the day will come, I hope, when his case will also be laid before you. But while life, and health, and strength shall remain to me, the interests of the Natives of India *shall* be advocated; and, if you will not permit us to breathe in whispers in India, you must be prepared for thunders here. (General cheers.)

An Hon. Proprietor, whose name we could not learn, said that he had listened with great attention to what had fallen from Mr. Buckingham, but that, nevertheless, he was not satisfied that that gentleman had shown the system he had carried on in India to have been compatible with law. His residence in India he must have considered as a matter of contract, and inseparable from an obedience to the laws and to the existing authorities; he had not obeyed the latter, and as to the warnings which he had received, they were most distinct and specific; he was, at the time, referred to the provisions of the Act of Parliament, and was, therefore, justly subject to the penalties he had incurred.

The Chairman addressed the Court as follows:—I regret that, at this late hour, it is incumbent upon me to say a few words on this question: they shall be only a very few words, because the subject has been so fully discussed. The hon. Proprietor, not now in his place, who opened the debate at the last Court, stated that his object was to produce discussion; I am sure the Court will agree with me in thinking that that object has been fully attained, for not only has every gentleman on either side of the question had an opportunity of expressing his sentiments at large, but Mr. Buckingham, I rejoice to say, has also stated his own view of the case, which he has done, too, with great ability. (Hear!) I regret that it has so happened that instead of devoting the great abilities which he has exhibited this day to the acquirement of a fortune in India, he appears here as an appellant against the administration of the law. (*a*) The Governor General was bound, by law, under the circumstances of the case, to remove Mr. Buckingham; but the same law which gives the Governor General the power of removal, also gives to the person against whom that power is exercised, the right of appeal in this country. I am decidedly of opinion that Mr. Adam in all that he has done, did no more than his duty. Had he done less, he would not have deserved the character which the Company give him credit for, namely, that of being a servant of eminent talent and integrity. (Hear!) It has been attempted to be made out that Mr. Buckingham's removal from India, was the consequence of his remarks on Dr. Bryce alone. I deny that such is the case. Mr. Buckingham was five or six times told by the Government, that being not Mr. Adam, but Lord Hastings in Council, that his next offence, whatever it might be, (*b*) whatever strictures he might make on the acts of Government, would be followed up by his removal from India. Mr. Adam was of opinion with the rest of the Council, that Mr. Buckingham should have been removed at a nearly period of his career; but the Marquess of Hastings took upon himself, under the Act of Parliament, the responsibility of saying that he would give him another warning. The Marquess of Hastings left India in January, and, I believe, in the following month Mr. Buckingham took occasion to comment on the appointment of Dr. Bryce. Mr. Adam was then bound, in honour to himself, to his colleagues, and to the Marquess of Hastings, to fulfil the pledge

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(*a*) Mr. Buckingham *had* acquired a fortune in India; as large a one, at least, as he had any ambition to possess: a property which was calculated, under competent management, to yield him at least 5,000*l.* a year for life; but, by the conduct of the Indian Government, he has been cruelly and unfeelingly deprived of this. It is now utterly destroyed, and himself and family are reduced from the possession of this provision for their declining years, to the necessity of beginning the world again in some other less dangerous and precarious pursuit.

(*b*) And which it was, therefore, impossible to define or avoid, as no one could tell what might be considered an offence.

which had been given for the removal of Mr. Buckingham, and consequently Mr. Buckingham was removed. But his removal, as I have before said, was not determined upon, solely on account of his remarks respecting Dr. Bryce: that was only one of a series of acts. I cannot give a stronger proof of the little necessity there was for Mr. Buckingham's comments upon the appointment of Dr. Bryce than this; that when, in pursuance of the Act of Parliament, the Indian Government sent home an account of that appointment, the Court of Directors expressed strong objections to it. (*c*) (Hear!) Does not this prove that the law as it stands is sufficient for all purposes of good government, and that the control of the press is unnecessary. (*d*)

Mr. Buckingham has told us that he has been inconsistent and indiscreet.

Mr. Buckingham.—Not "inconsistent," no such expression was ever used.

The Chairman.—I should be sorry to use words not uttered by the hon. Proprietor himself: I will therefore merely say "indiscreet." But it should be considered that his indiscretion, to apply no harsher term to his conduct, might be highly mischievous to the Government of India.

I will not attempt to argue the legal question; but I must say, I always understood that a free mariner's license authorized the person possessing it to trade only, and not to reside in India. I think that the argument of the hon. and learned Proprietor (Mr. R. Jackson) must have carried conviction to the mind of every person who has heard him. It is not for us to criticize the law, but only to carry it into effect. It is for another assembly to determine whether there shall be a free press in India, or whether the system which has been sanctioned by the wisdom and experience of ages shall continue. Does it follow that because a free press is found to be necessary in this country, that it is requisite in India? Mr. Buckingham says that the Government of India is not despotic, and yet he adds that he must have worn a white jacket if the Governor General had ordered him to do so. This is inconsistent. (*e*) But whatever the Government of India was, it existed under an Act of Parliament which said "such is the mode in which India shall be governed." There has been no violation of that Act of Parliament, and therefore there is no ground of complaint.

If I were to occupy the time of the Court longer, I should only repeat the arguments which have already been so ably stated. The object of those who introduced the question has been attained. We have had two days of discussion, and if we were to have two days more, I do not see that we could expect any thing but a repetition of what has been said. (Hear!)

Captain Gowan next rose to address the Court, but we regret that the confusion which prevailed during the time the hon. Proprietor was speaking, prevented us from hearing him distinctly. We understood him to say, that he rose principally for the purpose of bearing his testimony to the competency of Ram Mohun Roy to write the Memorial which had been so often referred to in the course of the discussions. He had received a letter from that individual relative to a subject which he (Captain Gowan) had much at heart, namely, the foundation of some schools in India, which was written with extraordinary talent, which letter he would read to the Court.

He was anxious also to take that opportunity of adverting to some remarks which on a former day fell from an hon. Bart. (Sir C. Forbes) whom he much respected, relative to the missionaries in India. (Here the cries of "question" became very loud.)

Sir C. Forbes rose and said, that unless the Court gave a fair hearing to gentlemen on both sides of the question, he would move for the adjournment of the Court.

Captain Gowan continued.—He was sorry to find that the hon. Bart. joined in the unfeeling cry which was raised in some quarters against those good, zealous, and able men. They had placed themselves at the head of every thing distinguished for virtue and talent in India. To them was owing the establishment of an Agricultural Society in Bengal. The hon. Proprietor was proceeding to some remarks which had been made in the course of the debate respecting the extension of the British empire in India, when

The Chairman begged him to con-

(*c*) Here then is an admission, that what it was right in the Directors to condemn and to destroy, was wrong in Mr. Buckingham merely to reprove! What an admirable standard of right and wrong is this!

(*d*) Certainly not, unless it could be shown that every improper act was remedied without the press; but, in truth, unless the press had censured this appointment of Dr. Bryce first, it would never have been publicly heard of, and never annulled.

(*e*) Mr. Buckingham argued that it was incorrect to assume that the Government of India always was, now is, and always must be a despotism; as it was intended by its native as well as its British legislators that it should be a government of law. It is practically a despotism, however, only because the Governor may banish any man without trial, for any reason, or for none; so that having this power to hold, in terrorem, over all men's heads, he sets aside the law, and terrifies them by the fear of ruin if they resist, into an obedience to any unlawful orders he may think proper to issue for their observance. This is practical despotism under theoretic law.

fine himself to the question before the Court.

Captain Gowan then said, that he would reserve his observations on the subject to which he had alluded, till a future opportunity.

Mr. Buckingham.—To set the question, with respect to the authorship of the Memorial at rest, so far as regards myself, I beg to state, in explanation, that I never knew of the existence of the document until after I left India. At the moment of my leaving Calcutta, no apprehension was entertained that any new regulations would be framed with respect to the press; and unless I could be supposed to have the gift of prophecy, it was quite impossible that I could either foresee the state of things that was about to happen, or prepare any Memorial for such an occasion.

Sir C. Forbes.—After what has been said respecting this Memorial, I feel it necessary to state, that Sir J. Malcolm has expressed his decided opinion that it was written by Ram Mahun Roy, and I am certain that there are many natives of India capable of the same effort. I am sorry at this late hour to take up the time of the Court, but I feel it necessary to offer a few observations on some of the points which have been touched upon. It has been said that if a man goes to India with a free mariner's license, that license becomes forfeited the moment he abandons the seafaring profession. I beg to enter my protest against a doctrine calculated to excite the greatest alarm amongst thousands of our fellow-subjects in India. I defy any person to produce an Act of Parliament which authorizes this distinction of licenses. In the 53d of the King, which has been so frequently referred to, nothing is said about a "'free mariner's license." The fact is that the Company are bound to grant licenses to all persons applying for them, unless special reasons exist against it, for the purposes not only of trade, but of disseminating useful knowledge in India. The only difference with respect to the licenses consists in the amount of fees which are paid on receiving them.

If any thing could reconcile me to the arbitrary power of banishment which has been exercised in Mr. Buckingham's case, it would be the application of it to the Missionaries; for I am convinced that if they be not driven out of India, they will drive us out. (Hear! and a laugh.) I do not allude to the Missionaries at Scrampore, who indeed have ceased to be missionaries in the sense in which that term is usually applied, but to those itinerant lecturers who go about the country preaching from tubs. The effect of the amendment proposed by the learned Gentleman (Mr. Jackson), is to express unqualified approbation of proceedings which never, whilst I live, will I consent to approve of. (Hear!) The Chairman has allowed us to hear the letter in which the Directors expressed their approbation of Mr. Adam's conduct. I wish he had also favoured us with the signatures which were attached to that letter. (Hear!) I submit that it was only with reference to the article on Dr. Bryce, that Mr. Buckingham should have been proceeded against. The subject indeed was hardly worthy of the exercise of his abilites. I do not think it was just or necessary for the Government to travel back to eight or nine offences which had been already atoned for, as a ground for banishing Mr. Buckingham. Upon the whole I am compelled to repeat, that my impression is that Mr. Buckingham has been treated with a degree of rigour which the circumstances of his case do not warrant.

I do not stand up here to argue for such a liberty of the press as would enable individuals to abuse the Government in India; but I think that whatever restrictions may be imposed, they should be definite, in order that a man might know when he transgressed. I am satisfied that Mr. Buckingham would have been banished at an earlier period, had it not been for the Marquess of Hastings; but the first opportunity which presented itself after that nobleman's departure was seized upon for the purpose of getting rid of that gentleman. So determined was the spirit of hostility against Mr. Buckingham, and so well was its existence known, that after the departure of the Marquess of Hastings, he was secretly advised that it would be better for him to quit the settlement for a time. I ask Mr. Buckingham whether this was not the case? (Hear! from Mr. Buckingham.) His anticipated removal from India was the common topic of conversation even amongst ladies in the ball-rooms—"I know what will be done with Mr. Buckingham," said one, "and I know too," said another: (A laugh.) "Mr. Adam is determined to send him off at the first opportunity," said a third. It has been said that no private feeling has mixed itself up with the proceedings against Mr. Buckingham. How can I believe this, when I know that, not content with banishing Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Adam has since ruined his prospects, by suppressing his paper? (Hear!) It is my opinion that this Court is bound to give Mr. Buckingham an indemnification for the destruction of his property. (Hear!)

With respect to the case of Mr. Arnot, I disapprove of the manner in which that gentleman was seized on neutral territory, and sent on board ship. He was under the protection of the French Government; and I consider his seizure to be a direct violation of neutrality, which I am astonished that the French have

submitted to. I think I can account now for the great anxiety which the Court of Directors evinced to get possession of the Dutch territories; they will, doubtless, be equally anxious to become masters of the French possessions in India; and it will soon happen that no person in India will dare to open his mouth on the subject of the acts of Government. Unless the Indian Government obtain possession of the French territories, their attempt to stifle discussion will be defeated; for what is to prevent individuals from establishing printing presses in the French settlements, whence may issue any publication, the circulation of which it will be impossible to control?

Mr. Buckingham's paper was always a most valuable vehicle of public information, and I am sorry that it is suppressed, because there is no other paper in India which approaches its excellence. I consider that the argument of the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. R. Jackson) is extremely fallacious, which I attribute to his want of local knowledge regarding India. I regret that persons in this country are too much in the habit of looking down upon the natives of India. (A cry of "No!") It is impossible to deny the fact. No longer ago than on the discussion respecting the East India trade in the last session, there were only five Members out of the whole House of Commons who united to prevent the natives from being excluded from participating in the advantages of that measure. It would be wise, however, to adopt a more conciliatory line of conduct towards the natives. The worm when trampled upon will turn against the foot that wounds it; and the day may not be far distant when the natives of India will be driven to assert their rights. I would advise the Company to give back to the natives a part of that immense whole of which they have robbed them. The whole of our dominions in India have been acquired by a system of plunder. The natives are disposed to be attached to us, and are thankful for any kindness which may be shown to them. I declare to God that I never met with an instance of ingratitude on the part of an Indian; but I cannot say so much for my own countrymen.

Mr. Hume rose to reply.—The course of proceeding which has been taken this day has surprised me more than any thing I ever witnessed in this Court. My hon. and learned Friend (Mr. R. Jackson) has taken a course inconsistent with experience, and such as has never before been pursued. I opened the question by declaring that Mr. Buckingham's case should form no part of the subject; but merely be alluded to as an exemplification or illustration of it. The subject I introduced was involved in this inquiry—Whether, we being deputed to promote the welfare of India, a free press is not the best means of attaining that object. To this moment not one of the arguments or facts in my speech have been replied to. I moved a resolution declaring that it was the duty of this country to promote the welfare of India, and my hon. and learned Friend moves, as an amendment on that, a resolution, expressing the approbation of the Court with respect to the proceedings which have taken place against Mr. Buckingham. The document on which he grounds his amendment has never been properly before this Court or the public. I pronounce the proceedings to be unfair and irregular. On the present occasion my hon. and learned Friend has acted contrary to the principle to which I have always hitherto known him adhere, namely, that of moving for papers upon which to found his opinion of any case. My learned Friend says he is ready to meet me on the question of a free press; then why does he not meet me now instead of moving an amendment, the object of which is to prevent the Court from getting necessary information. If the Court should approve of the amendment, that act will remain a memorial of their absurdity.

I rejoice that Mr. Buckingham has had an opportunity of stating his case: and I put it to any Member of this Court whether he has not completely exculpated himself from the various charges which have been made against him. To pass an opinion on his case without being in possession of the information which is necessary to the right understanding of it, will be the extreme of injustice: it will be using the power of a majority against the dictates of reason. I protest against the amendment; it is uncalled for; it is no answer to my motion, and I deeply regret that it has been made. (Hear!)

Mr. R. Jackson contended that he had pursued no unusual course in moving his amendment. It was true, that his hon. Friend had moved only one of the resolutions; but he had referred to the whole of them in his address, throughout which he condemned the proceedings which had taken place against Mr. Buckingham. His hon. Friend did him injustice when he said that he (Mr. J.) had not replied to his speech. He thought that he had taken an accurate review of every part of it. (e) It was impossible, after reading the documents which Mr. Buckingham had published, for any man

(e) Mr. Hume's speech was mainly directed to the general question of a free press in India; and Mr. Jackson's answer to, or accurate review of, every part of it, was this: "As to the question of a free press in India, I can hardly argue it gravely; it appears to me so full of danger and extravagance."—A full and triumphant answer, truly!

to say that he wanted further information to enable him to judge whether the Court of Directors have acted properly in approving of the conduct of the Indian Government.

His hon. Friend seem to think that there was some understanding between himself and the Directors with respect to the amendment. It was perfectly notorious that a despatch of the kind which had been read, had been sent to India. The fact was stated in Parliament. If his hon. Friend would move at any time for the regulations respecting the press, with the view of making them more liberal or acceptable, he would be prepared to support him; but that had nothing to do with the great question of the uncontrolled freedom of the press for which he (Mr. Hume) had all along contended. (*f*)

Mr. HUME said that his hon. and learned Friend contended that the Court was in possession of all the information which his motion asked for. That was not the case. He (Mr. H.) had not seen the Minutes of Council and Correspondence between the Government and the Court of Directors and Board of Control; and at present he was unable to say, with certainty, whether Mr. Buckingham's removal from India was the act of the Governor in Council, or of any other person. The opinion of the Court, if it were pronounced in the absence of the necessary documents, would not be of the smallest value.

Mr. R. JACKSON observed that Mr. Buckingham had in his own work stated that he was removed by the Governor General. The gentlemen who had spoken, had been all day reasoning upon the facts which the defendant in the cause, if he might so call Mr. Buckingham, had himself furnished. (*g*)

The CHAIRMAN said, that the resolutions of the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) were nearly similar to those which had been negatived on a former day. It was true, however, that in the requisition by which the Court were this day assembled, the name of Mr. Buckingham did not appear.

The first resolution was then put and negatived; (*h*) and the amendment was carried.

At the request of Mr. Hume, the Chairman put the question on the second and third resolutions, which were both negatived.

The Court then adjourned at half past eight o'clock.

(*f*) This fallacy has been a hundred times exposed, and yet a hundred times repeated. No one has ever yet contended for a free and uncontrolled press; but a free press, subject to the control of the laws, and a trial by jury.

(*g*) And Mr. Impey, the legal advocate of the Court, had before avowed that all these facts were admitted.

(*h*) The reader should turn back to the first resolution, at p. 96, to see the full absurdity of a body of men giving a decided negative to a plain and incontrovertible fact. He will then understand, what might else appear incredible, that if the Directors were to move a Resolution which went to declare that all Englishmen in India were Chinese; that Leadenhall-street was St. James's; or that a square and a circle were the same figure; they would support it, upon the same principle that they here opposed a plain matter of history and fact, and without the least scruple whatever, gave their sanction to record a lie!

LITERARY REPORT.

The great length of the debate in the present Number, occupies much of the space that we should willingly devote to literary and scientific intelligence, for the sake of maintaining that interest and variety which we hope always to give to the contents of our Work as a whole, though, from the pressure of particular kinds of information at one time, and its insufficiency at others, no two Numbers can be exactly alike in the uniform devotion of a certain number of pages to each particular department. We had prepared for our present Number, a Literary Report, embracing reviews of several publications of interest connected with the colonies; but they must be deferred till a future opportunity, and for the present we must content ourselves with a list of works published.

WORKS PUBLISHED.

A Plan of the Town of Madras and its Limits, as surveyed in 1822, for the Use of the Justices in Sessions. By William Ravenshaw, Captain, Civil Engineers.

Memoranda for the Dress of the General and Staff Officers, and for all Officers belonging to the Establishment of Fort St. George. 12mo.

Plowden's Answer to the Abbé Dubois.

Evans's History of Van Dieman's Land.

Remarks on West India Affairs, by J. R. Grossett, M.P. 8vo.

An Appeal, not to the Government, but to the People of England, on the Subject of West Indian Slavery. 8vo.

The Speech of the Right Hon. George Canning, on the 16th of March, 1824, in Explanation of the Measures adopted by his Majesty's Government for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Slave Population in the West Indies. 8vo.

The History of Mexico, from the Spanish Conquest to the present era; containing a condensed and general View of the Manners, Customs, Religion, Commerce, Soil, and Agriculture, Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Productions; a concise Political and Statistical Review of the Changes effected in that Country; with its present form of Government, &c. Also, Observations, speculative and practical, as to the best means of working the Mexican Mines, by a Combination of British Talent, Capital, and Machinery. By Nicholas Mill, Esq. 8vo.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

East India Military Calendar.—We noticed in a late Number that the second part of the East India Military Calendar was in the press. The services of the following officers, among others, are given in this part. It would exceed the limits of this portion of our work to insert the names of all officers respecting whom honourable mention is made; but the intelligence now given must be interesting to our military readers.

Adams, T., late Major; Alan, Sir Alex., Bart., late Colonel; Bowness, G., Major-General; Burrell, L., Major-General; Beatson, A., Major-General; Brown, A., Lieut.-General; Blair, Sir Robt., H.C.B., Lieut.-General; Baines, G. V., Major; Burn, W., late Major-General; Barker, Sir Robt., Bart., late Brigadier-General; Bruce, W., late Lieut.-Colonel; Burr, D., Lieut.-General; Ballasis, John, late Major-General; Balfour, Sir Pat., Bt., late Major; Ball, Geo., late Lieut.-Colonel; Carnac, J. R., Major; Crawford, C., Colonel; Clarke, James, Major; Clive, Robert Lord, late Major-General; Champion, A., late Colonel; Camac Jacob, late Lieut.-Colonel; Close, Sir Barry, Bt., late Major-General; Carnac, John, late Brigadier-General; Caillaud, John, late Brigadier-General; Coote, Sir Eyre, late Lieut.-General; Chalmer, Sir John, H.C.B., late Major-General; Campbell, D., Lieut.-General; Dalton, D. H., Lieut-Colonel; Dunn, Lieut.-General; De la Motte, Major; Durand, Lieut.-Colonel; Don, P., Lieut.-Colonel; D'Aguilar, G.T., Major; Dyce, A. Major-General; Duff, P., late Major-General; Elwood, C. W., Major; Earle, S., Captain; Edmonstone, John, late Lieut.-Colonel; Fawcett, W. D., late Major-General; Featherstone, T., Lieut.-Colonel; Franklin, W., Lieut.-Colonel; Floyd, Sir John, late General; Gordon, R., Lieut.-Colonel; Gregory, R., Major-General, C.B.; Gilbert, W. R., Major; Goddard, T., late Brigadier-General; Gardiner, R., late Major-General; Hayes, Major-General; Hodgson, C., Lieut.-Colonel; Higgins, C.T., Major; Hall, H., Major-General; Houston, R., C. B., Lieut.-Colonel; Hodgson, R., Major; Hull, W., Lieut.-Colonel; Hartley, late Major-General; Horsford, Sir John, H.C.B., late Major-General; Hawkins, J., late Colonel; Johnson, J. M., Lieut.-Colonel; Ironside, late Colonel; Keating, late Lieut.-Colonel; Kyre, R., late Lieut.-Colonel; Kirkpatrick, W., late Major General; Lawrence, H.P., Major-General; Leureon, W. C., Lieut.-Colonel; Littlejohn, P., Lieut.-Colonel; Latter, R. J., Lieut.-Colonel; Lushington, J. L., C.B., Lieut.-Colonel; Lawrence, Stringer, late Major-General; Logie, W., Lieut.-Colonel; Murray, Sir J. M., Bt., late Lieut.-Colonel; Morrell, R., Lieut.-Colonel; Martine, Claude, late Major-General; Munro, Sir Hector, late General; Midford, G., Lieut.-Colonel; Muir, G., late Colonel; Montagu, Edward, late Lieut.-Colonel; Nugent, E., Lieut.-Colonel; Nicholls, W., Lieut.-Colonel; Nation, S., Lieut.-Colonel; Nicholson, R., late Lieut.-General; Nilson, late Brigadier-General; O'Halloran, J., C.B., Lieut.-Colonel; O'Brien, L. R, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel; Ogilby, Sir D., Lieut.-Colonel; Oakes, Sir H., Bt., Lieut.-General; Podmore, Lieut.-Colonel; Pearce, T. D., late Colonel; Popham, W., late Lieut.-General: Palmer, W., late Lieut.-General, Richards, G., Lieut.-Colonel; Richards, W., Lieut.-Colonel; Roberts, H. G., Captain; Skelton, Major-General; Sandwith, W., Major; Stewart, T., Lieut.-Colonel; Smith, H. F., C. B., Lieut.-Colonel; Smith, H. W. C., Major; Stibbert, Giles, late Lieut.-General; Stanley, H. W., Major; Scott, W., late Lieut.-Colonel; Scott, Jonathan, late Lieut.-Colonel; Torriano, Major; Thomas, L., C. B., Major-General; Tetley, J., late Colonel; Wilson, J. A., Lieut.-Colonel; Watson, R. A. C., Major; Watson, Commodore; Woulfe, John, Major; Whist, R., Lieut.-Colonel; Waring, John Scott, late Major; Watson, W., late Major; Ware, C., late Major-General.

The following are among the original Military papers contained in this part: Journal of the ever memorable Defence of Onore in 1783; Journal of the Retreat of Brigadier-General Monson's Detachment in 1804; Narrative of the Defence of Delhi in 1804; List of Prisoners taken at Bednore in 1783, distinguishing those who were murdered by order of Tippoo Sultaun; Report of the Operations of the Right Column in the Attack upon Tippoo Sultaun's Fortified Camp on the night of the 6th Feb. 1792; Refutation of the Calumnies of Mr. Burke and others on the Indian Army; Advice to a Cadet going to India, for his conduct on the passage, on his landing, and during his residence in India; by a Field Officer.

The second part will be published in the course of September.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EAST INDIES, CHINA, AND NEW HOLLAND.

Bengal.—In our last Number we gave extracts from private letters which had reached us from Calcutta, bringing down the intelligence from that quarter to the 16th of March: and although the latest of those letters arrived about the middle of July, now six weeks ago, not a single paper or letter of a later date, has since reached England from Bengal. We are, therefore, not only unable to furnish much of the usual civil and military intelligence, which is so eagerly sought after by those who have friends serving in India; but we are equally unable to offer any thing of a political or commercial nature, of a later date than the intelligence given in our last. We have been favoured, however, with the perusal of many other private letters, of the same date as our own, which contain many interesting facts and opinions on the state of affairs generally in India: and from these we shall draw the materials of our present Monthly Report. We may take this occasion to assure those who are resident in every part of the Eastern World, that the greatest service which they can render to the cause of good government, and the improvement of the countries in which they reside, is by communicating, fully and freely, whatever facts may come to their knowledge, accompanied with such reflections as their own personal observations and experience may suggest. Such letters may, for greater safety, be addressed, under cover, to any friend in England, with instructions to forward them, on receipt, addressed to the Editor, at the place of publication, when the intelligence they may contain will be made use of in the manner that may at the time appear best calculated to promote the great objects, for which alone this work has been undertaken.

The topic of the highest public interest, at the present moment, is the Burmese war. The private letters from Calcutta, present the most conflicting opinions as to its probable duration, and final issue. We learn that it is regarded in a very important light by the oldest and most experienced residents. This appears also to be the view taken of it by the Indian Government, and the exertions making to bring an imposing force into the field, are sufficient to show that the resistance is meant to be suited to the strength of a numerous and warlike nation. Two of his Majesty's regiments had been ordered down from the interior, to the garrison of Fort William, and in addition to the troops already sent from the Presidency of Bengal towards the eastern frontiers of the Company's territories, the attacking force was to be strengthened by 3000 men from Bombay, and 7000 from Madras. The whole of this force was to rendezvous at Rangoon, the principal seaport of the Burmese, and to March from thence to Amarapoora, the capital, a distance of five degrees, or 300 miles in latitude; the position of these places being respectively, according to the latest authorities, Rangoon, lat. 16° 17′ N. long. 96° 9′ E. Amarapoora, 21° 55′ N. long. 96° 7′ E. This metropolis stands on the banks of a deep and extensive lake, about 7 miles long, and one and a half broad. It is well defended by nature, from the circumstance that when filled by the periodical rains, the lake on the one side, and the river on the other, form a dry peninsula, on which the city is placed. The fort is an exact square, and considered by the Burmese as impregnable; this character, however, can only apply to it when attacked in the native manner, as against the power of artillery its resistance would be short and ineffectual. The march of the native troops in our service to the capital, it is expected, will be easy enough. It is not, indeed, probable, from the extensive preparations making, and the precautions taken, that however brave and warlike the Burmese may be, their undisciplined troops will be able to cope with European and native Indian battalions: on the contrary, as is usually found in similar instances, numerical superiority will, no doubt, be compelled to yield to the firm, compact, and experienced perseverance of our more disciplined bodies, and scientific mode of warfare.

One of the latest letters from Calcutta mentions that a force, under Colonel Bowen, in an attempt to storm a stockade, was twice repulsed, and in the evening had to retire, with the loss of 150 killed and wounded. The following casualties are mentioned:—

10th Regiment (Native Infantry)—Lieutenant Armstrong, killed; Colonel

Bowen, severely wounded; Ensign Barberie, ditto, lost a leg.

23d Ditto—Captain Johnston, severely wounded.

If this were the only contest in which the Indian Government were likely to be engaged, its issue would be speedy and certain; but, according to intelligence received at the India House, and given, in substance, in the last number of its own official organ, the Asiatic Journal, we find that there are likely to be other calls upon their vigilance and activity, not merely to watch the approach, but actually to repel the open declaration, of hostilities in other quarters. These paragraphs are sufficiently curious to deserve republication, for the benefit of that portion of our readers (we have reason to believe a very large one) who do not see the original. They are as follows:—

In our leading article we have dwelt at some length upon the military operations on our Eastern frontier. We must now take a glance at the Western, where it appears that Runjeet Singh has been extending his conquests into Scindh, and has actually rendered Abdallah Khan, the prince of the country, tributary.—During the last few years, Runjeet Singh has been making rapid strides towards extended empire; having conquered Cachemere, Peishawur, Moultan, and Scindh, besides a variety of petty states in the mountainous districts to the Northward. Runjeet appears to have been very *peremptory* in his conditions with the Nabob of Scindh; positively insisting upon the payment of a fixed sum within a few days.

The Thakoors, or feudal lords, in the district of Oudipore, have been so restless and predatory in their courses, as to render it necessary that a detachment of our troops should be marched from Neemuch, with field guns, to *restore harmony*. The territories also of the Rajahs of Jypore and Kotah appear to be in such a state as to *require our interference*.

The kingdom of Oude is still in a state of ferment, from the *mal-administration* to which it has for *many years been a victim*. Many of the Zemindars have been in arms against the collectors of the revenue. We are not acquainted with the immediate causes of the late disturbances; but at all events we may read one lesson in the state of *this unhappy country*. It was thrown into a feverish state by a long series of *oppressive exactions*, and has consequently been disposed, for many years, to resist *even the lawful and equitable duties* which the Government demanded. On the present occasion the Zemindars knew that the British commiserated their condition, and calculated upon their not interfering. We are happy in being able to state that the disturbances were happily quelled without our being called to so *painful a duty*.

An ordnance depot is about to be established at Dacca for the security of our Eastern frontier. A new local battalion is also to be formed of the Silhet and Cachar frontier, to be composed of natives for those districts, and of the neighbouring hill tribes. The corps is to be styled the Silhet Local Battalion. Five additional companies of Native Artillery have likewise been ordered to be raised at Cawnpore and Dum Dum.

There is an amusing air of official humanity running through these paragraphs, which might deserve a more detailed exposure than we feel disposed at present to give it. The idea of sending field guns to restore harmony, is worthy of an advocate of despotism. One would have thought, that if harmony had been disturbed, by the aggression of the strong on the weak, an interference on behalf of the latter, and a firm, yet peaceable, demand of restitution to the aggrieved, would have been the most effectual way of restoring the harmony that had been interrupted. But the Indian Government is "ever strong upon the stronger side." It takes up no cause of the people against their oppressors: that would be a bad example to set to others; as it might at some future period be returned upon themselves. But it will send field guns whenever they may be wanted, to silence complaint, to enforce unjust exactions, and if resistance be offered, to restore harmony, by fetters, wounds and death. This is the usual share which the East Indian Government takes in all disputes that appear to "require their interference:" and their return for this is either plunder at the moment, or tribute exacted for ever afterwards.

The India House oracle, in the second of the quoted paragraphs, makes an admission that deserves especial notice. He says that there has been much mal-administration in Oude: that it had been for many years the victim of misgovernment: and that oppressive exactions had long weighed down this unhappy country. We believe that this is strictly true. What will the English reader say, however, when we assure him, that in India it was made punishable with banishment, to say any thing of the affairs of Oude, except in praise; or to utter a word that might, by possibility, give offence to his Mohammedan Majesty; and that specific and separate letters were written by the Chief Secretary to all the Editors of newspapers in

Bengal, commanding their silence on the affairs of this unhappy country. Whether it be a "painful duty" for the Indian Government to interfere, for the purpose of quelling the disturbances that arise, not out of a resistance to "lawful and equitable," but to unlawful and inequitable duties, may be much doubted. The East India Company will send their troops wherever any thing is to be got by them in return: and the scenes in which these troops have been engaged in Oude, are such as we know to have been revolting to the officers employed, from their utter repugnance to those feelings of justice and humanity which many among them still retain.

With the prospects of war in such opposite quarters as these indicated above—the Burmese empire in the S. E., Runjeet Singh in the N. W., and the kingdom of Oude between them, with the probably increasing disposition of the Russians to take advantage of these troubles, for the purpose of paying us a visit under the best circumstances for themselves, it would seem to be of the highest importance that the Indian army should be in an efficient state, that all classes of Englishmen in India should be satisfied, and that the most perfect happiness and unanimity should exist within, in order the more successfully to repel aggression from without. That this is not the real state of things in India, however, all the letters that we have seen, give us reason to believe: and we shall here present the reader with a few extracts from those of the different correspondents, whose communications have been submitted to our perusal by the friends to whom these letters were addressed. One writer says:—

It is difficult to give you an adequate idea of the extreme unpopularity into which the Government, collectively and individually, have fallen, since their late suppression of all freedom of discussion, and their daily attempts to draw the restraints with which they have bound every class of the community closer and closer. In the army, I hear, discontent is daily increasing. The open and avowed influence of the Military Secretary; his personal proscriptions; and the barefaced manner in which officers are told what *is* to happen, render remonstrances and appeal equally useless. In fact, nothing now appears to be thought of but the abridgment of the comforts, immunities, and respectability of every individual who is what "the household" call a "marked man." But, unluckily, as these marked men cannot be got at without touching some who are not marked, the effects of their persecution spread rather wider than even they themselves intend.

This is an admirable condition for an army to be in, on the point of its being summoned away to repel the enemies of the state, on the East and the West; and probably to put down internal rebellion among themselves. It is, however, the necessary and unavoidable result of the contemptuous treatment which some of the best men in that army have experienced from those who ought to have covered them with honour and rewards, instead of obloquy and punishment. We pass on to another extract from another writer, on a different topic, though still strictly in place. The writer says,

I do not know whether, in the English newspapers, any notice was ever taken of the extreme tenderness with which our Government here regarded the feelings of his sacred Majesty of Oude. If they did not, it may perhaps be new to you to learn, that at the period when the country of this Mohammedan prince was a sink of the most flagrant corruption and abuse, our Indian Governors, in the plenitude of their wisdom, forbade the newspapers of this country to say a word on the subject, lest it should offend the delicate feelings of his sacred Majesty, who was never to be spoken of, except in praise. It will not surprise you to learn that after such a prohibition as this, his Mohammedan Majesty indulged even more freely than before in that description of conduct which was thus sheltered from the animadversions of others. It became, indeed, so bad, that Mr. Mordaunt Ricketts, the present Resident at Lucknow, and brother of Mr. Ricketts, formerly Member of Council at this Presidency, could not fall in with all the plans of the sovereign for the more effectual increase of those oppressive exactions under which this unhappy country still suffers, and which has been the theme of complaint ever since it has been under our avowed protection. The King, believing, as perhaps he had sufficient reason to do, that he might obtain any thing, if he set about it properly, is said to have offered a lakh of rupees to one who under the late administration was considered the first of her sex, if she could effect the removal of so inconvenient a personage from his Majesty's durbar.

Most of our readers who are at all acquainted with the venality that surrounds every Native Court in India, will have no difficulty whatever in giving credit to such an anecdote as this: those of our readers who have not been

so thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of Indian diplomacy, may, perhaps, have some doubts. The more they know of Indian transactions, however, the less incredulous they will be; and as long as ever the Rulers of the East evince a dread of that scrutiny which honest men invite, they may be assured that there is only one reason why men can love darkness better than light, which has been assigned by an authority in this instance beyond all dispute—" because their deeds are evil."—A third letter furnishes us with a curious anecdote of a higher personage than even the King of Oude, his honest and justly scrupulous Resident, or the First of her Sex, who, like her to whom this title is more strictly due, our universal mother, was to be tempted to evil. The writer says,

We have heard more of late than usual of pecuniary influence in obtaining the good things that are here always to be had by those in favour, whether that favour is to be won by talent and fitness for office, as in Lord Wellesley's time; by Parliamentary interest, as in Lord Minto's day; by merit and aristocratic connexions combined, as in Lord Moira's early administration; or by Scotch interest, and Highland connexions, as in his latter days. During the temporary reign of Mr. Adam, personal favouritism, and the patronage of a certain influential personage, whose power all were made to feel almost as much as himself, ruled the destinies of all his countrymen within the range of her favour, or her dislike. That, however, has passed away, and influence of another description is said to have succeeded. Whether, however, a certain individual, " whose fortune," the Emperor of China said, " had been small," is vulnerable in this point, I should much doubt;—for as yet, I have myself heard no other instance of his noble daring than a determination, said to have been expressed by him, to put down " Radicals and Methodists," which he apparently regards as characters nearly allied. Even this, however, might well admit of doubt, because there are certain events in the Church, in which the influence of Government was manifestly shown, that are hardly to be explained on this supposition. Mr. Hawtayne, you may remember, was always considered here to be the great champion of the orthodox party in the Church, as against the Methodistical or Evangelical, of which Mr. Thomason has been long the head. Yet, Mr. Hawtayne was foiled in his attempts to get the archdeaconry, chiefly in consequence of our excellent Bishop's good sense, virtue, and regard for justice; though, contrary to the declared notions of the worthy personage before referred to, as hating alike all Radicals and Methodists, Mr. Thomason has just been appointed junior chaplain of the Presidency, although he came out specially appointed to the Mission church, with larger allowances than any other clergyman, except the senior and junior Presidency Chaplains, and without having ever encountered the roughs of the service. But it was too much, perhaps, to expect two successive victories; to which circumstance I suppose we are to attribute the suspension of the polemical resolution before referred to.

Another writer, who feels more strongly than either of the preceding, on the subject of the Press in India, and who attributes most of the evils he describes as arising out of the total suppression of all discussion in the country, says,

Every thing here is intolerably gloomy. As a proof of the opinion which all classes entertain of our rulers, I could enumerate a thousand prevailing rumours, all alike conspicuous for injustice and caprice, but all *possible* to power when shielded from the wholesome operation of a free press. Already several removals in the army have taken place, without any reason whatever being assigned for them; and thus, those in authority are gradually establishing the maxim, that military men in India hold their appointments *during pleasure.* The late order respecting staff appointments in the army was, no doubt, to provide a crop of patronage on the next general promotion. A gentleman, not long since, went to the Secretary's office, to mention his surprise at some arrangement which had been made without his knowledge, and greatly to his prejudice, in his own department. He asked the Secretary himself whether he had not received a letter addressed on this subject, to the proper authorities; and was told that it had been received, but that *it was too long to be read in that office!* This is the result of applying for redress, through " the regular and constituted channels," of which we used to hear so much when the press was to be put down. Another department requires improvement, and its necessity is even admitted; but it is delayed because the head of the office will be benefited, and his wife is not a favourite with a certain lady, to whom she does not pay the frequent and obsequious homage required. The Military Secretary's allowances have been raised to forty thousand rupees a year; and it is believed here that his " Honourable Masters " trust to his industry to make up for this increase, by clipping the allowances of all his inferiors in the service. The effects of this will necessarily be severely felt by those who are known to

be favourable to the cause of good government, the friends of the press, and of equal justice. Where this will end it is not easy at present to foretell; but of this we may rest assured, and we endeavour to console ourselves with the belief, that the more heavily the pressure of despotism is felt, the nearer we are to the period when we may hope that relief will be demanded, and, if not granted, forced from those who would refuse it.

Such are the letters that we have seen, coming from different writers, and addressed to different friends here. There has been hitherto no channel open for the receipt of such communications from India in this country. The English papers are all too deeply engaged in matters of greater interest to the community at large, and nearer home. The Periodicals have each their peculiar walk, from which they will not be diverted by any thing that may not lie within their specific range. And the only publication hitherto devoted to Indian affairs, could not, without losing the patronage of the East India Company, which alone keeps it alive, make public any thing which might even appear to call in question the excellence of things as they are. We trust that the veil will now be removed; and that we shall soon have to communicate, as fully and as forcibly, through our pages, the state of events and feelings in Madras and Bombay, from which we hope to receive the requisite information in due time, as we are now enabled to lay before our readers the intelligence that reaches our own hands, and that of friends who admit us to the use of their letters from Bengal.

We should not omit to add, that in addition to the dissatisfaction which pervades the Civil and Military Service of that Presidency, a large portion of discontent is felt also by the Mercantile establishments at Calcutta; and although they dare not speak out there, they make no secret of their sufferings in their communications with friends and correspondents here. They are now beginning to feel that *they* ought to have been the most determined friends of the press: and that as Free Merchants they ought to have insisted on the enjoyment of all the privileges of free men. The free trade, of which so much has been erroneously said in England, cannot deserve that name, if those who carry it on are bound in chains and fetters; and dare not remonstrate with Government, or call together a public meeting, to canvass any public measure affecting their own especial interests. It is a "mockery" to call a trade *free*, while those who carry it on are to all intents and purposes enslaved; and dare not open their lips to appeal against, much less to condemn, an iniquitous measure, however severely it may press on all their operations. We cannot say that we are sorry for their sufferings. They may be fairly traced to their own conduct in shrinking from the contest in the hour of need. It is they who should have backed the Memorial of Ram Mohun Roy, and his native friends, to the Supreme Court, against the Licensing Laws. It is they who should have sent home an Appeal to the King in Council against those laws: or if that were not enough, they should have employed counsel to try the question in an English court, and furnished some Member of Parliament with information and resources for a constant attention to the interest of those not in the Company's service in India, as well as the unfortunate natives, from whose property and exertions they derive so large a portion of their gains. Without any diminution of a personal regard and respect for the few amiable and excellent men belonging to this wealthy body, we, nevertheless, shall be glad to hear, by every successive arrival from India, that their dissatisfaction at the existing state of things is on the increase; because we sincerely believe, that nothing but an increase of suffering will rouse them to a demand of those rights, of which, all who patiently submit to their annihilation, when they have the power of remonstrance, at least, if not of resistance, deserve to be deprived.

Madras.—The advices from this Presidency merely speak of the preparations making to convey the King's and Company's troops, on the expedition against the Burmese, for which purpose the whole of the shipping in the country trade had been taken up. The scarcity of rice and grain appears to have been remedied by the large supplies forwarded from Bombay and elsewhere, and the wretchedness caused by the want of those necessaries of life, was fast disappearing.

The latest letters that have been received from Madras are dated the 2d April, at which time the force intended to co-operate with that from Calcutta was in a forward state, and was to leave on the 12th. The place of rendezvous had been altered to Port Cornwallis. It was fully expected that the united force would prove fully equal to the war

which had arisen with the Burmese, and that the British Government would consequently refuse to treat with that power, except on "the most advantageous and honourable conditions." We are, however, at a loss to know what advantage can arise from the war. The extension of territory on the side of the Burmese empire would, by extending our line of frontier, render our possessions more weak and more expensive; and the honour, too, of slaughtering a few thousands of the savage subjects of a savage monarch might have been dispensed with.

Bombay.—The accounts from Bombay reach to the 23d of March, but they communicate nothing of material importance. Not a single English merchant ship remained at Bombay, at the date of these advices, and the exchange was at 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* the rupee, at six months' sight. Letters had reached this Presidency from Ceylon, announcing the arrival there of Sir Edward Barnes, on the 18th of January; he was sworn in on the following day, as Governor, Commander-in-Chief, and Vice-Admiral of Ceylon. Commodore Grant, in the Liffey frigate, with two ships of war, was to sail from Bombay early in April, for the Coromandel coast, to assist in the operations against the Burmese.

The suspended Barristers were to be restored to the exercise of their functions on the 7th of April: the six months idleness to which they were originally doomed, being then to expire. The greatest evil to them, of such a suspension, was, no doubt, the loss of fees, of which all appeared to be so inordinately fond; but we sincerely hope that Sir Edward West will persevere in the good work he has begun, of reducing the enormous charges on the unhappy natives, to many of whom such exactions would have the effect of forbidding their approach to a court of law, and thereby subject them to wrongs innumerable, without a hope of redress. We are glad to learn that we were under a misapprehension in stating, as we did in our last, that Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor, was not on terms of civility with the learned Judge. We have been assured that, on the contrary, his attentions were quite as marked as before; although certain measures, in which the Governor took an active part, about the period of the proceedings alluded to, were naturally interpreted as indicating an opposition to the public measures of the Court. This, however, did not extend to the interruption of private intercourse, which continued to be marked with all the civility that distinguished it before. Our next advices from this island will probably possess considerable interest.

Singapore.—The letters from Singapore continue to speak of the improvements daily making there, and also of the rapid increase of the population of this colony. The arrivals from Cochin China continued, and the barters made gave great satisfaction to both parties. These letters state, that the pirates had again made their appearance, and taken post on the smaller of the two Carimon islands. Efforts were making to send out a small party under an officer against them; but this had not been successful, owing to there being no vessel for their conveyance. Boats were, however, fitting out, and it was expected that the expedition would depart against them about the latter end of January.

Batavia.—The accounts from Batavia, which are to the 27th of March, have communicated intelligence of considerable interest to the British manufacturers and merchants. By these we learn, that on the 14th of February last, his Excellency the Governor General signed a Decree, in which, after describing in the preamble the wholesome measures adopted by the King of the Netherlands, in favour of the manufacturers of that kingdom, and stating his opinion, that the Dutch manufacturers have now brought their articles to a degree of perfection which not only places them on an equality with foreign goods, but in many respects even surpasses them; he says:

It is decreed, that all cotton and woollen manufactures, not made in the Netherlands, and which are imported into the possessions of the Netherlands in the East Indies, whether in foreign or Netherland ships, shall pay a duty of 25 per cent. on the taxed worth, if they are consigned from a place to the west of the Cape of Good Hope, and of 35 per cent. if the goods came from a place not belonging to the Netherlands to the east of the Cape of Good Hope. This taxed value shall be regulated by a price-current, to be drawn up every three months by the Chief Director of the Finances and the Director of the Customs, with the assistance of the merchants of Batavia.

This intelligence, by which the duties on British manufactures had been advanced from 6 to 35 per cent., had

caused a great sensation among the merchants at Batavia.

Mr. Thornton, the English merchant, whose case we have before noticed, was still detained by the pirates, at Ritti (Sumatra); and they refused to let him depart, unless the enormous ransom of 40,000 dollars, about 8,000*l.* sterling was paid to them.

These accounts also inform us, that Malacca had been declared a free port, and that the Governor General had judged it to be necessary, for the purpose of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of the Dutch possessions in the Moluccas and Celebes, to visit them in person. He had accordingly sailed on the 17th of February for Amboyna, accompanied by Messrs. Vander Gruff, Counsellor of the Indies, Schneder, Secretary to the Regency, Col. Jouffret, Lieut. Col. Sluers, his Aide-de-camp, and Surgeon Major Heil. The Lieut. Governor General Kock was to command in his absence.

The accounts from Kadoc stated, that on the 6th of February, a violent storm of wind, hail, and rain, burst over Magellan, the capital. In less than five minutes, the torrent of rain converted the environs of the great plantation into a sheet of water, while the wind tore up many trees by the roots, and great damage was done by the storm and the inundations to the plantations and buildings.

Mauritius.—The latest communications from the Mauritius have furnished us with the full particulars of the disastrous hurricanes of the 23d of February and the 13th of April last. We regret to state that his Majesty's ship Delight, with her commander, Capt. Hay, and the principal part of her crew, was lost in the hurricane of the former day. The Delight had sometime before proceeded to Providence Island, her commander having received information that a Bourbon slave-trader had been wrecked there, and that the blacks composing her cargo were still on the island. These, to the number of 110, she had taken on board, with the intention of bringing them to Port Louis for adjudication, and had actually reached the harbour's mouth at the time of the tempest commencing.

The injury done to the Island was also very considerable. At Port Louis, the Royal College was nearly destroyed, the damage being estimated at 25,000 dollars; and in the *Champ de Lort*, where the whirlwind made its greatest ravages, almost every house was unroofed. The mansions of Col. Leitch, Madame Coulon, M. Dorocher, Madame Le Breton, Mr. Draper, and many others, were either entirely destroyed, or materially injured. Several lives were also lost: among those who perished, was Professor Bertin, who was killed at the Royal College. The shipping in the harbour also suffered severely, the damage being estimated at 80,000 dollars.

In the second hurricane, which commenced on the 23d of April, and lasted the whole of that and the following day, considerable injury was likewise done. For fifteen days prior to that date, it had rained incessantly, every bridge on the Island was swept away, and the barracks at Mahebourg nearly destroyed. The maize and manioc crops, by this second storm, were entirely spoiled; and not a house in the Island but was literally drenched. The horrors of the season were much increased by the deaths of a number of the most respectable persons, among whom was the Procureur General.

New South Wales.—The last letters from this colony convey a curious specimen of the exertions made by our Colonial Proconsuls, and their minions, to create division, and inspire angry feelings in the breasts of those whom the beauty and salubrity of the country and climate, or the prospects of commercial advantage, may induce to seek their "countenance and protection." The Scotch Presbyterians, who at present form an important class among the settlers, in our Australasian dominions, having formed the design of erecting a Presbyterian church at Sydney, and having previously consulted in private the opinion of Sir Thomas Brisbane, the Governor, himself a Presbyterian, by whom no objection whatever was made, appointed a deputation, consisting of some of the most respectable free settlers, to wait upon the Governor, *pro forma*, to obtain his *public* consent to the same. The Address, of which the following is a copy, will no doubt appear to our readers all that was necessary in an affair of this kind, and seem to merit at least a sensible and civil reply. Mr. Secretary Goulburn, the Governor's factotum, appears, however, to have thought otherwise; for his Reply, which we have subjoined to the Address, would seem rather to be the first production of a flippant and conceited school-boy, than of the man of business or the gentleman.

To his Excellency Major-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, K. C. B., Captain-General, Governor, and Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c. of the Territory of New South Wales and its Dependencies.

May it please your Excellency,

We, the undersigned, beg most respectfully to represent to your Excellency, that for some time past it has been in contemplation to erect a Presbyterian Church in Sydney, in which the ordinances of religion shall be dispensed according to the institutions of the church of Scotland. Your Excellency is aware that the number of Presbyterians is at present very considerable, and is increasing daily in these colonies; but that the benefit of religious instruction, according to the customs of their church, have, until lately, been inaccessible to them.

Educated in the faith of their forefathers, and cherishing in this country the predilections of their earlier days, they find with concern that no opportunity is afforded them of following that form of worship which they have been taught to reverence and consider as best; and they are either necessitated to conform to the services of a church, whose ritual is quite different, or are deprived of the administration of the public ordinances of religion altogether.

For these reasons, it is proposed to form a church in this capital, in communion with the Church of Scotland; and we therefore, with due deference, solicit your Excellency's concurrence in our views; and, as the object is one of public utility, and could not be easily effected by the contributions of private individuals, without the aid of Government, we entreat that your Excellency will be pleased to grant us such assistance as will enable us to carry it into effect; and we found our hopes of support from your Excellency on the following grounds:—

1. The Church of Scotland, with which the one in contemplation will be in communion, by being served by a regularly ordained clergyman from that country, is the established church of no inconsiderable part of the British empire. Since the Revolution, her members have in all circumstances approved themselves invariably and steadfastly loyal to the British crown; and your Excellency is not unacquainted either with the reputable character of her clergy, or the sound morality, which, under their influence, characterizes the Scottish people.

2. The British Government have uniformly countenanced and supported Presbyterians and members of the Church of Scotland, even in parts of the empire where episcopacy is the established religion. In the north of Ireland, the British Government grant a considerable sum, annually, for the support of the Presbyterian clergy. In the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, it supports a Presbyterian establishment, consisting of twelve clergymen. In the provinces of British America, where the Roman Catholic religion is established, it assigns salaries for the support of Presbyterian ministers. In those districts in which Scottish emigrants have settled, and in each of the Presidencies of British India, it supports a clergyman of the church of Scotland.

3. In this colony, in which it is so much the object of Government to instruct the people to fear God and honour the King, it cannot be a matter of indifference to your Excellency, whether the Presbyterian part of the community shall be supplied with the means of religious instruction. By confirming them in their attachment to the institutions of their ancestors, it will be an additional inducement to maintain the practice of those virtues which were taught them in their fathers' land.

Finally. The liberal support which your Excellency has afforded the Roman Catholics of this colony, in the erection of their chapel, inspires us with the hope that your Excellency will be graciously pleased to extend the countenance and support of the Colonial Government to those professing the Presbyterian religion.—Sydney, Aug. 4, 1823.

REPLY.

Gentlemen,—To learn from your Address that, "for sometime past it has been in contemplation to erect a Presbyterian Church in Sydney," gives me great satisfaction. You will find the intention of easy execution, I trust, since the number of Presbyterians in these colonies you state to be "at present very considerable, and increasing daily."

Of the church of England, one of the glories is her toleration. If, therefore, there be aught in her ritual, in conforming to which you felt any repugnance, this church would be the first to recommend you to adopt for yourselves the public ordinances which, in your opinion, might tend the most to glorify religion. It is on this principle that the British Government has liberally encouraged Presbyterianism in the many countries enumerated in your Address. It is on the same principle that she has afforded in this colony pastors of their own persuasion to our Roman Catholic brethren; and, it was in furtherance of this view, that the Colonial Government deemed it advisable to lend her support in the erection of a Catholic chapel.

You state the hopes of your present Address to be founded upon this precedent; but, before you had touched upon this example, it would have been well to have rendered its application complete. It was not until the British Government

had determined upon pensioning Roman Catholic teachers of her nomination; it was not until two priests had been resident in the colony for more than three years; nor until they had proved, by the spirit of Christianity that animated their actions, the care and discretion with which the choice had been effected; it was not until the Roman Catholic chapel had been carried forward with ardour for eighteen months, and an elegant building, to which 1,300*l.* had been privately subscribed, languished for want of a further fund; it was not until all these circumstances had preceded, that the Colonial Government considered herself justified in extending her munificence to its support.

When, therefore, the Presbyterians of the colony shall have advanced, by the means of private donations, in the erection of a temple, worthy of religion; when, in the choice of their teachers, they shall have discovered a judgment equal to that which has presided at the selection of the Roman Catholic clergymen; when they shall have practised what they propose, "To instruct the people to fear God, and honour the King"—when, by "endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace" in a colony requiring it more than all others, they shall have shown through their lives the influence of the holy religion they profess; then, assuredly, will the Colonial Executive step forward, "to extend its countenance and support" to those who are following the Presbyterian creed. THOMAS BRISBANE.

Government House, Sydney,
Sept. 24, 1823.

It is well known in the ministerial circles, that the only portion of the above reply, which could be claimed by the Governor as his production, is the signature attached to it; his Excellency himself being too exclusively devoted to the study of astronomy, to allow the affairs of vulgar earth to interrupt him in his heavenly pursuit.

The following are the remarks which were appended to this correspondence in the Globe and Traveller.

'From this curious document we are led to infer, that in the opinion of the Mr. Secretary Gil Blas of our Colonial Duke of Lerma, the Scottish pastors and masters are too disjunctive in their inculcation of the two grand rules of primitive piety, "Fear God and honour the King;" and so the said teachers have interpreted his language themselves, and resent it accordingly. Aware of the vast extent usually given by our Proconsuls and their dependents to the latter clause, which is usually made to include a profound reverence for all authority whatever, we shrewdly conjecture that the North-British faculty, of very minutely looking through the deeds of men, has rendered them comparatively annoying to the wit and fine writer who penned the foregoing answer—an answer which mingles matters totally irrelevant, and makes the building of chapels not an affair of heavenly, but of earthly majesty—not the furtherance of devotion, but of the loyalty, or rather reverence aforesaid. Whether this was a happy mode of castigating the impertinence of colonial opposition in *esse* or in *posse* we know not; but we fully agree with the Morning Chronicle, that a more extraordinary reply to so reasonable a request has seldom been concocted in any of the numerous provinces over which our Crassusses and Lucullusses preside. Governors are awful personages; but we humbly suggest that Secretaries, like another description of persons alluded to by Shakespeare, especially if, like them, they are professed wits and jokers, should say nothing but what "is set down for them." A sort of planting out of small wits and punsters in the colonies, however, took place a few years ago, as witness the brilliant career of one of them in the Mauritius. The New South Wales Secretary is said to be another; and it is only to make Mr. Croker Governor General of India, and the triumph of the dignified children of fun and *facetiæ* will be complete.

AFRICA AND ITS ISLANDS.

Cape of Good Hope.—Our Colonial Governors seem to be engaged in some race of competition, and trying each to outvie the other in their extravagance and folly. Mr. John Adam has the distinguished honour of having set the first example, aided by his worthy supporter, Sir Francis Macnaghten, in placing law and common sense alike at defiance. After their fettering the press in Bengal, we had to record, not the mere suspension, but the total abolition of the Habeas Corpus in Ceylon. We next heard of the establishment of a censorship on the press in Demerara. And we have now to record a series of outrages against liberty and property in his Majesty's Colony at the Cape of Good Hope. The character of the government at this colony has long been as bad as that of the worst-governed country under the British flag; and no one who has ever visited the Cape, or read much of its modern history, will be greatly surprised at any act or acts which might be committed there. It was the deep and general conviction of its depravity, which led to the appointment of the commission sent out to inquire into and report on the abuses which they were sure to find in abundance; and these are some of the acts

happening under their own eyes, as it were, for they were but a little way in the interior of the country when this occurred, on which they will have to pass their judgment. The following is a narrative of the case to which we allude :—

In the month of July, 1823, Mr. George Greig, printer and stationer, of Cape Town, presented a memorial to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, Lord Charles Somerset, praying his permission to commence, in the colony, a periodical publication, embracing the ordinary topics of a magazine. To this Lord Charles returned for answer, that in consequence of several previous applications, he felt himself bound to consider the interests of the prior applicants, whenever a printing press might be established in the colony. Mr. Greig, being thus disappointed of the sanction and support of authority, as regarded his intended periodical, set about making inquiries as to whether any and what law existed hostile to the publication of such a work without that sanction, and as *he* could find none, or hear of any others who could, he resolved to commence a Weekly Commercial Advertiser, instead of a Monthly Literary Magazine. In consequence of this determination he published a prospectus, a copy of which he sent to the Governor, accompanied with a note, stating his intention in moderate and indeed unexceptionable language; but which note and prospectus his Excellency did not think fit to notice. The paper was, however, published, and had attained a considerable circulation from its merits; a circulation which was increasing daily, and every thing appeared to promise that the undertaking would meet with the patronage it deserved, as not even the Governor, or his dependents, had expressed any *open* hostility to its progress.

Affairs continued in this train until the 3d of May, 1824, on which day the *Fiscal* of the colony sent for Mr. Greig, and, in the interview which followed, accused that gentleman of having deviated from the terms set forth in his prospectus; and on the next day an officer of the Fiscal entered the printing-office with a note from that functionary, requesting that a proof-sheet of that day's Number might be sent him previous to the copies being struck off. Mr. Greig refused to comply with this note, unless an official order was given to the same effect, which the Fiscal accordingly issued in the following terms :—

Messenger,—You are to require Mr. G. Greig forthwith to deliver you a proof sheet of his 18th Number of the weekly paper, entitled—The South African Commercial Advertiser, and not to allow the same to be struck off, until he shall have received my further directions thereon.

This official order having been complied with, and the proofs sent, the sagacious censor, after having given an hour to the perusal of them, was pleased to give the necessary permission for the publication of the paper, although not without stating that its contents were not strictly in accordance with his more loyal and orthodox notions of propriety. On the publication of the 18th Number, however, Mr. Greig issued the following notice :—

Wednesday morning, 1 o'clock.

His Majesty's Fiscal having assumed the Censorship of the South African Commercial Advertiser, by an official order, sent to the printing-office, by a messenger late in the evening before publication, demanding proof-sheets of the paper for next day (this day), and prohibiting its being struck off "till we had received his further directions thereon"—we find it our duty, as British subjects, under these circumstances, to discontinue the publication of the said paper for the present in this colony, until we have applied for redress and direction to his Excellency the Governor, and the British Government.

Our numerous subscribers will, we trust, require no further explanation at present of this distressing interruption. They, and the rest of the world, shall be speedily put in possession of a full statement of all the facts, one of which is a demand from the Fiscal of two securities, on or before Friday next, to become bound under a penalty of 10,000 rix-dollars, that nothing *offensive* shall appear in any future Number—such as extracts from the experienced work of the civil servant, a work published in this Colony, this year, by W. W. Bird, Esq. Comptroller of Customs, and Assessor of the Court of Appeals.

We will only mention farther at present, that not a word of this our last Number has been written or altered in consequence of the above-mentioned transactions, excepting this notice.

In the Cape Town Gazette of the 8th May, we find a letter from the Fiscal, disavowing the expressions ascribed to him by Mr. Greig, the Editor of the Commercial Advertiser, and asserting that he had only, in the execution of his office, called upon Mr. Greig to

bind himself, under a penalty, to adhere to the conditions voluntarily proposed by himself, and under which he had solicited permission to publish. These conditions, it appears from Mr. Greig's memorial, were, the "rigidly excluding personal controversy, and all discussion of matters relating to the policy or administration of the Colonial Government." The Fiscal's argument consequently is, that a censorship has been imposed on Mr. Greig, in order to enforce his spontaneous agreement.

Mr. Greig had forwarded an express to the Commissioners for inquiring into the abuses at the Cape, who were then in the interior, and had also declared his intention of laying his case before the British Parliament. These measures had excited considerable alarm among the adverse party, and hints had been thrown out, that if the Journal was resumed, no notice would in future be taken of its contents by the Government.

These facts are corroborated by various authorities, and the following additional particulars are given, on the authority of The Times :—

Mr. Greig commenced the South African Commercial Advertiser early in January, 1824. The paper succeeded beyond expectation, and was patronised by both Dutch and English. Eighteen numbers were published, and gave great satisfaction to the inhabitants of Cape Town and those of the different districts in the interior. This rising success and fame gave great offence to the Government party; and we are authorised in stating that various attempts were made to entrap the Editor into the publication of libellous matter concerning the Government, and public and private individuals. The most notorious of these attempts was one from Graham's Town, relating a story of a riot at that town on the arrival of the commissioners, in which the Rev. Mr. Geary and others were said to have figured. This was seen through, and rejected. The Cape Gazette published the account, which has been traced to an individual, against whom an action has been commenced by the Rev. Mr. Geary, to prevent the publication of which trial the Journal has been suppressed. The Editor commenced publishing the law reports, which excited the highest interest; and it was known that very much good must ensue from them, as the secrecy of these trials for twenty years past has deprived the courts of law there of the confidence of the colonists. The Governor sent, on the 5th of May, to require the Editor would engage not to publish the trial above referred to. This the Editor refused to do. On the eve of the next publication, the Governor sent for proof sheets of the paper, also required a bond to be given to the amount of 10,000 dollars, not to publish any article previous to its being inspected, and an engagement not to publish the aforementioned trial; all this being refused, a sentence of banishment was signed by the Governor for the Editor to leave the Cape in a month. A garbled statement was published in the Cape Gazette, on which the Editor circulated a notice that he would immediately publish a true statement of facts in answer to it; but the Governor instantly had the placards torn down; officers were sent to the printing-office, and sealed up the presses, and finally knocked up the paper. All this was done on a Sunday! without any trial, or even a hearing of any kind. These events have caused a great sensation at the Cape—the inhabitants are indignant at the Governor's conduct, and proposed a subscription to defray the expense of a prosecution of the Governor. The Editor intended returning to England, to lay a statement before the Government here.—Our own information states that he had been ordered to quit the colony by the Governor.

Some of our readers may, perhaps, be tempted to contrast the conduct of the people at the Cape, with that of the wealthier inhabitants of Bengal; but the difference between the situation of the individuals who compose these communities, is sufficient to account for this. No man in Bengal could venture openly to support the cause of an individual against the Government, without risking more than the same line of conduct would expose any man to at the Cape. But, wherever indignation at oppression is really felt, there are always means of supporting the suffering cause, and sometimes more powerfully by indirect, than by direct means; and of these we feel persuaded that the British inhabitants of India already have, and will still continue to avail themselves, for the promotion of their own interests, which is deeply involved in that of the press, as, indeed, are the interests of all classes, excepting only those who fatten on abuses. The following, which we take from the Morning Chronicle, completes the history of this instructive transaction :—

A letter from the Fiscal having appeared in the Gazette, disavowing his attempt to bind Mr. Greig by a penalty against "any thing offensive" in his future writings, the Editor persisted in his resolution to withdraw himself, his efforts, and his property, from this assumed censorship—a power unknown to British laws, rights, principles, usages, and feel-

ings. An order was issued by Lord Charles Somerset, that Mr. Greig should quit the colony in one month from a day specified: but the Fiscal again winced, and wrote to Mr. Greig, that his Excellency had rescinded the order. The reply of the Editor manifests what all men must respect—the profound contempt in which he held the parties opposed to him.—The following are the letters:—

TO MR. GEORGE GREIG.

Cape Town, May 23, 1824.

Sir,—Considering that the advertisement in the Cape Gazette of yesterday, for the disposal of your effects to-morrow, had relation to the order I communicated to you on the 9th inst. to quit the colony in a month from that period, and being aware that it had not been his Excellency the Governor's intention to enforce that order, unless some fresh cause for its necessity should arise, I have obtained his Excellency's permission to inform you, that his Excellency has been pleased to rescind that order, and to signify his permission for you to remain in the colony.—I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

D. DENYSSON, Fiscal.

ANSWER

TO D. DENYSSON, his Majesty's Fiscal.

Cape Town, May 25, 1824.

Sir,—I have received your notice of Sunday last, May 23, signifying your having obtained his Excellency's permission to communicate to me that it was not his Excellency's intention to enforce the order respecting my expulsion from this colony, unless I should commit some fault or other tending to render such a measure necessary. I beg to state in return, that in consequence of his Excellency's order, my flourishing trade has been ruined, my honourable prospects of usefulness for the present destroyed, my character as a subject and a man defamed, my friends alarmed and shaken, my people scattered and exposed to poverty and starvation, on account of their having accepted employment from me. In consequence of that order, also, I have made my arrangements for quitting the colony. I have written to England to retain counsel for the recovery of damages adequate to my enormous losses, and to get the stamp of sedition taken off my character by the proper authorities. I cannot, therefore, in conscience, say that I feel in any way relieved by your communication; in which I see nothing of remuneration, or of my being restored to the situation in which I was placed before I was assailed by the Government. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

G. GREIG.

As might have been expected, these measures, though, like the very similar ones in India, undertaken expressly to *prevent* the Government from being brought into hatred and contempt, most speedily effected the very object they were intended to defeat. The Government, before an object of secret hatred, now became the subject of open and undisguised scorn; and, accordingly, such papers as no free and responsible press would ever venture to publish, were now printed and affixed on the public walls of the town, and drew forth the following expressive proclamation, which is contained in the Cape Town Gazette of the 5th of June, and speaks volumes as to the feelings of its author, Lord Charles Somerset, whose signature it bears.

Whereas it has come to my knowledge that some ill-designed person or persons has, or have, early in the morning of this day, maliciously written and stuck up, or caused to be stuck up, at one of the posts on the Bridge, leading from Hout-street to the Grand Parade, a certain defamatory libel, tending to disgrace my character and honour, and that of one of the officers of this Government; I, for the better apprehending and bringing to justice the person or persons concerned in this most atrocious attempt, do hereby offer a reward of five thousand rix dollars to any person or persons who shall give such information as may lead to the full discovery of the perpetrator or perpetrators thereof, so that he or they may be apprehended and convicted of the same; together with a reward of one thousand rix dollars to any person or persons who shall deliver into the hands of his Majesty's Fiscal the defamatory paper above alluded to—and impunity, should he or they appear to be an accomplice or accomplices not principally concerned therein. And, in order to give the fullest publicity to this my intention, besides the usual means of making the same known, I do hereby direct each and every Wardmaster of this town to appoint and assemble one slave from every house in their respective wards, and explain, or cause to be explained to such slaves so assembled, in the Dutch and Portuguese languages, the full meaning of this Proclamation, so that none may remain ignorant thereof. And I do further direct the respective Wardmasters to report to his Majesty's Fiscal, their having complied with this instruction, within 48 hours from the date hereof, as they shall answer for the contrary at their peril.

After this, his Excellency is said to have visited the theatre, where, of course, a loyal and well-disposed audience was prepared to receive him; but so important was it deemed to make this fact known, that the Cape Gazette,

which contains scarcely any news whatever, being almost wholly filled with advertisements, has the following expressive announcement:

His Excellency the Governor, Lady Charles, and Miss Somerset, honoured the theatre with their presence on Wednesday evening. The enthusiasm with which his Excellency was greeted by a most respectable audience, on entering his box, is a proof, if proof were necessary, of the detestation excited by the vile calumnies of a concealed libeller.

Who, that has ever lived under a colonial government, does not know how worthless such a testimony as this invariably is, and how little it proves, except the grovelling subserviency of those who swell the triumph, like slaves and captives harnessed to a tyrant's car? Who, that has ever been at the Cape, does not know that for one approving voice a hundred disapproving ones may be heard, wherever the speakers are sure that they are not surrounded with spies, and that what they say will not be conveyed to the ears of those in power? It would be productive of great good, if our Colonial Governors generally would follow the example of the Caliphs mentioned in the Arabian Tales, who went about in disguise to learn the true state of public feeling in their dominions. They would hear some unwelcome though wholesome truths in the course of their peregrinations, no doubt; and perhaps it is a conviction of this that deters them from making the experiment.

The authorities at the Cape are quite as cunning as those in India. The latter, with a view to wring unwilling testimonies from men from whom they know they would not get a single accent of praise if they were free, ingeniously contrive public entertainments, pictures, statues, addresses, &c. to which every man who desires to avoid displeasure, or escape being considered a marked man, must append his name, and for the promotion of which he must also open his purse. The former set about a "life and fortune" subscription at the Cape, where they are certain of support from *all* those who are in the pay, or subsist on the patronage of the Government: as this would no doubt be made a test of loyalty, and every man whose name was not among the number would be considered disaffected. Its success was therefore certain, and accordingly the following announcements were issued in due course.

PUBLIC NOTIFICATION.—A Subscription is now open at the Commercial Rooms, for the purpose of expressing the public detestation and abhorrence of the vile and infamous placard posted in the Heeregracht yesterday morning, and of obtaining a fund to be applied as a reward to any person or persons who shall afford such information as may lead to the conviction of the author.—The subscription list may be seen, and further particulars known, by applying to the Clerk of the Commercial Rooms.—Cape Town, 2d June, 1824.

In reference to this advertisement occurs the following paragraph in another column:—

The amount of the sums subscribed at the Commercial Hall for the purpose stated in the advertisement in our second column, was yesterday, at three o'clock, upwards of 15,000 rix dollars.

The best proof that could be given of the entirely fictitious value of such a testimony to character as this, and of the very opposite sentiment to that of attachment which prevails among the community at large, is this single fact, which we gather from the very papers that contain all the rest of the intelligence; it must have escaped the censor's eye, or perhaps he dared not hope that his suppression of so remarkable a fact would prevent its being known, and therefore it would wear an air of candour to insert it. The paragraph is as follows:—

The Commissioners of Inquiry reached Graaf Reinet on the 15th of April, and were escorted into that place by 100 mounted burghers, amidst the rejoicing of the populace, and in the evening a general illumination took place. The Caffres lighted beacons on their hills as soon as they heard of the Commissioners having crossed Fish river.

It was universally known that these Commissioners had come out to the Cape to inquire into and reform the numerous abuses that every where prevailed throughout the Colony, and the spontaneous rejoicings of the burghers, who were free and independent of the men they escorted and hailed with signs of welcome, cannot be misunderstood.

It is remarkable enough, that soon after these transactions, and almost as it would appear consequent upon them, the dismissal of Colonel Bird, the Colonial Secretary, was announced; but as the order for this came from England, it could have had no relation to passing events at the Cape. The following is the public notification of that event:

His Majesty having been pleased to dispense with the services of Lieutenant-

Colonel Bird, as Secretary to this Government, his Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint P. G. Brink, Esq. to be Acting Colonial Secretary, until the arrival of Lieut.-Colonel Bird's successor; and all official communications are to be made to him accordingly. His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint J. G. Brink, Esq. to be Acting Assistant Colonial Secretary during the same period.

By command of his Excellency the Governor.

P. G. BRINK, Acting Sec.

Cape of Good Hope, June 4, 1824.

Mr. Bigge, one of his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, and Mr. Gregory, Secretary to the Commission, arrived at the Cape on the 24th of May, from the interior. The appointment, by Lord C. Somerset, of Mr. A. Johnstone Jarline, as sub-librarian to the public library at the Cape, in the room of Mr. Thomas Pringle, resigned, is notified with due solemnity in a "Government advertisement."

The population of Cape Town, according to returns in January last, is as below; but, including new settlers not enumerated, it is thought not to fall short of 20,000:—

White inhabitants	8,246
Free blacks	1,870
Apprentices (or prize slaves)	956
Hottentots	520
Slaves	7,076
	18,668

The quantity of wine brought into Cape Town from the wine farms in the Cape district, and in Stellenbosch district, was, in 1806-7-8, about 4,000 leaguers on an average; and, in 1820-1-2, about 11,000 leaguers, or 1,650,000 gallons; and the quantity exported in each of the three years last mentioned was about 5,500 leaguers, or one half.

Of the 376 wine farms in the two districts, 57 have 100,000 vine stocks or upwards, 155 have 50,000 or upwards, and 154 have 20,000 or upwards. We may infer from the statements, that on an average each ten vine stocks produce about a gallon of wine, besides a quantity of brandy.

St. Helena.—Letters from St. Helena mention that a huge mass of overhanging rock, just below the barrier gate of the upper side of the road from Ladder-hill, gave way on the 19th of June, and fell in large fragments into the vale. The concussion greatly alarmed the inhabitants of the town of St. James; but the destruction which was apprehended did not ensue. One small house only was seriously damaged, and one man was killed.

Ascension.—Advices from the Island of Ascension have been received to the 3d of July, but they confine themselves to stating that up to that date the Island was very healthy.

Cape Coast.—Despatches dated the 31st May have been received from Cape Coast, communicating the particulars of another action with the Ashantees.

It appears that Major Chisholm, who commanded during the engagement, had made preparations to attack the enemy, who were encamped within five miles of the Castle; and, accordingly, on the morning of the 21st of May, he commenced his operations.

After the ground had been cleared, and paths cut, not without great labour and fatigue, in various directions towards the enemy's camp, the attack commenced. The engagement was long and sanguinary. It lasted upwards of five hours, when the enemy retreated precipitately, after experiencing very considerable loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The retreat continued for two days, but it was ascertained that the King of the Ashantees had subsequently joined his army with considerable reinforcements, which it was estimated would make the whole of his force amount to 16,000 men. The Fantees, and the rest of the co-operating native powers, conducted themselves, during the battle, in a manner extremely unsatisfactory to Major Chisholm, who, consequently, was not only prevented from pursuing the enemy, but obliged to retire to his former position. It was ascertained from the prisoners, that the enemy had resolved to make an attack upon the Castle, which the presence of their King, it was supposed, would expedite. Our loss was inconsiderable.

The rainy season had begun, and the prisoners reported that the small-pox and dysentery had committed very considerable ravages in the Ashantee camp. The private advices represent the condition of the settlers and residents at Cape Coast as most deplorable; the Ashantees, on the 31st of May, being within three or four miles of the Castle, and skirmishes were daily taking place in the gardens of the town. It was expected that the King would advance with his forces when these accounts left, and that a decisive contest would take place. More than five thousand strangers, chiefly women and children, had taken refuge in the town, and

added by their numbers to the disease and scarcity of food before prevalent. The European troops and merchants are stated to be dying at the rate of eight or nine a day, independent of the women and children; and of the white soldiers of the 2d West India Regt. which had lately arrived from England and the Cape of Good Hope, only 85 remained out of 250.

The force of the Ashantees, as assembled at the date of the last accounts, was estimated at 20,000 men, while the force which we have to oppose him may be estimated at about 1000 regulars and militia, and 6000 negroes of Accra and Fantee. The fearful odds as regards numbers, and the knowledge that the Ashantees are fighting on their own soil, may well inspire a dread that the unfortunate defenders of this fatal settlement will find in its deadly marshes a premature grave. The next accounts are looked for with intense interest, as they will probably contain the last act of this tragic drama, though we hope that in spite of the present gloomy aspect of affairs, the issue will be more favourable than is expected.

The great length of detail into which we have gone on the information from India and our Eastern colonies, obliges us to omit for the present all that we had prepared on the subject of intelligence from other quarters.

EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE.

Indian Governors.—The most contradictory rumours prevail on the subject of the new appointments to India. By some, it is said, that Mr. Elphinstone is actually appointed to Madras, and that Sir John Malcolm has been proposed by Ministers for Bombay, but that the Court of Directors will not confirm the appointment. Others are as confident in the assurance that Sir John Malcolm has been appointed by the Court—but that the Ministry adhere to their nomination; while others again affirm that neither of these rumours are correct. To India itself it is, perhaps, of little importance, while the system continues unaltered; for even if good men go out, they are almost sure to become corrupted by power before they think of retiring, and having once tasted of the intoxicating draught of irresponsible authority, they linger on as long as they can within the spell of its enchantment. The revival of the Press, and the free and fearless exercise of Public Opinion by such as dare be independent in India, (and union would make it difficult to repress this—for although one man may be banished, the exile of a thousand would not be so easily effected,) are the only checks that can be brought into operation. If those who suffer do not lend their aid to effect a restoration of the remedy, they will have themselves to reproach for their timidity.

East India Company.—We are glad to find that there are some questions that can move *even* the East India Directors, and that is saying a great deal. Under the head of Batavia, the reader will have seen an account of additional duties levied on British goods in the Netherlands possessions. The two following paragraphs, which we take from a London paper, have reference to that intelligence:

We find that the news from Batavia has created a great sensation in the City. The East India Company have taken up the question of additional duties being levied on British manufactures in Batavia, very warmly, contrary, as it is stated, to the spirit of the treaties existing with this country, and have sent a memorial to Government on the subject.

We stated, a few days ago, that considerable sensation had been produced in the East India Trade by the increase of the duties on British merchandise in Batavia. We find that a memorial on this subject has been presented to the Board of Trade, and that an answer has been received by the East India Trade Committee, in which it is said that nothing can be done in the affair at present, Mr. Canning and Mr. Wynn being out of town.

When the great principles of justice are violated, law defied, and all the best feelings of human nature outraged, by the conduct of their own servants, the East India Directors are the last to stir in the matter. Let a question of trade arise, and particularly something relating to the conduct of rival traders, whom they hate as they do the Dutch, and the whole of Leadenhall-street is in commotion. When the health of the Directors is drank at public enter-

tainments in India, under the title of "Our honourable Masters," the Air chosen for the band is the exceedingly appropriate one of "Money in both pockets." Let these honourable masters have but this, and their slaves may do as they please. But touch that money or those pockets, and their indignation is without bounds. These are the high-minded and princely Sovereigns of the East, whose "munificence" is a frequent theme of panegyric!

Indian Judges.—The following law arrangements in India have been determined upon:—Sir F. Macnaghten, who has for many years occupied the station of a Puisne Judge at Calcutta, and twice filled the place of acting Chief Justice on the Bench of the Presidency, is about to retire, and is to be succeeded by Sir George Grey, one of the Puisne Judges at Madras. Mr. Ralph Palmer, of the Chancery Bar, succeeds Sir George Grey at Madras.

Haileybury College.—W. Empson, Esq. M.A. of Trinity College, Barrister of the Inner Temple, has been appointed by the East India Directors to succeed Sir James Mackintosh, Bart. as Law Professor at Haileybury.

East India Accounts.—We give the following article from the Globe and Traveller, because we are satisfied that it will gratify the people of India to see their interests occupying some share of the public attention through the Press of England. We are glad to add, that the two principal Morning papers, the Times and Chronicle, advocate similar views; and with the cordial co-operation of the Examiner, the Scotsman, and a great number of the Provincial Journals, we have no doubt but that before the next Session of Parliament, a very deep and general impression will be made on the minds of the Members now scattered throughout the country, so that the serious attention of the Legislature will be drawn to the subject very early in the approaching year:

The accounts of revenues and disbursements of the East India Company for the three years—1819-20, 1820-21, 1821-22, the latest period to which they can be made up, with an estimate for 1822-23, have been printed by order of the House of Commons. The territorial revenues of the Presidencies of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and the dependencies—Bencoolen and Prince of Wales's Island—were, in 1821-22, 21,803,207*l.* sterling; the charges on it 17,732,516*l.*; to which is to be added 1,93[illegible],390*l.* interest on debts in India, and 208,038*l.* expense of St. Helena. When these three sums are deducted from the revenues, there appears a net surplus revenue arising from the territory of India of 1,927,263*l.* In 1822-23, it is estimated that the gross revenues will have amounted to 22,213,622*l.* sterling, and the net surplus to 2,274,646*l.* It would be certainly fallacious to infer from this account that the Government of India will be a great and permanent source of profit to those who direct it. It is no longer ago than 1819-20, that, instead of a surplus income, there was a surplus charge on account of the territorial Government: and the existence of a debt, the interest of which amounts to nearly two millions sterling, shows that on the average of years the Government has been far from profitable. The amount of the gross revenues is sufficient, however, to show the great and growing importance of India, and to excite surprise at the comparatively small interest which is taken in its condition by the people of England. Its revenue is now equal to two-fifths of that of the United Kingdom, and is increasing; though the levying of it is, we believe, attended with great distress. Great, however, as its revenue is, and great as its production must be to supply it, it is trifling compared with what might be expected from the labours of the immense population exerted on a most productive territory. It may be said to be shut against British capital and enterprise. No Englishman can enter India without a license, no Englishman can purchase land and give the example of those improvements which nothing but a fixed residence can encourage. The English in India are condemned, by a most absurd law, to be mere birds of passage; they are compelled, when they have gorged themselves on the country, to fly away from it, or at least they are deprived of the inducement which landed property can alone give to rich men, and even of the guarantee against their being, at the caprice of a Governor General, transported in their old years. What tops the absurdity of this law is, that while Englishmen cannot reside in India without license, or purchase property in the territory which English fleets and armies have won, Frenchmen, Americans, Dutch, Danes, Turks,—in short, any persons who are not under the disqualification of being British-born subjects, can. Burke, in one of his speeches on the state of India, observed, that while all other conquerors in India, even the Mahometans, had left monuments of the effects of their government in great works, in roads and bridges, in tanks, aqueducts, and temples, the English conquerors would only leave traces of devastation. Though the

influence of a people of superior civilization upon the natives of India must probably be, at all events, more beneficial than an irruption of Tartars, still it is not the less a reproach to England that so much of Burke's charges remain true to the present day. They must remain true till the policy towards India is changed—till that country is thrown open to the benefits of a free intercourse with England—till it is no longer parked in for the profit of a monopolizing company of merchants. If it be well governed, of which, from whatever we have heard, we have not the slightest suspicion, under a system which protects the rulers at once from the cries of those whom they might pity, and from the censure of those whom they might dread, and from all fellow feeling with their subjects,—India will be an example in the history of Governments, destined to overturn all the opinions which the constant results of observations have hitherto warranted.

Steam Navigation to India.—The idea of establishing a Steam Navigation from England to India is still entertained, though we believe nothing has yet been matured on that subject. It is said that the King of the Netherlands has evinced a strong interest in the success of such a project, having himself visited the Hague, and formed there a Steam Company, one of the first operations of which is to be the establishment of Steam packets between Holland and Batavia. If this should really be carried into effect, it will give the Dutch such decided advantages over the English, in all their commercial transactions, as to priority of intelligence, that the jealous rivalry of the latter will be sure to be roused, and we may then hope to see Steam vessels sent from England also.

Loss of an American Indiaman.—The following is a melancholy account of the loss of an American ship, bound from Calcutta, Madras, and Pondicherry, to Boston, which has reached England by way of New York:

The *Edward Newton* was running down the south-east trades, fine weather, skysails set, when all at once an explosion took place in her magazine (from what cause not yet ascertained), which blew out the starboard quarter, set the ship on fire, and in about twenty minutes she burnt to the water's edge, and sunk, giving the officers, passengers and crew hardly time to get out the boats, without saving much of any thing except what they had on. In the boats they reached the coast of Africa, where Capt. Bertody procured a passage for himself, and a lady and her four children, (passengers in the *Edward Newton*,) in a Portuguese brig, and had arrived at Rio. The *Edward Newton* was built expressly for the Calcutta trade, of the best materials, well found in every respect, on her first voyage, and commanded by an active, enterprising man, well acquainted in the trade.

Governor of the Cape.—It is positively stated, we understand, that Government have resolved to recall Lord Charles Somerset from the Cape of Good Hope, provided that the report of the four Commissioners who have been sent to that place, in order to investigate the proceedings of his Lordship, should confirm the allegations which have been urged against the official conduct of that nobleman.

Sandwich Islands.—The Governor of the Sandwich Islands, and the rest of the suite of the late King, paid a visit during the past month, to several eminent mercantile houses, accompanied by a merchant, Mr. John Lowe, for the purpose of purchasing samples of the different manufactures which are likely to prove valuable in those islands. We understand that they profess a great desire to purchase all that they may want in this country, in preference to deriving their supplies from the Americans, with whom they now carry on a trade far more extensive than is imagined; and they estimate that the Islanders, even in their present state of civilization, will require articles from this country to the amount of more than 100,0000*l.* annually.

Oriental Literature.—The censorship of the Press has recently been restored in France, and as the spirit of inquiry hitherto actively engaged in the politics of that country, would grow restless and dangerous if some other channels were not opened for the reception of its energies, it has been deemed politic, by the restorers of the censorship, to give royal patronage and encouragement to the study of Oriental Literature, among the literati of France. The utmost freedom of discussion will no doubt be permitted them on all points, however radical, connected with the languages and antiquities of the East, if they do not venture to insinuate, in such discussions, aught that might betray a symptom of dissatisfaction at the existing state of affairs in the West. This is as safe a mode of encouraging freedom of inquiry, as that described by the learn-

ed (we cannot conscientiously say profound) Mr. Randle Jackson, when he eulogized the existing laws for the Press in India, as admitting the freest discussions on the merits of such works as the Tatler, Guardian, or Spectator; nay even, the free publication of such works as Shakespeare and Johnson; or as that proposed by the gallant (would that we could add enlightened) Sir John Malcolm, who advised Ram Mohun Roy to leave the considarations connected with the present and future happiness of his countrymen in the East for the more valuable researches which he might make into the history and condition of the generations that had passed away; or lastly, as that encouraged by the honourable (justice forbids our saying estimable) Mr. Adam, when he stifled all inquiry one subjects that were of the highest importance to mankind, and encouraged Colleges in which Hindoo superstitions and Sanscrit learning were freely taught. In a work like our own, professedly devoted to Oriental investigation, it may seem out of place to deprecate a measure which might, at first sight, strike many persons as calculated to benefit the Eastern world, by making their actual condition more generally known, and leading to benevolent schemes for their improvement. A very little reflection, however, must convince every man that this royal encouragement of the study of Oriental literature in France is not calculated to confer the slightest benefits on the people of the Oriental world, while it must dissipate and draw off the attention of many in France from subjects of infinitely greater importance nearer home. The following remarks on that subject, from the Globe and Traveller of the 26th of August, are worth transcribing:

The French Government has published a decree for the encouragement of the study of Oriental literature, in the preamble of which it is said that the same study has been encouraged in Prussia, and Russia, and Gotha (query Gotham?) It is not out of character, in a Government which has just been preventing the press from freely discussing those questions which are of the greatest importance to mankind, to give an artificial direction to the labours of literary men, to those studies which are eminently useless. So long as England is intrusted with the Government of India, there is undoubtedly a specific reason for the cultivation, by many Englishmen, of the knowledge of the laws and language of Eastern nations; and in all civilized communities there will be a certain number of men of leisure who will be desirous to know the precise degree of the ignorance of the Asiatic people at different times; and it is certainly a question worthy of investigation, how the Asiatic nations, having early reached a certain degree of civilization, have uniformly fallen into institutions hostile to human happiness, and to the cultivation of every thing that is estimable in the human faculties. But the establishment of an institution for the mere advancement of Eastern learning in France is as unworthy of a wise Government as an establishment for the propagation of the royal game of Goose. It would be unaccountable, while Governments see the monstrous evils that arise from the want of information among their people, that they should, *ex professo*, give encouragement to the most frivolous occupations, if we did not see at the same time their bitter fear of really useful knowledge. Censorships and Oriental Colleges go together; and, the more effectually to prevent people from trespassing on the forbidden fruit, every safe sort, however unpalateable and unprofitable, is provided for them.

Court of Proprietors.—At this season, when almost every person who is not of necessity confined to a fixed residence in London throughout the year, goes into the country, most of the East India Directors, as well as Proprietors of East India stock, are dispersed over every part of the British Islands, as well as on the Continent, and no Court could be summoned with advantage to any discussion that might be proposed in it, until these absentees return to town, which will most probably be some time in October and November. This explanation is principally meant for our Indian readers, who, not adverting to this fact, might look for requisitions, fixing General and Special Courts more frequently than they can be held to any good or useful purpose. They may be assured, however, that there will be no relaxation on the part of those who have devoted themselves to this object.

POSTSCRIPT.

As our last sheet was going to press, Bombay Papers to the 24th of April, comprising Calcutta News to the 5th, came to hand. They contain, however, nothing of importance, except a confirmation of our expectations that the Burmese war would still continue. An answer had been sent by the Court of Ava to a remonstrance of the British Government, in which the Burmese, with the exaggerated language common to all Asiatics, treat the Governor General with profound contempt, desiring him, if he has any thing to represent, to state his case by petition! The Burmese Governor of Assam had lost his two golden chattahs (umbrellas) and his state palanquin, in Cachar, and was driven out of that province. He continued at Russah, with but few men, some wounded and others having lost their fire-arms. The accounts are, however, so brief and imperfect as to render it difficult to understand them. The next ships will no doubt bring fuller details.—We give the leading articles under their respective dates:

Calcutta, April 5.—It appears from recent accounts that the Burmese Governor of Assam lost his two golden chattahs and state palankeen in Cachar. After being driven out of that province, the second in command was ordered to march to Goalparah to offer a sum of money for the purpose of inducing our Government not to enter Assam, and he had proceeded one day's journey, when he was informed that we had (on the 10th March) set fire to Assam Choky, upon which he precipitately returned to Gowahatty. The Singh Phoes and Khumtees have been attacking and plundering the Assam territory, which has greatly annoyed the Burmese. The Governor of Assam continues at Russah with about 1,000 men, but some are wounded, and a great number had lost their fire arms and swords in Cachar. The Burmese contrived to carry off with them 1,000 head of cattle.

Bombay, April 10.—The substance of the despatch brought by the Malabar from the Viceroy of Pegu, to the Supreme Government, is given in the Calcutta Gazette of the 22d ult. as under:—

The Burmese.—We are authorized to state, that the Malabar, lately from Rangoon, has brought a letter from the Viceroy of Pegu, in answer to the remonstrance addressed to the Court of Ava in November last, on the subject of the outrage committed at Shapooree. The following is the substance of the reply.

The letters brought by the English ship were delivered, and on the petition being submitted to the ministers of the Most Fortunate King of the White Elephants, Lord of the Seas and Earth, &c. &c. &c. they observed, that the English protect the Arracanese rebels, who have violated their oath of allegiance, as well as Chujeet, Marjeet, the Cassayers or Munnipooreans, and the chiefs of the people of Assam; and that Chittagong, Ramoo, and Bengal, form part of the four great cities of Arracan; but as these were worldly matters they were not worth notice, considering the commercial intercourse carried on by seafaring men.

The letter then proceeds to state that Shien Mabu, or Shapooree, is a dependency of the four great cities, and because British sepoys were stationed there, the Governor of Arracan requested, in the first instance, that they might be withdrawn, and afterwards caused them to be expelled by royal authority. The Governor of Arracan having represented that three ships and three boats are stationed on the opposite side of the Naaf, and that a stockade has been erected on the island, and also that his messenger, on arriving at Chittagong, was confined there; if this be true, the Viceroy observes, "know that the Governors on the Burmese frontier have full authority to act, and that until every thing is settled, a communication need not be made to the Golden Feet."

The Rajahs and Generals of Arracan, Ramoo, Cheduba, &c. &c. &c. it is added, will, on hearing these occurrences, rise like giants, and Mengee Maha Bandoola has been appointed to regulate all the state affairs. He is vested with full power, and on all important occasions reference is to be made to him *via* Arracan. If the Governor General has any thing to represent, he is advised to state his case to the Bandoola by petition.

April 17.—We are informed that it is in contemplation to make a considerable addition to the present number of Senior Captains in the Bombay Marine, and that the whole of the commanders are to be made Junior Captains, the former rank being abolished altogether.

April 24.—By intelligence from Kattywar, we learn that the notorious Bawa Walla has at last met the fate he had so long merited. He was attacked on the 6th instant, in Bessawaddaw, by Hersoor, a Katty Chief, with whom he had long been at enmity, and was slain by him in a desperate conflict. It may be in the recollection of many of our readers that

this person, in 182〈?〉, carried off Lieut. Grant, of the Honourable Company's Marine, while in the Guicarvar's service, and kept him in captivity for three months, during which time he was treated with the most savage cruelty. For some years past Bawa Walla has been little heard of, but having lately resumed his former predatory courses, apprehensions were entertained that he would be the cause of disturbances in that part of the country, when his career has been thus unexpectedly closed by death.

The following article appears in the Bombay Courier of the 20th of March:

A Correspondent has sent us the following information, which is stated to be authentic:—It is understood that orders from the Court of Directors for the return home to England of all persons not in their service, and employed in the native armies of India, are immediately to be put in force. Two officers holding superior commands have already been ordered home; the rest are expected to follow soon; and whilst the officers of the Indian army will have reason to congratulate themselves on a measure which shows the attention of their honourable masters to their interests and claims, there can be little doubt that the eventual abolition of all local corps will be the occasion of an additional increase of the Indian army.

REMUSAT AND KLAPROTH, ON THE VARIOUS DESCRIPTIONS OF TEA CULTIVATED IN CHINA.

List of Names of the most celebrated Teas of China, translated from a Chinese manuscript belonging to M. le Baron de Schilling.

1. Teas of the district of the city of Sou ngan tcheou, in the province of Kiang-nan:—

Sou ngan.

Ta ye, Large leaf.

Yu tchin, Silver pin.

Houon chi, Owl's tongue.

Mei pian, Fragments of the wild plum-tree.

Hiang pian, Odoriferous fragments.

Tay tchha, Box tea.

Mao tsian, Hairy points.

2. Green Teas, Soung lo, of the district of the city of Hoey tcheou, in the province of Kiang-nan Soung lo:—

Tchin tchu tchha, Genuine pearl tea.

Tchu lan, Tchu lan tea.

Thsing tchha, Green tea.

Ta fang pian, Large square fragments.

Kia yuan, House garden.

Tsiang thsun, Tsiang thsun tea.

Sie khy, Tea of the river Sie khy.

Sin khy, Tea of the river Sin khy.

Tchhun ming, Late spring tea.

Lian tchy, Interlaced branches.

Goei yan tchha, Tea of the precipice of Goei yan.

3. Teas of the district of Hang tcheou fou, in the province of Tche Kiang:—

Loung tsing, Tea of the Dragon's well.

Lian sin, Water-lily hearts.

Ting ku, Tea of the valley of Ting ku.

Mao fung, Tea of the mount Mao fung.

Loung ya, First dragon shoots.

4. Tea of the province of Hou Kouang:

Ngan houa tchha, Tea of Ngan houa.

5. Black Teas, Wou y, or Bohea, of the province of Fou Kian:—

Lao kiun mei, Venerable old men's eyebrows.

Pe hao, White hairs, or Peko tea.

Cheou mei, Eyebrows of a very advanced age.

Yuan tchy, branches of

Kieou khin lian sin, Hearts of water-lilies of Kieou khin.

Ouang nin fung, Tea of the pick-axe of the King's daughter.

Pe yan, Tea of the cypress precipice.

Ta houng phao, Large red tails.

Sian jin tchang, Palm of the immortals.

Ky tchhun, Young spring.

6. Tea of the province of Yun nan:—

Phou eul tchha, Tea of the lake Phou eul.

7. Teas of the province of Szu tchhouan:—

Moung chan yun ou tchha, Tea of the clouds and fogs of the mountain Moung chan.

Moung chan chi houa tchha, Tea of the flower of the stones of the mountain Moung chan.—*Klaproth.*

Addition to the Note on the most celebrated Teas of China:—

The list of names of the most celebrated Teas, which has been given by Mr. Klaproth, from a manuscript belonging to M. de Schilling, may be useful in assisting us to distinguish, by the Chinese labels which are on the bags of tea or the wooden or tin boxes

which contain it, the different species which commerce brings us from the North or from the South. This list, which contains thirty-nine names, is not yet complete. The following have been presented to me by chance. I have prefixed, as far as possible, the vulgar denominations which the merchants of Canton substitute for the real names, and in which it is not always easy to discover the latter:—

Wou-i-tchha, Wou-i tea. Wou-i is the name of a celebrated mountain in the province of Fou Kian; thence comes the common name of Bohea tea.

Hi-tchhun tchha, Hyson tea.

Phi-tchha, Skin tea. It is that species of Hyson tea commonly called Skin.

Siao-tchoung-tchha, A small kind. It is the Saotchoûn, or Souchong, of the merchants.

Pao-tchoung-tchha, A species sold in small packets. It is the Pouchong of commerce.

Soung-tseu-tchha, Songchais tea.

Koung-fou-tchha, Camphou, or Congo tea.

Chang-koung fou, Camphou tea of a higher quality, or Camphou Campouy.

Tchu-tchha, Pearl tea.

Yu-toung-tchha, Winter tea.

Tun-ki-tchha, Twankay tea.

Kian-peii-tchha, or Tsou-tchoung. A second species of Campouy tea.

Ou-tchha, Black tea. The leaves serve to dye stuffs black.

Ye-tchha, Desert tea. The flowers of this species of tea are of a golden colour; the stem is high, and the leaves of a beautiful green: they use it in the same manner as the common tea.

Chau-tchha, Mountain or wild tea.

I have no doubt of the possibility of still lengthening considerably the list of these various species of tea. It would be desirable to know them all, in order to judge, from the inscriptions traced in large characters on the boxes brought from China, of the qualities of the teas they contain. The experienced will not have occasion for this assistance; for, according to Blancard, they can distinguish the one from the other merely by the taste. The situation of Assayer of Teas at Canton requires this sort of talent; but it is, at the same time, one of those which the East India Company requite most magnificently. It is now occupied by a man of great merit; and the salary which he enjoys, for tasting teas, amounts, it is said, like that of the interpreter, to one thousand pounds sterling per annum.—*Abel Rémusat.*

VARIETIES.

Judicial Severity in Kokan. [From Nasarow's Observations on some Countries and Nations in Central Asia. Petersburgh, 1821.]—The Government of Kokan is very strict in preventing merchants from committing frauds in weight and measure. During my residence there, I saw one day a tradesman being whipped through all the streets, whilst he was compelled to proclaim aloud his being a cheat. There is no writing in the lawsuits of the Kokanese; the depositions of two sworn witnesses decide the question at once. The court is entirely composed of priests, who, being specially summoned by the chief, meet in a house appointed for the purpose. The judges, under the presidency of the chief, being seated on an elevated platform, the culprit is introduced under a strong guard. The examination of the case is entered into by the priest of the district to which the defendant belongs, and the punishment denounced by him as soon as the matter is duly proved. If the others are satisfied with the decision, the chief passes sentence. Treason, usury, revolt, and similar crimes are punished capitally, although the culprit should be of the highest rank: his property falls to the treasury, and his wives and marriageable daughters are given in matrimony to common soldiers.

A thief has usually both his hands cut off, after which he is again allowed to live among a society which it is thought he can no longer injure. Once I was present at the punishment of a man who had stolen thirty sheep. His right hand having been cut off with a sword, the wrist was dipped into boiling oil, in order to stop the hemorrage, after which the fellow was dismissed. Murderers are delivered to the discretion of the relations of the slain, who may either sell them into slavery, or take a ransom for their head. At one time however, being at the bazaar, I saw some people to whom the murderer of a relation had

been thus given up, dragging him in, and demanding his death, upon which he was instantly beheaded.

Adultery is visited by a most dreadful kind of death, and even at this moment I shudder at the remembrance of a scene of this description, at which I happened to be present. A young girl of seventeen was married by her relations to a tradesman whom she disliked. She fled however from her husband, and went to live with a young magistrate, whom she had loved previous to her marriage. In order to escape detection she had her head shaved, and assumed the disguise of a servant. She was nevertheless discovered by her enraged spouse, who denounced her to the government. Her lover, in order to avoid a miserable death, fled; but the poor girl was arrested, and frankly confessed her transgression to the judges. The severity of the law condemned her; but the khan, pitying her youth and beauty, sent her word in secret to recall her confession, and to pretend that she had lost her hair in consequence of a disease. But she replied, that rather than be separated from her lover she would die. Every persuasion having proved fruitless, she was at last led to the bazaar, among an immense concourse of people. Here, a pit having been previously dug, she was interred up to the breast, and the executioners threw a stone upon her head. This was the signal for the rabble, who in a few seconds stoned her death. The body was afterwards dug up by the relations, and buried in the usual manner.

Antwerp.—After the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, the Portuguese established their warehouses in Brabant; and the gums and spices of Calicut were exposed to sale on the mart of Antwerp. The value of the spices and drugs, which were consigned from Lisbon to this place, amounted, according to the computation of Guicciardini, to the sum of 1,000,000 crowns; and it is said, that the dealings which were carried on at Antwerp, in the space of one month, were more extensive than those which were transacted at Venice, in the brightest period of her prosperity, in the course of two years. In the year 1491 the Hanse association held their solemn convocation in this city, which had formerly been the case at Lubeck. In 1531, the exchange was built, the most magnificent edifice in ancient Europe. Houses which, about a century ago, yielded an annual rent of 100 crowns, were now advanced in price from 800 to 1000. The population of the city amounted to 100,000 souls. The influx of people, who poured into this town, would almost exceed belief. 250 masts were frequently crowded into the harbour at one time; no day passed in which the arrival and departure of vessels did not amount to above 500 sail; on market days they were frequently augmented to 800 or 900. Every day, above 200 carriages drove out of the gates of the city; 2000 waggon-loads arrived every week from Germany, France, and Lorrain, without including the carts and vehicles for the transport of corn, which were computed at about 10,000. 30,000 hands were employed by the English factory of speculative merchants. The Government received an annual revenue of 2,000,000 by market-dues, tolls, and excise, which was a much larger sum in those days than in our times.

Geology of Persia.—A paper, by Mr. James Baillie Fraser, containing Geological Observations made during a Journey through Persia, from Busheer to Teheran, was read at a late meeting of the Geological Society. The author is of opinion, that the greater part of the Eastern and Western Coasts of the Persian Gulf, and for a considerable distance in the interior, belongs to the calcareous formation. His route from Busheer commenced in this formation, and between that place and Shirauz, the mountains are composed of lime-stone and gypsum, and the strata are frequently in a state of confusion. Throughout a considerable extent the carbonate and sulphate of lime are intermixed, but in some places the rocks are entirely gypsaceous, and frequently accompanied with muriate of soda. Salt streams and lakes are met with in abundance; of the latter there is a very extensive one at Shirauz. Further north, the road from Shirauz to Ispahan, a distance of about 250 miles, passes through an elevated country, similar to the preceding, but in which the lime-stone predominates. Between the village of Gendoo and the town of Jesdikhaust, Mr. Fraser found schistose clay, and a conglomeration of quartz, grünstein, and carbonate of lime, cemented by lime-stone. Veins of this rock alternate with a fine-grained grit. The mountains between Ispahan and Teheran are of an entirely different nature from the preceding; they offer schistose clay, and the most elevated of them are formed of granite.

Canada.—Mr. David Douglas, A. L. S. a botanist of considerable ability, is at present engaged in collecting rare plants and fruits in Canada and the United States for the Horticultural Society. A liberal portion of the funds of this so-

ciety is constantly devoted to the employment of collectors in various parts, from whose researches botany and other branches of natural history will doubtless continue to derive much benefit, as the proper strictness with which their qualifications are investigated, and the previous studies which are required of them, ensure the appointment of such persons only as are competent to the task.

Mowah Tree.—This tree, the *Bossia butyracea* of botanists, grows throughout the greater part of India. It attains the height of the English oak, and the beauty of its foliage and of its flowers renders it a striking ornament of the country. Its wood is precious, inasmuch as it is not liable, like other woods, to be destroyed by the white ants. Its flowers are dried, and made use of to acidulate sauces, but more especially for the distillation of arrack, to which they give a very high degree of strength. In a fair year a good tree yields from 200 to 300 pounds of flowers. They also extract from the fruit an oil of the consistence of butter, which they apply to various useful purposes.

Tea-Plant in Brazil.—The tea-plant is said to be successfully cultivated in Brazil by a Portugueze planter, assisted by some Chinese gardeners.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[*From the London Gazette.*]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS.

BENGAL.

14th Foot. W. L. O'Halloran, Gent. to be Ensign, with purchase, vice La Roche, who resigns, dated 11 Jan. 1824.

87th Foot. Lieut. T. Moore, from half-pay 104th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Heard, who exchanges, dated 29 July 1824; Lieut. E. St. John Mildmay, from half-pay 22d Light Dragoons, to be Lieutenant, vice Halcott, appointed to the 53d Foot, dated 29 July 1824.

MADRAS.

1st Foot. Ensign J. Williamson to be Lieutenant, without purchase, vice Mac Cornbie, promoted in the Royal African Corps, dated 22 July 1824; J. Campbell, Gentleman, to be Ensign, vice Williamson, dated 22 July 1824.

54th Foot. C. Warren, Gentleman, to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Hay, promoted in 48th Foot, dated 22 July 1824.

BREVET.

Brevet Captain J. Pudner, of the Hon. E. I. Co.'s Service, and Paymaster of the Company's depot at Chatham, to have the local rank of Captain while so employed, dated 22 July 1824; Brevet Captain J. Ovens, employed as Chief Engineer in New South Wales, to be a Major in the Army, dated 29 July 1824.

BOMBAY.

4th Light Dragoons. Assistant Surgeon W. Thompson, M.D. from 59th Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Tod, deceased, dated 5 August 1824.

CEYLON.

83d Foot, Lieutenant J. Haggerston, from the Ceylon Regiment, to be Lieutenant, vice Driberg, who exchanges, dated 5 August 1824.

Ceylon Regt. Lieut. W. Driberg, from 83d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Haggerston, who exchanges, dated 5 August 1824.

CAPE.

Cape Corps (Cavalry). Brevet Major A. C. Crawford, from the 12th Light Dragoons, to be Major, by purchase, vice Somerset, promoted, dated 5 August 1824.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

[*From the Indian Gazettes.*]

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Feb. 19.—Mr. T. Mainwaring to be Collector of Inland Customs and Town Duties of Calcutta; Mr. H. J. Chippendall to be Collector of Juanpore. March 18. Mr. R. Brooke to be Commercial Resident at Hurripaul; Mr. C. Carey to be Commercial Resident at Surdah.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, March 18.—Captain J. Canning, 27th Regt. N. I. Political Agent at Aurungabad, to be Political Agent to accompany the expedition about to proceed on foreign service; Lieut. H. J. White, 25th Regt. N. I. to be an Assistant to Captain Canning.—29th. Col. Sir A. Campbell, K.C.B. of His Majesty's 38th Regt. Foot, to command the combined forces proceeding on expeditionary service from this Presidency and Fort St. George, with the rank of Brigadier General during its continuance.

MILITARY PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters, Camp, Chunderie, Feb. 25.—*13th Light Infantry.* Ensign James Jones to be Lieutenant, without

purchase, vice Rotne, deceased, dated 18 Nov. 1823; C. W. Croker, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Jones, promoted.

Head Quarters, Camp Doomdee, Mar. 1.—69th Foot, Ensign J. Prim to be Lieutenant, vice Smith, date May 11, 1823; Ensign J. E. Muttlebury to be Lieutenant, vice Roy, date Jan. 28, 1824.

MADRAS.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Feb. 6. Mr. T. Lewin, Register and Assistant Collector at Seringapatam; Mr. J. A. Hudleston, Head Assistant to the Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut; Mr. R. Grant, Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Trichinopoly.—20. Mr. W. E. Fullerton, Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue. —27. Mr. J. C. Morris, Secretary to the Board of Superintendence for the College. —March 19. Mr. W. Brown, First Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Centre Division; Mr. T. Newnham, Second Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for ditto; Mr. A. D. Campbell, Third Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for ditto; Mr. W. Sheffield, Judge and Criminal Judge of the Zillah of Salem; Mr. J. Hanbury, Judge and Criminal Judge of the Zillah of Mangalore; Mr. E. H. Woodcock, Judge and Criminal Judge of the Zillah of Cuddapah; Mr. J. Haig, Register of the Zillah Court at Combeconum; Mr. A. F. Bruce, Register to the Zillah Court at Salem; Mr. J. Bird, Collector and Magistrate at Bellary; Mr. J. W. Russell, Collector and Magistrate of Cuddapah; Mr. Alexander Sinclair, Sub-Collector and Assistant Magistrate of Tanjore.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Feb. 20. The Rev. W. Thompson, M.A. Senior Chaplain of St. George's Church; the Rev. W. Roy, Junior Chaplain of St. George's Church; the Rev. J. Boys, M.A. Military Chaplain at Secunderabad; the Rev. E. A. Denton, B.A. Chaplain of the Black Town Chapel.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Jan. 16. Deputy Assistant Commissary General Major A. Grant, to be Assistant Commissary General, vice Grant; Sub-Assistant Commissary General Capt. R. W. Sherriff, to be Deputy Assistant Commissary General, vice Grant; Sub-Assistant Commissary General Capt. R. M'Leod, to be Deputy Assistant Commissary Gen. vice M'Laren. 20. Lieut. Col. J. Limond, of the Artillery, President of the Prize Committee, vice Marshall; Major J. R. Cleghorn, to officiate as Chief Engineer.—23. Lieut. Col. J. Welsh, 18th Regt. N. I. to command the troops stationed in Travancore and Cochin, vice Scott; Col. H. Fraser, 22d Reg. N. I. to command Vellore, vice Welsh; Capt. P. Montgomerie to be Aide-de-Camp to the Hon. the Governor; Capt. T. Watson, Paymaster at the Presidency, to be an extra Aide-de-Camp to the Hon. the Governor; Lieut. T. M. Claridge, 22d Regt. N. I. to be Adjutant to 1st Batt. of that corps, vice Gwynne; Lieut. A. T. Lindsay, 22d Regt. N. I. to be Quartermaster and Interpreter to 1st Batt. of that corps, vice Claridge.—30. Lieut. S. Jackson, 6th Regt. N. I. to be Interpreter and Quartermaster to the 1st Batt. of that corps during the absence of Lieut. Jackson; Capt. A. Crawford, of the Artillery, to be Superintendent of the Rocket Establishment at the headquarters of the Artillery, vice Montgomerie; Conductor W. Hea, to be Adjutant to 1st N. Vet. Batt. vice Clemons.—Feb. 15. Major W. M. Burton, of Artillery, to command 2d Batt. of that corps, vice Showers, resigned; Capt. N. Hunter, of the Artillery, to be Superintendent of the Rocket Establishment at the headquarters of the Artillery, vice Crawford; Lieut. C. W. Nepean, 7th Regt. N. I. to be Quartermaster and Interpreter to 2d Batt. of that corps, vice Condell, promoted; Lieut. W. M. Trollope, 21st Regt. N. I. to be Adjutant to the Rifle Corps, vice Campbell.—17. Captain D. Sim, to officiate as Civil Engineer in the centre division; Lieut. J. J. Underwood, to officiate as Civil Engineer in the Northern division.—March 2. Capt. T. H. Monk, 18th Regt. N. I. to command the escort of the Resident in Mysore; Captain R. Williams, of H. M. 54th Regt. to do duty with the escort of the Resident in Mysore during the detention of Capt. Monk at Bangalore.—9. Lieut. J. N. R. Campbell, 2d Regt. L. C. to be Aide-de-Camp to his Excellency the Commander in Chief from the 4th inst. vice Campbell, returning to Europe; Lieut. J. J. Underwood, of the Engineers, is appointed to act as Superintending Engineer in the Southern division.—16. Capt. W. Kelso, 13th Regt. N. I. to be Paymaster to the Light Field Division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force at Jaulnah; Lieut. W. Prescott, 2d Regt. to be Sub-Assistant Commissary General, vice Ellaway, deceased; Lieut. G. B. Greene, of the Madras European Regiment, to be a Sub-Assistant Commissary General, vice Sherriff, promoted; Lieut. W. Powell, 23d Regt. N. I. to be a Sub-Assistant Commissary General, vice M'Leod, promoted; Lieut. C. Evans, 13th Reg. N. I. to command the Company of Golundauze, stationed at Trichinopoly, until further orders.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—*Jan.* 16. Surgeon W. Haines to be Staff Surgeon at Jaulnah, vice Evans.—Jan. 20. Surgeon W. Mackenzie to be Cantonment Surgeon at St. Thomas's Mount, vice Haines.—Jan. 30. Assistant Surgeon T. Williams to be Zillah Surgeon of Calicut, vice Don-

aldson promoted.—Feb. 10. Assistant Surgeon B——ll to do duty under the Garrison Surgeon of Fort St. George.—Feb. 23. Assistant Surgeon J. Bainbridge to do duty with his Majesty's 41st Regt. until further orders.—March 16. Assistant Surgeon E. Chapman to be Deputy Medical Storekeeper in the Dooab, vice Harwood promoted.—Sub-Assistant Surgeon Patterson to do duty under the Garrison Surgeon of Fort St. George, vice Gay resigned.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, Jan. 20.

Artillery—Senior Major W. G. Pearse to be Lieut.-Colonel; Senior Capt. W. F. Palmer to be Major; and Senior 1st Lieutenant G. Couran to be Captain, vice Weldon retired.

6th Regt. N. I. Senior Lieut. Brevet Captain J. Anthony to be Captain; and Senior Ensign R. Mitchell to be Lieutenant, vice Chambers, deceased; dated Jan. 20. 1824.—Mr. C. J. J. Denman admitted as a Cadet of Artillery to be 2d Lieutenant.

Feb. 3.—*2d Regt. N. I.* Senior Captain J. Ford to be Major; Senior Lieut. W. Gordon to be Captain, vice Morris promoted, dated May 16, 1822.—Senior Major W. Preston from 17th Regt. N. I. to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Leith promoted—dated Dec. 25, 1822.—Senior Captain J. Wahab to be Major; Senior Lieutenant H. W. Hodges to be Captain; and Senior Ensign G. H. Sotheby to be Lieutenant, vice Preston, promoted; Senior Major H. G. A. Taylor, from 10th Regt. N. I., to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Preston, deceased; dated Jan. 24, 1823.—Senior Captain A. Grant to be Major; Senior Lieut. J. Friswell to be Captain; and Senior Ensign W. R. Foskett to be Lieutenant, vice Taylor promoted; dated Jan. 24, 1823.—Senior Ensign J. O. Milne to be Lieutenant, vice Chrichton, deceased; dated Feb. 19, 1823.—Senior Lieutenant A. Wilson to be Captain; and Senior Ensign J. F. K. Brett to be Lieutenant, vice Gwynne, deceased; dated July 21, 1823.—Senior Ensign R. W. Sparrow to be Lieutenant, vice Lovedale, deceased; dated October 30, 1823.

7th Regt. N. I. Senior Captain A. Balmain to be Major; Senior Lieutenant J. Myers to be Captain; and Senior Ensign G. W. Osborne to be Lieutenant, vice Parlby promoted; dated Nov. 23, 1823.

8th Regt. N. I. Senior Ensign H. A. Hornsby to be Lieutenant, vice Smith, promoted; dated Oct. 22, 1823.

5th Regt. N. I. Senior Lieutenant C. Poulton to be Captain; and Senior Ensign J. R. Sayers to be Lieutenant, vice Whitehead, deceased; dated Jan. 25, 1824.

16th Regt. N. I. Senior Captain H. J. Bowler to be Major; Senior Lieutenant J. A. Condell to be Captain; and Senior Ensign G. H. Milnes to be Lieutenant, from July 20, 1823, vice Hall, deceased; dated February 10, 1823.

Cavalry. Senior Lieutenant-Colonel T. Nuthall to be Colonel of a Brigade, vice Saintleger, deceased, dated July 7, 1823.—Senior Major W. Dickson, C. B., from 6th Regt. Light Cavalry, to be Lieutenant-Colonel in succession to Nuthall, promoted, dated July 7, 1823.

6th Regt. Light Cavalry. Senior Capt. J. Smith to be Major; Senior Lieutenant A. H. Johnston to be Captain; and Senior Cornet W. E. Litchfield to be Lieutenant, vice Dickson promoted; dated July 7, 1823.—Senior Major V. Blacker, C. B., from 1st Regt. Light Cavalry, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Colebrook, deceased, dated Oct. 20, 1823.—Senior Captain St. John Blacker to be Major; Senior Lieutenant R. Shawe to be Captain; and Senior Cornet J. Jones, to be Lieutenant, vice Blacker, promoted; dated Oct. 20, 1823.—Lieut.-General J. Richardson, from the Infantry, to be placed on the Senior List, vice Bridges, deceased.

Infantry. Senior Lieutenant-Colonel F. Pierce to be Colonel of a Regiment, vice Richardson, dated July 17, 1823.—Senior Major H. Durand, from 5th Regt. N. I., to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Mackintosh deceased, dated Nov. 23, 1823.

5th Regt. N. I. Captain N. Cubbon to be Major, dated Nov. 23, 1823.—Senior Lieut. R. Gray to be Captain; and Senior Ensign S. A. Grant to be Lieutenant, vice Whitehead, deceased—dated Jan. 25, 1825.

The following Gentlemen Cadets are promoted to the ranks of Second Lieutenant and Ensign respectively:—

Artillery. Messrs. C. Briggs, J. Black, J. G. Dalzell, J. T. Baldwin.

Infantry. Mr. C. Messiter.—Feb. 13. Mr. W. Ross, admitted Cadet, is promoted to the Rank of Ensign.

Feb. 20. *1st Regt. N. I.* Senior Lieutenant A. Haultain to be Captain; and Senior Ensign G. N. Douglas to be Lieutenant, vice Stone; dated May 27, 1823. Senior Captain G. M. Steuart to be Major; Senior Lieutenant J. R. Godfrey to be Captain; and Senior Ensign J. W. Goldsworthy to be Lieutenant, vice Tolfrey, deceased; dated Oct. 14, 1823. Senior Lieutenant W. Thompson to be Captain; and Senior Ensign G. B. Marshall to be Lieutenant, vice Macdonald, deceased, dated Nov. 28, 1823.

9th Regt. N. I. Senior Ensign J. S. Mackvitie to be Lieutenant, vice Clemons, promoted, dated Sept. 23, 1823.

24th Regt. N. I. Senior Ensign, W. Bremmer to be Lieutenant, vice Gray, deceased, dated Sept. 21, 1823.

Feb. 24. *11th Regt. N. I.* Senior Lieutenant W. Borthwick to be Captain; and

Senior Ensign F. S. C. Chalmers to be Lieutenant, vice Cooper, deceased; dated Feb. 17, 1824.

7th Regt. Light Cavalry. Senior Lieutenant A. Kerr to be Captain; and Senior Cornet H. A. Nuitt to be Lieutenant, vice Weir, deceased—dated Feb. 16, 1824.

March 2.—*20th Regt. N. I.* Lieutenant P. Thompson to be Adjutant to 2d Bat., vice Taylor.

March 5. — *12th Regt. N. I.* Senior Ensign Pope to be Lieutenant, vice Carter, deceased, dated Jan. 20, 1824.

March 9.—Lieutenant C. H. Warrie, of Horse Brigade of Artillery, to be Adjutant, vice Wynch; Lieut. F. F. Whynyates of ditto ditto, to be Adjutant, vice Couran, promoted.

22d Regt. N. I. Senior Ensign, E. C. Manning to be Lieutenant, vice Annesley, deceased, dated Jan. 15, 1824.

MEDICAL PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, March 9.—Senior Assistant Surgeon J. Harwood to be Surgeon, vice Dalton, deceased, dated Sept. 17, 1823.—Senior Assistant J. Smart, M.D., to be Surgeon in succession to Goldie, retired, dated Jan. 1, 1824.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort St. George, Feb. 3.

Infantry.—Lieut.-Colonel A. Monin to take Rank from May 16, 1822, vice Roehead, retired.

2d Regt. N. I. Lieut. J. W. Bailey to take rank from Nov. 23, 1822, vice Guppy, resigned.

8th Regt. N. I. Lieut. F. B. Lucas to take rank from Jan. 16, 1823, vice Buckeridge, resigned.

Feb. 20.—*9th Regt. N. I.* Lieut. W. Blood to take rank from July 15, 1823, vice Williams, deceased.

March 9.—Surgeon D. Donald to take rank from Jan. 23, 1824.

REMOVALS.

Fort St. George, Feb. 25.—Lieut.-Colonel J. Russell, C. B., from 5th to 7th Regt. L.C.—Lieut.-Colonel J. Doveton, from the 7th to 5th Regt. L.C.; Lieut.-Col. C. Hodgson, from 9th to 11th Regt. 2d Lieut.-Colonel H. G. A. Taylor, from Batt. 11th to 9th Regt. 1st Batt.—Lieut.-Colonel C. D. Kenny from 17th to 15th Regt. 2d Batt.—Lieut.-Colonel T. Stewart, from 15th to 17th Regt. and 1st Batt.—Surgeon J. T. Conran, from the 5th to 7th Regt. L. C.—Surgeon J. Killie, from 7th to 5th Regt. L. C.—Major G. M. Steuart, to 1st Batt. of 1st Regiment. —*March* 3. Lieut. H. T. Hitchins, from 2d to 1st Batt. 7th Reg.; and Lieut. G. W. Whistler, from 1st to 2d Batt.—Lieut. C. Davinier, from 16th Regt. to 1st Batt. of Pioneers.—Lieut. G. J. Hamilton of 2d Regiment to 2d Batt. of Pioneers. —*March* 10. Lieut. W. Gompiz, 22d Regt., from 2d to 1st Batt.—Capt. J. N. Abdy, from 1st to 3d Batt.; and Capt. T. H. Thorsby, from 3d to 1st Batt. of Artillery.—March 15. Lieutenants G. Fryer, D. Addison, P. Steinson, and Ensign J. Symons, from 1st to 2d Batt. 10th Regt.; Lieut. G. Marshall, from 1st to 2d Batt. 4th Regt. — March 19. Capt. A. Roberts, of 8th Reg., from 2d to 1st Batt.; and Capt. G. H. Asaacke, from 1st to 2d Batt.—March 21. Lieut.-Col. A. Lemond, from 10th to the 3d Regt. and 2d Batt.; Lieut.-Colonel H. F. Smith, C. B., from the 3d to the 10th Regt. and 2d Batt.; Lieut.-Colonel C. Hodgson, from the 11th to the 9th Regt. and 1st Batt.—Lieut.-Colonel H. G. A. Taylor, from 9th to 11th Regt. and 2d Batt.—Capt. A. French, from the 1st to 2d Batt. 5th Regt.

MEDICAL REMOVALS.

Fort St. George, March 11.—Surgeon J. Annesly to 8th Regt. L.C., vice Longdil.—Surgeon J. M'Leod from 11th to 18th Regt. 1st Batt.—Surgeon J. Harwood, to 11th Regt. 1st Batt.—Surgeon J. Smart, M.D., to 10th Regt. 1st Batt.—Assistant Surgeon W. Geddes, from 1st to 2d Batt. 11th Regt.—Assistant Surgeon J. Lawdor, to 1st Batt. 3d Regt. —Assistant Surgeon J. Ricks, M.D., from his Majesty's 46th Regt. to 1st Batt. 10th Regt.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort St. George, Jan. 16.—Lieut. P. Fletcher, 23d Regt. of N. I., to Europe, on sick certificate.—Jan. 20. Lieut.-Col. R. Taylor, of the Invalid Establishment, to Europe, on sick certificate.—Lieut. Brevet Capt. S. W. Steele, 12th Regt. N. I., to Europe, on Furlough.; Lieut. C. Farran, 6th Regt. N. I., to Europe, on sick certificate.—Jan. 23. Lieut.-Col. R. H. Yates, 23d Regt. N. I; and Major W. Clapham, 4th Regt. N. I., to Europe, on furlough.—Jan. 26. Cornet S. F. M'Kenzie, 2d Regt, L. C., to Europe, on sick certificate.—Jan. 27. Lieut. B. Shee, 24th Regt. N. I., to Europe, on ditto.; Lieut. Brevet Capt. W. Babington, 6th Regt. L. C., to Europe, on ditto.—Feb. 6. Lieut. J. Horne, of the Artillery, to Europe, on sick certificate.—Feb. 17. Major H. Yarde, of the Invalid Establishment, to Europe, on sick certificate. —Feb. 24. Capt. J. Watkins, 5th Regt. L. C., to Europe, on ditto. Feb. 27. Capt. T. R. Lemond, 3d Regt. L. C., to Europe, on Furlough.; Lieut. J. Henderson, 23d Regt. N. I., to Europe on sick certificate.—March 2. Major J. Smith, 6th Regt. L. C., to Europe, on furlough.—March 16. Lieut.-Colonel W. Farquhar, to Europe, on Furlough.

Medical Department.

Fort St. George, Feb. 6.—Surgeon J. Annesly, to Europe, on furlough.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, March 11.—Lieut. J. H. Bell, 1st Batt. 6th Regt. N. I. an Assistant in the Office of Auditor General, vice Hall, promoted.—18. Lieut. T. D. Morris, 12th Regt. to be Line Adjutant at Deesa, vice Cunningham, dated 9th March, 1824; Lieut. H. Jackson, of the Invalid Batt. to be Fort Adjutant at Tannah, vice Waterfield, dated 9 March 1824; Lieut. C. C. Rebenock, 9th Regt. N. I. to act as Line Adjutant at Baroda during the absence of the Assistant Adjutant General, upon duty until further orders, dated 1 Feb. 1824; Lieutenant D. Forbes, 2d Batt. 1st Regt. N. I. to act as Staff Officer to the left wing of that Batt. at Baroda, until it rejoins the right wing in Kattiwar.—20. Lieut. E. Stewart, Bombay European Regt. to be Adjutant, vice Watts, dated 4 Feb. 1824.—22. Lieut. W. W. Dowell, 5th Regt. N. I. to be an Assistant in the Surveying Department under Lieut. Jervis, surveying the Southern Conkan.—April 13. Quartermaster Serjeant H. F. Dilley to be Conductor, vice Williams, deceased.—15. Captain G. W. Gibson, of the Regiment of Artillery, to be Assistant Commissary of Stores in Guzerat, vice Jervis.—19. Lieutenat Spencer, 1st Batt. 3d Regt. to superintend the repairs of public buildings at Sattarah, vice Athill.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, March 25.—The rank of Mr. R. Warden, Cadet for Artillery, who arrived in the country 28 Nov. 1822, having been omitted to be forwarded by the Hon. Court of Directors, although that of Cadets for the same regiment, who arrived on the 2d ult. have been received, and that Officer having furnished a declaration, upon honour, of his having passed his public examination on the 10th May, 1822, the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that he takes rank in the Regiment of Artillery as second Lieutenant from that date; 2d Lieutenant T. Cleather, to be 1st Lieut. vice Walker, promoted, dated 7 June 1823; Senior 2d Lieut. R. Warden, to be 1st Lieut. vice Welland, deceased, dated 17 Nov. 1822.

European Regt. April 6.—Ensign R. St. John to be Lieutenant, vice Hubbard, dated 2 April, 1824.—13. Senior Second Lieut. J. Liddell, of the Regt. of Artillery, to be First Lieutenant, vice Jervis, dated 7 April, 1824.

FURLOUGHS.

Bombay Castle, March 13.—Assistant Surgeon R. Liddell, 2d Batt. 11th Regt. to Europe for three years, for the recovery of his health.—18. Capt. C. Garraway, 9th Regt. N. I. to Europe for three years, on private affairs.

CEYLON.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Colombo, Feb. 16.—Thos. Eden, Esq. to be Collector of the District of Chilow and Putelam, and Provincial Judge of Calpentyn; J. G. Forbes, Esq. to be First Assistant in the Office of the Chief Secretary to Government; C. Brownrigg, Esq. to be Provincial Judge of Trincomalee; J. N. Mooyaart, Esq. to be Collector of the District of Batticaloa; P. A. Dyke, Esq. to be Assistant to the Collector of Jaffnapatam.

COURT MARTIAL ON CAPTAIN P. MORGAN, OF THE BENGAL ARMY.

Head Quarters, Camp, Futtehgur, 6th March, 1824.

At an European General Court Martial, assembled at Dinapore, on Wednesday, the 11th day of Feb. 1824, of which Lieut.-Col. M. Boyd, 1st. Batt. 33d Regiment Native Infantry is President, Capt. P. P. Morgan, of the 2d Batt. 26th Regiment Native Infantry was arraigned upon the undermentioned charges, viz.

1st.—For conduct unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, in having, in a letter, dated Cuttack, 30th September, 1823, addressed to Lieut. T. Roberts of the same corps, introduced the name of his immediate commanding officer, Major Watson, in a manner highly disrespectful and insubordinate; and in having, in the said letter, most unwarrantably thrown out various insinuations or aspersions derogatory to the character of his said commanding officer, particularly in the following instances, viz.—"You must long ere now be aware that this apprehension was groundless, in as much as the information on which it was founded was itself false; in as far as the residents are concerned, as also with regard to the great majority of the officers of the battalion; it is likewise false in their case, they having all call-

ed on me whilst I was yet in your Bungalow, or subsequently to my having left it for my own."

2d.—"We shall now proceed to investigate the origin of this false and malicious libel, and to inquire to whom it is to be attributed. In answering this query, Col. Carpenter's name must be left entirely out of the question. To whom then can it apply but to Major Watson, Capt. Stewart, or Lieut. Auberjonois.—Having now reduced to the cabalistic number three, those, from amongst whom is to be sought the libeller, who has had the audacity to dictate to you with whom it is his pleasure that you should associate: I will ask now what possible objection even these three persons could have to calling on you, there being a possibility of meeting with me at your house? To this it is impossible to offer any but one answer, namely, that his conscience pricked him, and told him that he had been guilty of injuring (or at least endeavouring to injure me,) and he dared not look me in the face, through dread of betraying his conscious guilt; and one thing, which low and grovelling minds can never forgive, is to see the person, whom they have traduced, rise, through the force of conscious integrity, superior to their malevolent aspersions. But now, I will ask, are these calumniators, or, perhaps, I should say, is this calumniator, to avoid meeting with me elsewhere? for, as far as I can observe, you are the only person whom they have dared to insult by their dictation. How can he or they be certain that they will not meet me at the house of any other person, when he or they may call; or what security have they that I may not come in where there may be one, or two, or all three? And one thing is certain, namely, that I will never take the trouble to avoid them nor you, nor any other man who may blindly lend himself to their cabal. Those alone whose deeds are evil seek the shade; I, on the contrary, (conscious of my own integrity) have ever sought the light, and ever will."

3d.—"We will now appropriate a few lines to the objections of these persons to meeting with me, (as I can conceive none others) to whose opinions you appear to bow with so much reverence. And first for Major Watson. What has he to complain of? Why a great matter truly: I required of him to act like a gentleman! An unreasonable request doubtless, and perhaps not so easily to be followed as recommended." The whole or any part of such conduct being subversive of military discipline, and in breach of the Articles of War.

A. T. Watson, Major,
Commanding 2d Batt. 26th Regt. N. I.
Cuttack, the 11th Oct. 1823.

Additional charge preferred against Capt. P. P. Morgan, by Brigadier Carpenter, commanding at Cuttack: For having, while under arrest on the foregoing charges, addressed a letter to Brigade Major Faithfull, dated Cuttack, the 21st Nov. 1823, conveying highly offensive and unjustifiable imputations on my conduct, particularly in the following; viz. "I do, however, most solemnly protest against such decision, as well as the debarring me from reference to superior authority, as acts of the utmost cruelty. This is, I believe, the first time of an officer under arrest being placed at the mercy and discretion of his declared and professed enemies;—for such, and unprovokedly such, do I conceive Major Watson and his staff officers to be: and it is well known, that no enmity is so implacable as that which is gratuitously adopted. From these officers I do expect nothing but indignity and oppression; and whilst impressed with such an opinion, I cannot refrain from expressing abhorrence of the cruelty and injustice of subjecting me to their authority." The same being subversive of military discipline, and in breach of the Articles of War.

G. Carpenter, Lieut. Col.
Commanding in Cuttack.
Cuttack, Nov. 24, 1823.

Upon which charges the Court came to the following decision:—

Finding and Sentence.—The Court having maturely weighed the evidence adduced, with what the prisoner has urged in his defence, is of opinion that he is guilty of all and every part of the charges preferred against him, which being in breach of the Articles of War, does sentence him, Capt. P. P. Morgan, 2d Battalion 26th Native Infantry, to be discharged the service of the Honourable Company. Approved and confirmed,

Edwd. Paget, General,
Commander in Chief in India.

The sentence of this General Court Martial is accompanied by a recommendation of the prisoner to clemency, on the grounds of length of service, and the Commander in Chief would be well inclined to attend to it, if he did not feel imperatively called upon to mark, by a severe example to the Army, the sense he entertains of the conduct of those who, instead of employing the influence resulting from mature years and long service to direct the minds of inexperienced youth in the straight path of duty and reverence for legitimate authority, avail themselves of it to teach them the lesson of insubordination and disrespect to their superiors. Capt. Morgan is to be struck off the list of the army from the date on which this order may be published at Dinapore, and directed to proceed without delay to Fort William. On his arrival there, the Town and Fort Major will be pleased to take the necessary steps for providing Mr. Morgan with a passage to Europe.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Feb. 29. At Dacca, the Lady of G. C. Weguelin, Esq. of a daughter.—March 1st. At Meerut, the lady of Capt. McMullin, of a son.—3d. At Calcutta, the wife of Mr. J. E. Cassin, of the H. C. Bengal Service, of a son.—4th. At Jessore, Mrs. A. Thomas, the wife of Mr. W. Thomas, Missionary, of a son.—7th. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. Harris, of a son; Mrs. J. W. Sherriff, of a son.—12th. At Saugor, the lady of Capt. Caye, Superintendent Field Transport, of a daughter.—14th. At Fort William, the Lady of Capt. J. N. Creighton, H. M. 11th Light Dragoons, of a son; Mrs. H. Boileau, of a son.—21st. Mrs. G. G. Fraser, of a daughter.—25th. The lady of Capt. A. Galloway, Agent for Gunpowder, of a daughter.—27th. At Berhampore, the lady of Capt. A. Shuldham, 15th Regt. N. I., of a daughter.—30th. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. A. Goldsmith, of a daughter; Mrs. E. Christopher, of a daughter.—31st. At Soorey, the lady of W. N. Garrett, Esq. Civil Service, of a son.—April 2. At Dum Dum, the lady of Lieut. Laurenson, of Artillery, of a daughter.

Marriages.—March 1st. At Calcutta, G. Gregory, Esq. to Miss O. Sarkies, daughter of the late J. Sarkies.—13th. C. Cowles, Esq. to Miss C. S. Walsh.—14th. At Chinsurah, G. T. G. Overbeck, Esq. to Miss H. W. Herkiots.—15th. At Ally Ghur, Lieut. F. B. Todd, of the Hon. Company's Forces, to Charlotte Tilney, only daughter of Capt. Long.—April 2. At Calcutta, Capt. T. Howard, of the Country Service, to Miss M. A. H. Tichbourne.

Deaths.—March 1st. At the house of Lieut.-Col. Stuart, Anne, daughter of the late Dr. Patch.—12th. At Calcutta, E. Elliot, second son of Mr. W. G. Smith.—14th. At Chinsurah, Maria, wife of Capt. G. P. Wymer, 31st Regt.—21st. Captain J. Daniels, of the Country Service.—22d. Mrs. M. Pauling.—24th. Master W. Bagshaw; at Jessore, Emma Helen, daughter of J. Hubbard, Esq.—27th. At Calcutta, A. Lackersteen, Esq.

MADRAS.

Births.—Feb. 1. At St. Thomas's Mount, the lady of Capt. A. Crawford, of the Artillery, of a son.—2d. At Cuddapah, the lady of Lieut. J. R. Sayers, 2d Batt. 4th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.—7th. At Arcot, Mrs. Scott, the wife of Quartermaster J. Scott, of a son.—17th. At Fort St. George, the lady of Capt. E. Stehelin, H. M. 41st Regt. of a son.—19th. At Arcot, the lady of Lieut. F. Hunter, 1st Regt. Light Cavalry, of a son; at the Presidency, the lady of W. R. Taylor, Esq. of the H. C. Civil Service, of a son.—20th. At Madras, the wife of Mr. C. Godfrey, of a son.—25. At Jaulnah, the lady of Lieut. J. Buchanan, 1st Light Cavalry, of a son.—March 1st. At Madras, Mrs. J. L. Gotting, of a daughter.—3d. At Bellary, the lady of Lieut. Col. Campbell, 6th Regt. of a son.—7th. At Jaffnapatam, the lady of the Rev. R. Carver, Missionary, of a daughter.—13th. At Madras, the lady of Lieut. Colonel Molesworth, of a daughter.—20th. At Pondicherry, Mrs. E. Magny, of a son.—23d. At the Presidency, Cantonment, the lady of Lieut. and Adjut. Claridge, of a son.—26th. The lady of R. Sprye, Esq. 9th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.—Apr. 1. At the Presidency, the lady of A. Crawley, Esq. H. C. Civil Service, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Feb. 3d. At St. George's Church, Capt. Beach, of H. C. S. Rockingham, to Miss French, youngest daughter of the late G. French, Esq. of Calcutta.—26th. At Seringapatam, Lieut. T. P. Hay, 1st Batt. 11th Regt. to Miss G. R. T. Arnaud, daughter of F. Arnaud, Esq. of Port Louis, Mauritius.—March 1st. At Madras, C. Guichard, Esq. jun. to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Henry, Esq. of Madras; Mr. T. Innis, to Miss E. Nichol.—7th. At the Black Town Chapel, Mr. C. J. Jones, to Miss C. Skillern, daughter of Mr. M. Skillern.—8th. John Babington, Esq. of the Civil Service, to Jane, eldest daughter of A. Spiers, Esq. of the Medical Establishment.—9th. At Trichinopoly, Capt. W. Jones, 18th Regt. N. I. to Evelina, daughter of J. Wyse, Esq. Garrison Surgeon of that station.—12th. At St. Mary's, Trichinopoly, C. Roberts, Esq. of the Civil Service, to Emma Champion, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Armstrong, C. B. and K. C. T. S. commanding H. M. Royal Regiment.—15th. At Pondicherry, Capt. A. Haultain, to Maria, eldest daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. R. Brice.—23d. J. W. Lewis, Esq. Madras Civil Service, to Harriet, fifth daughter of Rev. J. Dampier, of Langton, Dorsetshire.

Deaths.—Jan. 24. At Masulipatam, the Rev. C. Bankes, B.A. Military Chaplain

at Secunderabad.—29. At Vipery, Sarah, wife of Mr. T. Zacherpel.—Feb. 7. At Pursuwakum, Mr. L. Chambers.—9. At Yallamunchully, Lieut. D'Esterre, of the Carnatic European Vet. Batt.—15th. At Bellary, Capt. J. Weir, 7th Regt. Light Cavalry.—16th. At Cananore, Capt. H. M. Cooper, 1st Batt. 11th Regt.; at Belgaum, the infant son of Capt. Kemble, A. A. G. Field Force.—18th. At Chungleput, Capt. J. F. Gill, of H. M. Royal Regt.; at Madras, Miss A. B. Moraes.—19th. At Cannanore, Capt. T. Chambers, 1st Batt. 6th Regt. N. I.—22d. At Madras, Mr. G. F. Cappel.—March 3. At Trichendore, James Charles, infant son of James Monro, Esq. C. S. aged 18 months.—7th. At Jaffnapatam, Mrs. Carver, wife of the Rev. R. Carver, Missionary.—8th. At Tuticorin, Mr. J. De Jong.—11th. Mr. J. Hunt, of the Account. General's Office.—12th. At St. Thomas's Mount, Mr. Conductor Goodwin.—18th. At Kurnool, the lady of Lieut. Bradfield, 1st Batt. 13th Regt.—22d. At Tranquebar, J. Lindgaard, Esq. late Accountant-General in the Danish Service.

BOMBAY.

Births.—March 5. At Hingolee, the lady of Capt. C. St. John Grant, H. H. Nizam's Horse, of a son.—9th. At Government House, the Lady of Capt. Burrows, of a daughter.—11th. At Poona, the lady of Ensign Warrington, of his Majesty's 67th Regt., of a daughter.—20th. At Shoolapoor, the Lady of Lieut. S. Athill, H. C. Engineers, of a daughter.—April 7th. At Aurungabad, the lady of D. S. Young, Esq. Madras Medical Establishment, of a daughter.

Marriages.—March 17. At St. Thomas's Church, Mr. C. Bowring, Chief Officer of the Ship Asia Felix, to Mrs. M. Pollock.—20th. Mr. J. Porter, Conductor in the Ordnance Department, to Miss P. Folkard.—31st. At Hingney, R. Jenkins, Esq. Resident at Nagpoor, to Eliza Helen, eldest daughter of the late H. Spottiswoode, Esq. of the Madras Civil Service; Lieut. M. Stack, 3d Regt. Bombay L. C. to Cecilia, second daughter of the same.—April 12th. At Poonah, W. Carstairs, Esq. Medical Storekeeper, P. D. A. to Miss King, only daughter of the late J. King, Esq. of H. M. 47th Regt.

Deaths.—Feb. 21. Drowned, in Bombay Harbour, having fallen overboard accidentally, from the ship Hercules, to which ship he belonged, Mr. P. Sharpe, son of the Rev. Launcelot Sharpe, of Edmonton.—25th. At Cochin, P. D. Van Vullen, of the English Church.—29th. At Bardolie, Lieut. B. Dominicetti, of the H. C. Marine.—March 3. At Sholapore, Augusta, the wife of Major Larny, commanding 1st Batt. 8th Regt. N. I.—12th. At Rajkoto, George Lawrence, only son of Lieut. Worthy, Line Adjutant.—16th. Mrs. C. Keys, wife of Capt. J. Keys, of the Elizabeth, of Bombay.—18th. At Bombay, Lieut.-Col. Warren, C. B., H. M. 47th Regt.—April 6th. Mr. H. C. Moorehouse, Surgeon of the Ship Ganges; at Byculla, Lieut. J. J. S. Jervis, of the Bombay Artillery.—14th. At Bombay, Dr. C. A. Verem.

CAPE.

Birth.—April 21. Lady C. Somerset, of a daughter.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—July 29. At Chelsea, the lady of A. M. Ramsay, Esq., late of the Bengal Med. Estab., of a son.—August 8th. At Dundee, the lady of J. Sandwith, Esq., of Bombay, of twin daughters.—11th. At Worthing, the lady of Joseph Ballingall, Esq., late Naval Storekeeper of his Majesty's Dock-yard, at Trincomalee, of a son.—At Rodwell, near Weymouth, the lady of Capt. J. B. Seely, of the Bombay Army, and late Second in Command in the Nagpore Auxiliaries, of a son.

Marriages.—August 6th. At Edinburgh, Capt. T. Paterson, his Majesty's 63d Regt., to Mary Ann, youngest daughter of the late Lieut. Col. Sherriff, of the Madras Cavalry.—11th. At St. George's Church, Capt. Sanders, of the Bengal Cavalry, to Elizabeth Oswald, eldest daughter of A. Anderson, Esq., Chapel-street, Grosvenor-square.—13th. J. Patterson, Esq., of Bengal, M. S., to Anne Louisa, widow of the late W. O'Neil, Esq. of the Bengal Service.—24th. At Westminster, R. Wilton, Esq., of Gloucester, to Charlotte Maria, eldest daughter of J. Hallett, Esq., of Dulwich, and formerly of Bombay; at Donhead, Wilts, John Jones, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, and of Pentre Mawr, Denbighshire, to Marianne, youngest daughter of the late William Burlton, Esq. of Wykin Hall, Leicestershire.

Deaths.—July 25. At Jersey, Lieut.-Colonel Spawforth, late of the 2d Ceylon Regiment.—11th. At Edinburgh, M. J. Craigie, eldest daughter of Capt. E. Craigie, of the Hon. E. I. Comp. Service.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.	Date.
July 31	Off Plymouth	Hope	Flint	Madras	Mar. 4
Aug. 3	Portsmouth	Asia	Currie	Bombay	Mar. 29
Aug. 5	Deal	Charlotte	Stevenson	Bombay	Mar. 17
Aug. 5	Off Dover	Nepos	Trader	Mauritius	April 20
Aug. 5	Portsmouth	Pilot	Gardner	Bengal	Dec. 14
Aug. 5	Deal	Waterloo	Studd	Bombay	Mar. 21
Aug. 5	Deal	Boyne	Lawson	Bengal	Mar. 4
Aug. 5	Deal	Lady Campbell	Betham	Bengal	Feb. 21
Aug. 7	Deal	Neptune	Edwards	Bengal	Jan. 31
Aug. 13	Off Dover	Aquatic	Clover	Mauritius	April 15
Aug. 16	Deal	Potton	Welbank	Bengal	Mar. 1
Aug. 17	Off Dover	Patience	Kind	Cape	Mar. 29
Aug. 18	Deal	Maitland	O'Brien	Bengal	Mar. 9
Aug. 19	Liverpool	Calcutta	Strogan	Bengal	Mar. 19
Aug. 21	Off Liverpool	Ganges	Milford	Bombay	April 26
Aug. 22	Off Newhaven	Lady Amherst	Clifton	Bengal	Mar. 16
Aug. 22	Plymouth	Mariner	Herbert	Bencoolen	April 10
Aug. 24	Off Dover	Mentor	Harrison	China	April 6

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port. of Depart.
Mar. 29	Bengal	Ganges	Ford	London
April 5	Cape of Good Hope	H. M. S. Tamar	Herbert	Plymouth
April 19	Cape of Good Hope	Cambrian	Birkbeck	Liverpool
April 19	Mauritius	John Barry	Roche	London
April 19	Mauritius	Orpheus	Finlay	London
April 27	Cape of Good Hope	Luna	Knox	London
April 28	Cape of Good Hope	H. M. S. Arachne	Chads	Portsmouth
April 30	Cape of Good Hope	Britannia	Burke	Plymouth
June 2	Cape of Good Hope	Hottentot	Sinclair	London

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
July 31	Deal	Mediterranean	Stewart	Ceylon
July 31	Deal	Circassian	Douthwaite	Bengal
Aug. 7	Deal	Euphrates	Mead	Bengal
Aug. 7	Deal	Sarah	Bowen	Bombay
Aug. 20	Cowes	Splendid	Stirling	China
Aug. 20	Deal	Thomas	Winspear	St. Helena
Aug. 22	Portsmouth	Regalia	Hemmings	Bombay
Aug. 22	Portsmouth	Juliana	Fotherington	China and Quebec
Aug. 22	Deal	Nerinae	Northwood	Cape
Aug. 22	Portsmouth	Milford	Horwood	Bombay
Aug. 22	Deal	Morley	Halliday	Bengal
Aug. 23	Plymouth	Moffatt	Brown	China and Quebec
Aug. 24	Gravesend	Cumbrian	Clarkson	Bombay
Aug. 25	Gravesend	Kerswell	Armstrong	Cape

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL IN THIS MONTH.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Sept. 3	Portsmouth	Sir George Osborne	Coulson	Cape of Good Hope
Sept. 4	Portsmouth	Felicitas	Campbell	Madras and Bengal
Sept. 6	Portsmouth	Thomas	Winspear	Cape Verds & St. Helen.
Sept. 6	Portsmouth	Sophia	Barclay	Madras and Bengal
Sept. 7	Portsmouth	Portsea	Shepheard	Bengal
Sept. 10	Portsmouth	Alfred	Lamb	Bombay
Sept. 10	Portsmouth	Harriet	Fulcher	Batavia and Singapore
Sept. 10	Portsmouth	Ganges	Lloyd	Bengal
Sept. 15	Portsmouth	Aurora	Earl	Madras and Bengal
Sept. 20	Portsmouth	Rockingham	Waugh	Bengal
Sept. 20	Portsmouth	Ogle Castle	Lamb	Bombay
Sept. 20	Portsmouth	Alexander	Richardson	Mauritius and Ceylon
Sept. 25	Portsmouth	Rochester	Coppin	Madras
Sept. 30	Portsmouth	Boyne	Lawson	Bengal

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	P. of Depart.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Feb. 9	London ..	33 S. 26 E.	Sir E. Paget ..	Geary ..	Bengal
April 29	London ..	16.25 S. 78.53 E.	Macqueen ..	Walker ..	Beng. & Ch.
May 19	London ..	Off the Cape	Duke of Bedford	Cunnyngham	Mad. & Ben.
June 9	London ..	37.19 N. 13.00 W.	Rose ..	Marquis ..	Mad. & Ben.
June 22	London ..	8.22 N. 22 W.	Lady Amherst ..	Lucas ..	Madras
July 6	London ..	37.30 N. 13 W.	Layton ..	Miller ..	Bengal

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the *Hercules.*—From Bombay: W. Wheadon, Esq. M. D. from Bombay; three Misses Hooper, from Ceylon, and a female servant.

By the *Maria.*—From Batavia: Capt. T. T. Harrington, from Singapore.

By the *Hope.*—From Madras: Mesdames Yates, Harpur, Pugh, Foote, and Patown; Lieut. Col. Ogilvie, H. M. 45th Foot; Dr. Yates, Major Yarde, Capt. M'Donald, 1st Reg. N. I.; Capt. Condell, 16th Regt. N. I.; Lieuts. Patown and Thornbury, 54th Regt.; Lieut. Warlock, H. M. 69th Foot; Lieut. Nugent, 54th Regt.; Lieuts. Sutherland and Campbell, 46th Regt.; nine children, one European servant, one native ditto, and sixty-four invalids. J. A. Moore, Esq. of the Nizam's service; Lieut. M'Kenzie, 13th Light Dragoons, and one native servant, were landed at the Cape.

By the *Lady Campbell* (in addition to our List of Bengal Passengers as per last number): Mrs. A. Mitford; Misses E. Hall, A. Home, and M. Mitford; Capt. J. G. Mitford, Madras Army; Lieut, A. Shiel, H. M. 89th Foot; Lieut. J. Ralph, 30th Regt.; Lieut. W. Armstrong, 41st Regt.; three Masters Mitford, four servants, thirty invalids, three women, and four children, all from Madras; Lieut. Col. and Miss M. Heathcote, G. Vrignon, Esq. Lady and four Masters Vrignon; Lieut. Col. J. Paton, Misses E. Chilcott, and M. Neate; J. H. Swinhoe, Esq. Miss J. Swinhoe, Mrs. S. Bell, and Dr. A. Napier.

By the *Waterloo.*—From Bombay: Mr. Liddell, Assistant Surgeon.

By the *Ocean.*—From New South Wales: Messrs. Currie and Woodhouse; Drs. Douglas, M'Tarnan, Walker, and Davis; Capt. Irvin, of Bengal Army, Lady, and four children; Adj. Mackie, 3d Regt. Buffs, Mrs. Mackie, Mrs. and Miss Young, and Master Blackstone.

By the *Boyne.*—From Bengal: Mrs. Broders; Misses A. Neil, Brown, and Robertson; R. Holdsworth, Esq., Lieut. J. Burney, H. C. S.; Masters Brown and H. Lefevre; and one native servant.

By the *Nepos*—From the Mauritius: Lieuts. Campbell and Bushelwall.

By the *Neptune.*—From Bengal: Mr. and Mrs. Ellerton and three children; Capt. and Mrs. Fitzgerald, and one child; Lieut., Mrs., and Miss Mulkum; Miss Toone; J. Burn, Esq.; Mr. and Mrs. Ray, and two children; Surgeon Mansell and child; Assistant Surgeon Harrison, N. I.; Mr. Lambton and Lieut. Yates, H. M. S. from the Cape; two Misses Breton, Master Breton; two European servants, and five Native ditto.

By the *Charlotte.*—From Bombay: Mr. Farquharson.

By the *Maitland.*—From Bengal and Madras: Miss A. Bernard, Master C. Davis, Lieut. Courtain, H. M. 44th Regt., Lady, and son; Master J. Breen, Mesdames Ballard (left at the Cape), O'Brien, and Dale; Master and Miss Dale; Mr. R. Murray, royal navy; Mr. Curling, Surgeon, H. C. S.; Capt. M'Kenzie, Secretary to the Government at Bencoolen (left at the Cape); Capt. N. Cephala, Agent on behalf of the Greek Patriots; and J. F. Steuart, Esq. from the Cape.

By the *Potton.*—From Bengal: Mr. W. and Mrs. Brodie; Mr. R. Liddiard (left at the Cape); Cornet R. Collins, H. M. 16th Lancers; Master W. S. Harrowell, two Misses Brodie, Mrs. Saltmarsh from St. Helena, and 35 invalids.

By the *Lady Amherst.*—From Bengal: Mr. R. Prince, from St. Helena.

By the *Lady Nugent.*—From Bengal, arrived at the Cape: Lieut. Col. J. Noble, C. B. Horse Brigade; Lieut. Weldon, 2d Batt. Artill.; Major W. Clapham, 4th Regt. Infantry; J. Amersley, Esq. Surgeon; Lieut. J. Home, 1st Batt. Artill.; Mr. J. Gibson, and Mr. Wright.

By the *Mexborough.*—From Bengal, arrived at Madras: Mrs. and Miss Greig, Mr. Suter, and Mr. Underwood.

By the *Udney.*—From Bengal and Madras: Mesdames Goodman and Deadwich; J. W. Kerge, Esq.; Lieut. Sheil, from Bengal; W. Williston, Esq.; Lieut. Gregg, H. M. 30th Regt.; Lieuts. Fasket and Davidson, H. M. 46th Regt.; and Lieut. Henderson, 23d Regt. N. I.

On the 25th of August, a Court of Directors was held at the East India House, when the following ships were taken up and thus stationed; viz.

Atlas, Capt. ——; Herefordshire, Capt. Wm. Hope; Madras and China, to touch at Ceylon.—Vansittart, Capt. H. Dalrymple; Windsor, Capt. Thomas Haviside; Bombay and China early, to touch at the Cape.—Kellie Castle, Capt. E. L. Adams; Inglis, Capt. Samuel Serle; Bombay and China.—Farquharson, Capt. Wm. Cruickshank; St. Helena Bombay, and China.—Gen. Kydd, Capt. Alexander Nairne; Hythe, Capt. J. P. Wilson; Royal George, Capt. C. S. Timins; Waterloo, Capt. Richard Alsager; Bridgewater, Capt. ——; Kent, Capt. Henry Cobb; Bengal and China.—Repulse, Capt. John Paterson; St. Helena, Bencoolen, and China.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 10.—OCTOBER 1824.—Vol. 3.

MR. BENTHAM'S BOOK OF FALLACIES.

There are some men, whose genius and penetration carry them so much beyond the general standard of the age in which they live, that the value of their discoveries is not felt or understood until long after they have ceased to exist. Succeeding generations, however, advancing in knowledge as they proceed, are at length struck with astonishment at the indifference with which the objects of their veneration and esteem appear to have been regarded by the contemporaries among whom they lived. It has been said that no prophet receives honour in his own country: nor, it might have been added, in his own times. Mr. Bentham is a living illustration of the truth of this remark. If ever profound wisdom, and an extensive acquaintance with the science most deeply affecting the happiness of mankind, have been undervalued by the age and country in which they first appeared, it is in the neglect shown by the Legislators of the present day, and by those of England in particular, to the principles developed in the writings of this greatest and best among the benefactors of his species, whose name will be hereafter associated with all that is noble and exalted in the estimation of man. It is true, there are some few who have been proud to pay the homage of their admiration to the labours of this philosopher, before he has descended into the grave. But they are those, who, being removed by distance of *space* from the object of their regard, have felt and acted as if they had been removed by distance of *time* from the generation in which he existed. The more remotely they have been placed beyond the contaminating atmosphere of local prejudice and party-feeling, which blinds the understandings of the multitude, the clearer have their perceptions been, and the more ardent and enthusiastic the testimonies borne by them to the excellence of that which every successive investigation has led them the more strongly to admire. The beautiful simile of Shakespeare is, as a general truth, perhaps, undeniable—

> Glory is like a circle in the water,
> Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,
> Till, by broad spreading, it disperse to nought.

This may be said of almost every kind of reputation, the first step in the spread of fame being the admiration of surrounding observers, on the spot trodden by its possessor; after which it is progressively diffused throughout society, till it becomes expanded over the whole world. The very reverse of all this has, however, been observed in the case of Mr.

Bentham. His transcendent merits first began to be appreciated by the very outermost circles of all, and come last to be felt and understood at home. On the steppes of Russia and Siberia, across the Andes of America, in the valleys of Switzerland, and on the plains of Hindoostan, the name and writings of Mr. Bentham have long been better known, and more highly valued, than in the city of Westminster, in which he writes. The Republican Rulers of La Plata and of Peru, the Legislators of Colombia and the United States, the Representative Assemblies of France, and the Cortes of Portugal and Spain, have all of them in their turn, drawn wisdom from the rich and inexhaustible stores of this profound Jurisconsult: while in England, the country of his birth and residence, his labours, until very recently at least, have scarcely been known beyond the circle of a select few; have been still less valued by the people most deeply interested in the benefits they were calculated to produce; and, in the minds of those, whose pride and power they were purposely intended to diminish, they have been studiously associated with all the odium that their utmost ingenuity could contrive to attach to his name.

But the progress of Truth, though slow, is certain; and the soundness of the principles developed in the Theory of Morals and Legislation, and in the numerous other productions of the same prolific pen, are beginning to be acknowledged even in quarters where the triumph of such principles was not first to be expected. Within the present year, a ministerial member of the House of Commons, in a debate on the Usury Laws, at an early part of the last session of Parliament, was constrained to say, that although he was by no means an admirer of the general doctrines of Mr. Bentham, yet, truth obliged him to admit that his admirable Book on Usury, was, in his estimation, one of the most perfect pieces of logical reasoning that ever emanated from the human mind! This Book was published nearly forty years ago; the truths it contains have never been controverted: yet, even now, it is by a portion only of the author's countrymen that its value is clearly understood: though we believe the period is fast approaching, in which it will be as difficult to find men of inquiring minds who have *not* read and received conviction from this masterly performance, as it is now to find persons who have studied that Work, and are ready to admit the full force of its philosophical demonstrations. The history of this little volume may be taken, perhaps, as a type of the fate which is likely to attend all the subsequent emanations from the same mind.

The Fragment on Government, or a Comment on the Commentaries of Blackstone, was first published in 1776; yet, notwithstanding its conclusive and unanswerable exposure of the imperfection of the Laws and the weakness of the Commentator,—Blackstone and the Constitution continue to be worshipped by the unthinking multitude, with a reverence as senseless as that which the Indians pay to the idol Juggernauth. The mist is beginning, however, at length, to disappear; and we hope yet to see the day when this work on Government will be spoken of, even in the House of Commons, (the last retreat of ignorance on all matters connected with its peculiar duties of legislation,) in the same terms as the Book on Usury was mentioned, by one whose eyes were not sufficiently opened to see the value of any other of the same writer's productions.

The Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, was first published in 1780; yet the principle which it lays down as the basis of

all excellence in either, namely, the principle of Utility, though vaguely understood by some, and praised but not reduced to practice by others, may still be said to be a secret to the great majority of those whose especial duty it is to study and develope that principle in every act of their lives; we mean the men in whose hands power is reposed, and on whose conduct in the exercise of that power, the happiness of all who are subject to its influence mainly depends. We may not live, perhaps, to see this great principle openly adopted, and scrupulously adhered to as the guide of our rulers: but that the time will come, when it will be as difficult to find a Legislator who doubts its excellence, as it now is to find one who prefers the interests of the many to the interests of the few and acts steadily on that great maxim, we as firmly believe, as we believe in the certain progress of physical and scientific truth, or in the certainty that the axioms of mathematics will be universally admitted by all the uncivilized nations into which a knowledge of its leading demonstrations may be introduced.

Considering the aristocratical and temporizing tendency of the Edinburgh Review; its extreme caution as to the admission of rash innovations; its great veneration for the constitution, as by law established; its constant vibration between the interests of the privileged few and the subject many, so happily exposed by its young and vigorous rival of Westminster,—it is a great triumph gained to the cause of that more honest and uncompromising demand for improvement, which Mr. Bentham has always, and the Northern Reviewers have never, heartily and zealously advocated, to find that even they are at length compelled to speak of him in terms of no ordinary praise: in terms so striking as to deserve repetition here, for they cannot be too frequently brought to public view. In a recent article on Criminal Procedure and Publicity of Proceedings, they say:—

Mr. Bentham cannot write any thing which sensible men will not be glad to read; and that mind must be very low, or very high indeed, in the scale of intelligence, which does not derive instruction from his works. For our own parts, we have long thought that our opinions can never be submitted to a more satisfactory test than his examination. So sifting and severe a scrutiny bids fair either to eradicate them for ever, or to establish them in tenfold confidence. No writer in any age has paid more active service to the cause of Truth; and certainly none of her friends have treated her enemies with less ceremony, driving hypocrisy and fraud to their hiding places, and boldly bidding defiance to authority, when resting its claim on any basis but that of reason alone.—Vol. xl. p. 169.

It might have been supposed that the Member of Parliament who considered Mr. Bentham's Book on Usury to be one of the most logical pieces of reasoning that ever emanated from the human mind, would have thought that doctrines springing from the same source, about the same period of time, and on subjects strictly belonging to the great science of which this is itself but one branch, could not have been altogether wrong. And it would seem reasonable to most men, that the Reviewers should also consider the plans of such a writer as they have described Mr. Bentham to be, as not altogether visionary and absurd. Yet both of these parties, so lavish in their commendation, and neither of them fully emancipated from the prejudices of authority in other matters, consider the greatest of all the reforms proposed by this powerful advocate of truth, and shown by him to be both practicable and beneficial, as the dream of a benevolent enthusiast, which not only never

can be realized, but which, if it could, ought not to be, because it would carry too far (in their estimation) that principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, which they would limit in its operation to the privileged few, and shut out from its embrace entirely by far the largest portion of the subject many.

The literati of continental Europe are better acquainted with Mr. Bentham's works, and consequently more deeply penetrated with their singular merit and importance, than writers nearer home; and we are glad of the opportunity thus offered to transcribe a passage or two from a recent number of the Révue Encyclopedique, in confirmation of this fact. In speaking of the Principles of Morals and Legislation, after some remarks on a style that requires the sustained attention of the reader, in order to enable him to seize the full force of that which it is employed to express, the writer says:

Mais, après avoir vaincu cette premiere difficulté, il en sera bien dédommagé par l'étendue et la justesse des vues du savant publiciste Anglais, et par la sagesse avec laquelle il sait creuser dans les profondeurs de la science qu'il professe. On voit combien est vaste le plan de M. Bentham; la seule chose qu'il y aurait à craindre, c'est que son execution ne pût être achevée par un homme plus que septuagénaire. Mais quand on réfléchit que sans doute l'ensemble des ouvrages projetés a été muri pendant un demi-siecle dans la tête d'un auteur aussi savant et aussi laborieux, on peut, avec raison, supposer que tous les materiaux se trouvent, non-seulement recueillis mais disposés et coordonnés, de maniere à n'exiger pour être livrés à l'impression, qu'un dernier coup d'œil et les dernieres corrections de la main du maître. Souhaitons, à M. Bentham, le bonheur de voir, avant sa mort, entre les mains du public, un ouvrage d'une si haute importance, qui couronnera de nouveaux lauriers sa vénérable vieillesse. t. xxii. p. 644.

Again, in reference to the Fragment on Government, a new edition of which, as well as of the Principles of Morals and Legislation, occasioned the reviewer to speak of its merits, he says:—

Comme l'examen detaillé des Commentaires de Blackstone formerait necessairement un ouvrage très volumineux, M. Bentham se borne à commenter une partie de l'Introduction, où Blackstone a placé, comme une espece de hors-d'œuvre, ses réflexions sur le gouvernement en général, et sur la constitution Britannique en particulier. Ce court passage fournit à M. Bentham un vaste champ pour son critique. Il refute, avec sa profondeur accoutumée, les principes de Blackstone, en ce que concerne l'origine et les formes des differens gouvernemens, ainsi que le droit pour le pouvoir supreme de faire des lois, et c'est qu'on appelle son devoir d'en faire. Quant aux réflexions de Blackstone au sujet de la constitution Britannique, M. Bentham en demontre d'une maniere frappante les vices nombreux, et la tendance desastreuse. Il y aurait une foule des remarques judicieuses et profondes à extraire de ce petit ouvrage; mais la place manque, et je dois me borner à en recommander la lecture à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la legislation politique, et qui ne se laisseront pas effrayer par la couleur métaphysique et par la concision étonnante, qui distingue le style de notre auteur.—t. x. p. 646.

We may add to this high and deserved eulogium, the humble testimony of our sincere admiration of the works here spoken of; and our conviction that no writer that ever lived has done more for the cause of Truth, than their profound and distinguished author. The causes that have hitherto prevented his writings from being so popularly known and universally esteemed as they deserve to be, and no doubt ere long will be, in the country that gave them birth, are many and complicated; but among the most powerful of all, may perhaps be considered, 1st. Their being in advance of the average knowledge of the age: 2dly. The mists of prejudice which blind the unthinking portion of mankind,

and prevent their seeing the close connexion of their own interests with the improvement of the institutions under which they live; and 3dly. The powerful array of all those corrupt influences which it is the great object of the benevolent philosopher gradually to weaken, and ultimately to destroy. In proportion, however, to the number and weight of those obstacles to their general study and dissemination, ought the friends of improvement to exert all their efforts to remove them; and for this reason, we conceive that no man can render a greater service to his fellow-creatures than by doing all in his power to enforce the sublime maxim which forms the basis of all Mr. Bentham's writings, and which we have chosen for the motto of our publication. It is with this feeling, and under this impression, that we desire to give our portion of labour to the discharge of this sacred duty; and for which we need no higher stimulus and no greater reward than the pleasure of the task itself.

If the sentiments which we have collected from the English and French reviewers, and to which we have been proud to add our own, were deservedly applicable to such of the writings of Mr. Bentham, as were published before these eulogiums were uttered or expressed; they are due in a still higher degree to the subsequently published and equally admirable Work, of which we shall now proceed more particularly to give some account.

Of the two great causes of the misery that afflicts mankind, it is perhaps difficult to say whether absolute ignorance, or the existence of false and pernicious opinions, is the most powerful in its operation. We are inclined to believe, however, that the latter is the more mischievous of the two. The simplicity of the untutored Indian of America, and the frankness of the untaught Bedouin of Arabia, are, in our estimation, less unfavourable to human enjoyment, even connected as they are with the rudest state of civilization and manners, than the bloody superstitions of the more cultivated Hindoos, or the atrocities which have been perpetrated in the finest countries of Europe, under the influence of a refined state of society, and put forth with all the sanction of religion and superior knowledge. He who labours to instruct the untutored ignorant, no doubt performs a valuable service to his fellow-man: but he who strips the mask from imposture, who exposes the worthless pretensions of sophistry under the garb of wisdom, who roots out false opinions and assists to emancipate mankind from the slavery of prejudice and delusion,—performs a higher service still. Mr. Bentham stands pre-eminent above all his contemporaries in this respect. He has never flattered existing prejudices nor palliated existing errors. His only aim has been the discovery and propagation of truth; whether welcome or unwelcome, has been to him a matter of perfect indifference. He had but one cause to serve—and that he has unshrinkingly defended. He has done for legislation, what Euclid did for mathematics, and Newton for physics. The demonstrations of the former, and the principia of the latter, are not more firm in their foundations than those of Mr. Bentham: and inasmuch as the institutions under which men live, and the laws by which they are governed, are of infinitely greater moment, in their effects on the happiness of the human race, than the most sublime discoveries in the natural and physical world, so are we ready to award to this great master of legislative science the highest honours among the true benefactors of mankind.

The Book of Fallacies, which is the most recent of the author's works that has appeared from the English press, is said, in the title page, to be prepared from the unfinished papers of Mr. Bentham, by a friend. The substance of the treatise had been before published by M. Dumont, the industrious and intelligent translator of most of the author's writings, in French, forming part of a work entitled "Tactique des Assemblées Législatives," or attached to it, under the separate head of "Traité des Sophismes Politiques." There is much, however, in the French edition that has been judiciously omitted in the English, particularly a criticism on the declaration of the Rights of Man, by the French Constituent Assembly: and the space gained by this omission has been filled by much valuable matter that has not been included in the French. The contents have undergone a new arrangement (though it is said by the editor that Mr. Bentham has had no share in this), and on the whole it may be regarded as one of the most valuable gifts that has for some time been presented to the English public.

The division of the work into sections and chapters tends materially to assist the reader in reaping the full benefit of such classification of the several subjects in his mind. The introduction is occupied by an exact definition of the word "Fallacy;" by an historical sketch of the writers by whom fallacies have been principally noted, from Aristotle to Locke; by an examination of the relation of fallacies to vulgar errors; by the division of fallacies under their appropriate heads; and by an account of a work called "Parliamentary Logic," written by a late Member of Parliament, well known by the name of "Single-speech Hamilton."

Part the First, which follows immediately after the Introduction, is devoted to an exposure of the Fallacies of Authority, the subject of which is, authority in various shapes; and the object, to repress all exercise of the reasoning faculty. The happy talent of Mr. Bentham, in framing words and combinations of words, which express what he wishes to convey, not only more briefly, but more forcibly than any periphrasis could effect, has been exercised with great advantage in some of the titles given to the chapters of this division: but, as the most expressive of such compound epithets are often the most obnoxious to ridicule, many of these, as they stood in the original manuscript, have, we learn, been struck out, and others substituted for them by the present editor. As an illustration of the general character of those that remain, we may name, in the first part of the work, the following:—"The Wisdom of our Ancestors, or Chinese Argument"—a phrase that at once conjures up a host of reasons and associations, which inevitably lead the mind to observe in the debased condition of China, the exact and inevitable effects of an adherence to the fallacies of authority generally, and to this, of the wisdom of our ancestors, in particular. We have then the "No-precedent Argument," which immediately suggests the idea that this might with equal truth have been applied to all things that ever existed, since every thing must have once happened for the first time, and then at least, have been without precedent.

In Part the Second, the Fallacies of Danger are examined, the subject matter of which is danger in various shapes: and the object, to repress discussion altogether, by exciting alarm. In this we have chapters under the following heads: "Hobgoblin Argument, or No Innovation!"—which, had it been attended to in the past, as those

who use it are perpetually contending that it ought to be for the future, would have left men savages feeding on acorns to the present day.—"Fallacy of Distrust, or, What's at the bottom?"—"Official Malefactor's Screen, Attack us, you attack Government."—"Accusation-Scarer's Device, Infamy must attach somewhere." All of which are dissected with the steady hand and unerring precision of a perfect master in the anatomy of the human mind.

Part the Third is devoted to an examination of the Fallacies of Delay; the subject matter of which is, delay in various shapes; and the object, to postpone discussion, with a view of eluding it altogether. In this we have chapters under the following titles: "The Quietist, or No Complaint."—"Procrastinator's Argument, Wait a little, this is not the time."—"Snail's-pace Argument, One thing at a time! Not too fast! Slow and sure!"—of which no brief analysis can be offered; for the expositions and exposures under these heads contain not a word that could be advantageously retrenched.

Part the Fourth is rich in its arguments and illustrations; and, like the fourth act of a well-planned drama, lets in a flood of light upon the machinery and underplots of which the denouement approaches. We have here the happiest and most effectual exposures of the Fallacies of Confusion; the object of which is to perplex, when discussion can no longer be avoided; and in this division of the work are the following chapters: "Question-begging Appellatives."—"Impostor-Terms."—"Vague Generalities, including Order, Establishment, Matchless Constitution, Balance of Power, Glorious Revolution."—"Allegorical Idols: Government for Ministers, Law for Lawyers, Church for Churchmen."—"Sweeping Classifications: Kings, for, Crimes of Kings; Catholics, for, Cruelties of Catholics."—"Sham Distinctions: Liberty and Licentiousness of the Press; Reform, temperate and intemperate."—"Anti-rational Fallacies: Abuse of the words Speculative, Theoretical, Utopian."—"Good in theory, bad in practice."—"Too good to be practicable."—"Non-causa pro causâ, or Cause and Obstacle confounded."—"Partiality-preacher's Argument—The End justifies the Means," &c.

The Fifth Part is a masterly summing-up of the preceding evidence, and a judgment on a review of the whole. After examining the characters common to all these fallacies, and pointing out the mischief produced by their being regarded as true, the author assigns the following as the causes of their being uttered by those who employ them in their writings or debates: 1st. Sinister-interest, of the operation of which, the party affected by it is conscious. 2nd. Interest-begotten prejudice. 3rd. Authority-begotten prejudice. 4th. Self-defence against counter-fallacies.

The use of these fallacies to the utterers and acceptors of them is then explained; and after a few able chapters on the peculiar application of this weapon of corruption under the English constitution, and of the state of existing interests, the work is concluded by a brief detail of the uses of the preceding exposure.

We have been thus minute in our analysis of the several chapters and sections of the work, from a conviction that the bare enumeration of the heads will awaken an intense desire in the minds of many, of our Indian readers especially, to see the volume for themselves, and derive all the pleasure as well as information which a careful and connected perusal

of its valuable contents cannot fail to afford them. In England, no greater benefit could be done to the cause of truth than by the universal diffusion of such a work in sections; which might be effected by some one established Journal of great circulation, devoting one of its columns to the republication and diffusion of this work over the whole kingdom. But the Newspaper Press of England generally, and of the Metropolis especially, is pre-occupied with the more important details of prize-fights, drunken quarrels, cases of seduction, rape, and violence (by which alone, it seems, an extensive sale can be maintained, so depraved is the public taste in this respect), with a due portion of support to those very fallacies which it ought to be the first duty of a free press to expose to the scorn of mankind. As we have not the power to remove the evil here, we must be satisfied with endeavouring to do it, in that region to which our labours are principally directed, and where their influence will, perhaps, be most powerfully felt. We shall, therefore, preserve Mr. Bentham's invaluable volume as a text-book, from which we shall, from time to time, find abundant occasions to draw largely for our own instruction, as well as for the information of others; and having thus awakened the attention of our Indian readers to a source worthy of being more carefully examined by themselves, we shall give an extract or two from the commencement and conclusion of the work, leaving the intermediate portions for those successive demands which we shall, from time to time, make on this treasury of wisdom, in an application of its several exposures to the fallacies used on the subject of Indian misrule. Respecting the origin and motive of the work, the writer says:—

As from Aristotle down to Locke, on the subject of the origination of our ideas (deceptious and undeceptious included)—so from Aristotle down to this present day, on the subject of the forms of which such ideas or combination of ideas as are employable in the character of instruments of deception, are susceptible; all is blank. To do something in the way of filling up this blank is the object of the present work.—p. 3.

After so many ages passed in teaching, with equal complacency and indifference, the art of true instruction and the art of deception—the art of producing good effects and the art of producing bad effects—the art of the honest man and the art of the knave—of promoting the purposes of the benefactor and the purposes of the enemy of the human race:—after so many ages, during which, with a view to persuasion, disposition, action, no instructions have been endeavoured to be given but in the same strain of imperturbable impartiality, it seemed not too early, in the nineteeth century, to take up the subject on the ground of morality, and to invite common honesty for the first time to mount the bench and take her seat as judge.—p. 4.

Sophistry is a hydra, of which, if all the necks could be exposed, the force would be destroyed. In this work they have been diligently looked out for, and in the course of it, the principal and most active of them have been brought to view.—p. 9.

The account of the work of Gerard Hamilton, entitled "Parliamentary Logic," of which so little is generally known, and which completes the portion of the Introduction from which the preceding sentences are quoted, is sufficiently interesting to induce us to transcribe a few passages relating to it.

His book is a sort of school in which the means of advocating what is a good cause, and the means of advocating what is a bad cause, are brought to view with equal frankness, and inculcated with equal solicitude for success: in a word, that which Machiavel has been supposed sometimes to aim at, Gerard Hamilton, as often as it occurs to him, does not only aim at, but aim at without disguise.—p. 17.

Sketched out by himself, and printed by his editor and panegyrist, the political character of Gerard Hamilton may be comprized in a few words: he was determined to join with a party; he was as ready to side with one party as with another; and whatever party he sided with, as ready to say any one thing as any other in support of it. Independently of party, and personal profit to be made from party,—right and wrong, good and evil, were in his eyes matters of indifference. But, having consecrated himself to party, viz. the party, whatever it was, from whom the most was to be got,—that party being, of whatever materials composed the party of the *ins*,—that party standing constantly pledged for the protection of abuse in every shape, and in so far as good consists in the extirpation of abuse, for the opposing and keeping out every thing that is good,—hence it was, that to the opposing of whatsoever was good in honest eyes, that his powers, such as they were, were bent and pushed with peculiar energy.—p. 18, 19.

Of the self-written Memoirs of Bubb Dodington, how much was said in their day! of Gerard Hamilton's Parliamentary Logic how little! The reason is not unobvious: Dodington was all anecdote; Hamilton was all theory. What Hamilton endeavoured to teach, with Malone and Johnson for his bag-bearers, Dodington was seen to practice.—p. 23.

Nor is the veil of decorum cast off any where from his practice. In Hamilton's book, for the first time, has profligacy been seen stark naked. In the reign of Charles the Second, Sir Charles Sedley and others were indicted for exposing themselves in a balcony in a state of perfect nudity. In Gerard Hamilton may be seen the Sir Charles Sedley of political morality. Sedley might have stood in his balcony till he was frozen, and nobody the better, nobody much the worse; but Hamilton's self-exposure is most instructive.—p. 24.

The fallacies themselves, described under the several heads before enumerated, are all stated and exposed in Mr. Bentham's book, in the most masterly and convincing manner; but we must reserve our reference to these, for the reasons already stated, and from want of room to develope their application to Indian affairs in the manner in which we hope to be able to do in subsequent articles, on this particular use of the arguments which they contain. We shall give a few extracts, however, from the concluding chapter of the work, explaining the use of the exposure contained in the preceding pages, with which our notice of this admirable performance must close.

Suppose the deception and pernicious tendency of these arguments, and thence the improbity of him who employs them, in such sort held up to view as to find the minds of men sufficiently sensible of it; and suppose that in the public mind in general, virtue, in the form of sincerity, is an object of respect; vice, in the opposite form, an object of aversion or contempt; the practice of this species of improbity will become as rare as is the practice of any other species of improbity, to which the restrictive action of the same moral power is in the habit of applying itself with the same force.—p. 406.

Now the mere utterance of these base arguments is not the only—it is not so much as the principal mischief in this case. It is the reception of them in the character of conclusive or influential arguments that constitutes the principal and only ultimate mischief. To the object of making men ashamed to utter them, must, therefore, be added the ulterior object of making men ashamed to receive them—ashamed as often as they are observed to see or hear them—ashamed to be known to turn to them any other aspect than that of aversion or contempt.

Nor, upon reflection, will the result be found so hopeless as at first sight might be supposed. In the most numerous assembly that ever sat in either house (of Parliament), perhaps not a single individual could be found, by whom, in the company of a chaste and well-bred female, an obscene word was ever uttered. And if the frown of indignation were as sure to be drawn down upon the offender, by an offence against this branch of the law of probity, as by an offence against the law of delicacy, transgressions would not be less effectually banished from both those great public theatres, than transgressions are already from the domestic circle.

If of the fallacies in question the tendency be really pernicious, whoever he be,

who by lawful and unexceptionable means of any kind shall have contributed to this effect, will thereby have rendered to his country and to mankind good service. But whosoever he be, who, to the intellectual power, adds the moderate portion of pecuniary power necessary, in his power it lies completely to render this good service.

In any printed report of the debates of the assembly in question, supposing any such instrument of deception discoverable, in each instance in which any such instrument is discoverable, let him, at the bottom of the page, by the help of the usual marks of reference, give intimation of it.[1]

The want of sufficient time for adequate discussion, when carried on orally in a numerous assembly, has, in no inconsiderable extent, been held out by experience in the character of a real and serious evil. To this evil, the table of fallacies furnishes, to an indefinite extent, a powerful remedy.—p. 408.

The faculty which detection has of divesting deception of her power is attested by the poet—

"Quære *peregrinum*, vicinia rauca reclamant."

The period of time at which, in the instance of the instruments of deception here in question, this change shall be acknowledged to have been completely effected, will form an epoch in the history of civilization.—p 411.

We are firmly of this opinion, and cannot conscientiously content ourselves with a mere idle wish or hope that this period is fast approaching: we will do our utmost to hasten its arrival; and we earnestly exhort all those who desire the improvement of their fellow-men, to assist in this "labour of love." Their reward will be greater than crowns can bestow; and they will participate largely in that happiness which they will thus be instrumental in diffusing among others. What stronger motive could be presented even to an ambitious mind?

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[1] It was before the publication of this passage (for it is not contained in the French work) that we were impressed with the importance of the mode of exposure here suggested; and that in accordance with this impression, we affixed such notes to the fallacies uttered by Mr. Impey, Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Randle Jackson, and Mr. Astell, in the debates at the India House, reported in our two preceding Numbers. It is a subject of pleasing congratulation to find such an idea simultaneously entertained by so superior a mind: and still more it is a subject of just and honest triumph to find that this practice has already been attended with the most beneficial effects, the notes in question having, to our knowledge, carried conviction to the minds of those who have even confessed that but for the exposure affixed to the fallacies, at the foot of the same page, they might have fallen into the very snare which these had so artfully prepared.

FRIENDSHIP.—A SONNET. TO MR. W. D——E.

'Tis sweet, dear D——, to wander round the hill
Of bright Parnassus, with a friend like thee,
Whose soul is ever charmed, and ever free
From coarse, rank interest, and the thought of ill.
I loved thy opening mind, and love thee still,
Now that thy heart a firmer fibre shows;
And hope, when Time shall blanch our heads with snow,
And shake our footsteps,—as his Highness will,
If one still higher prevent not—we shall be
Friends still; and, looking back on pleasant days,
Something to cheer our wearing spirits see
In youth's long path, not destitute of praise:
Hoping, perchance, the animating bust,
When gathered to our fathers—in the dust!

BION.

ESSAYS ON THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

No. 8.—*Government of the Caliphs.*

GOVERNMENTS which differ very little from others in their general principles, may yet be distinguished by differences so striking and numerous, as to constitute them a separate species. It is not, in truth, the general principles which form the essence of a government, but the peculiar circumstances and accidents with which those principles are sought to be blended. Circumstances and custom have hitherto overruled, in all human institutions, the spirit of theory and improvement; and it is because men have not yet released themselves from this blind control, that all projects of legislators for the benefit of man's race have constantly suffered shipwreck. Man is still a slave to custom. There is nothing more difficult to him than to cease to act in his usual manner: and hence tyrants, who know how to hold the reins of despotism, are in little danger from his passions or resentments. To free mankind, is to break the force of custom, which is most justly denominated a second nature. They should be taught to look at things in the abstract; to compare the naked forms of tyranny and freedom, which are essentially different in themselves, and *afterwards* be led to apply the notions thus acquired to existing institutions. The generality of mankind do not seem sensible of the advantage to be gained by this process, and reverse, in study, the whole chain of so salutary a method. They attempt to gain an insight into the original principles of government *through* the mists of actual establishments which, being most commonly the offspring rather of chance than wisdom and deliberation, afford them no intelligible standard, and only perplex and confound their views. There is very little knowledge to be gained, it is true, from treading in the steps of ignorance and weakness; but it is useful to know something of all the plans that have been devised for the government of mankind, that the mind may see upon what weak hinges the vast weight of society has hitherto turned.

The government of the Caliphs was a singular species of despotism, founded entirely on the weakness and error of the people. It is one additional proof of the facility with which impostors subdue the mind to their purposes; and how much easier it is to sow error than knowledge. Opinion is a kind of combining principle, and is strongest when divided among thousands: the belief of many is always thought to be of more value than the knowledge of one. This accounts for the success of such impostors as Mohammed, who have nothing further in view than the propagation of such opinions as are favourable to their own interests. The empire of the Caliphs, therefore, was founded on the Koran; but the reader would seek in vain in that work for any system of laws, or principles of government, which would induce him to expect the results that arose from the belief of its inspiration. That belief, in fact, was every thing. It prepared the people for submission; it took violent hold of their hopes and fears; it led them to expect perpetual illuminations from on high; and it tended to centre their veneration, their hope of suc-

cess, and claim to mercy and forgiveness in the next world, in the Caliph, or Successor of the Prophet, who expounded to them the decrees of heaven.[1]

When Mohammed died, he did not think proper to appoint a successor,[2] and in consequence the Caliphate became an elective monarchy. The right of election was supposed to reside in the inhabitants of the two sacred cities, Medina and Mecca; and on the very day of their prophet's decease, they assembled to choose a successor.[3] Each city, however, was desirous of usurping to itself the right of choice, and this gave rise to a scene of tumult and confusion, which might have endangered the rising empire, had it been suffered to proceed to blows, which at one moment was strongly feared. None of the great men, whom Mohammed had left behind him, to be the rulers and guardians of his religious empire, considered themselves as authorized to interfere, until an inhabitant of Medina having started up, and proposed that each party should elect its own Caliph, they perceived that the state itself was in danger; upon which Abubeker proposed two persons, Omar and Abu Obeidah, one of whom should be elected. This only gave rise to two new parties, and the contention was renewed. At length Omar, perceiving no end of the strife, requested Abubeker to give him his hand, and immediately swore fealty to him: the rest of the people followed his example; and thus the father-in-law of Mohammed[4] became his successor.[5]

The power possessed by these early Caliphs, although they were declared "absolute judges of all causes both sacred and civil,[6]" was very far, nevertheless, from being either arbitrary or absolute. They were obliged to take an oath to administer justice according to the Koran; and when Ali refused, upon the death of Omar, to swear to be guided in his decisions by two elders, as well as by the Koran, the government was conferred upon another, who submitted to the proposed conditions.[7] And when the same Caliph (Othman) afterwards departed from the disinterested manners and policy of his predecessors, and evinced a disposition to heap upon his own relations all places of trust and honour, his fierce subjects revolted, would listen to none of those concessions he would willingly in his adversity have made, and were only appeased by his death.[8] The Arabian character was not to be speedily subdued, even

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1 The Caliphs preached to the people every Friday, and always considered this to be an indispensable part of their function. D'Herb. Bibl. Orient. t. ii.—Ockley, Hist. of the Saracens, *passim*.

2 Ockley, Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 1.

3 Idem. ibid.—Mills, Hist. of Mohamm.

4 Abubeker was the father of Ayesha, the prophet's most beloved wife, next to Kadijah. See Ockley, Hist. of the Saracens, and D'Herbelot, art. *Abubecre*, and *Aïshah*.

5 Mills, Hist. of Mohamm. p. 44, makes a strange mistake respecting Omar's conduct on this occasion. "But since," says he, "this anticipation of the wishes of the electors might be drawn into a dangerous precedent, Omar proclaimed from the pulpit, *that on any recurrence of the circumstance*," (a most incorrect and awkward phrase) "he would plunge his sword into the heart both of the electors and the elected." But Ockley says that Omar repented of the choice he had made, and observed that "any one who might on any future occasion act as rashly as he had, "and swear fealty to another, without the consent of the rest of the Musulmans, both he that took the government upon him, and he that swore to him, ought to be put to death." History of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 6.

6 Ockley, vol. i. p. 6.

7 Idem, vol. i. p. 323.

8 Idem, vol. i. p. 389.

by theocracy itself; and it is remarkable with what caution the first Caliphs managed their turbulent and independent disposition. The advice, which Abubeker thought it necessary to give to his general on his marching to the conquest of Syria, characterizes the sort of dominion exercised by the earlier successors of the prophet. "Yezid," said the venerable old prince, "be sure you do not oppress your own people, nor make them uneasy *but advise with them in all your affairs,* and take care to do that which is right and just, for those who do otherwise shall not prosper.[9]" The whole tenor of the Saracenical history demonstrates how necessary it was for the Caliphs to consult the disposition of their people, more especially while the seat of empire continued to be in Arabia; and during the continuance of their power, very few of them dared to dispense with the ordinances of the prophet.[10] But their authority, it must be confessed, was greatly increased when the government was changed from an elective to an hereditary monarchy. This change took place on the accession of the Ommiade princes; but not without opposition, for it required all the policy and prudence of Moawiyah to reconcile the people to it.[11] Mohammed himself, though he assumed and united the regal and sacerdotal dignities,[12] does not appear ever to have contemplated an hereditary monarchy, and it is clear that the Arabs were averse to such a power; for they constantly insisted upon the right of election; and were ever ready to shed their blood in defence of their liberty. Moawiyah was in all respects a usurper: he maintained himself by force in the government of Syria, in defiance of the wishes of his lawful sovereign, and afterwards seized the supreme authority by means of the army, in opposition to the will of the people.[13]

The right to tax the people was established by Mohammed, who collected his revenues under the name of tithes or alms;[14] but upon his death the Arabs refused to pay this tax, until the Caliph compelled them by force. Of the spoil taken in war, a fifth part only was claimed for the royal treasury; the remainder was distributed among the soldiers.[15] In Amrou's administration of the affairs of Egypt, when it became a province of the Saracen empire, we may discover the general spirit of their foreign dominion. Instead of the oppressive mode of capitation, he deducted a proportion of taxes from the clear profits of agriculture and commerce. A third part of this tribute was appropriated to the annual repairs of the dykes and canals, so essential to the public welfare. Under his administration the fertility of Egypt supplied the dearth of Arabia; and a string of camels, laden with corn and provisions, covered almost without an interval, the long road from Memphis to Medina.[16]

Were we to judge of the nature of the government of the Caliphs by the extent or rapidity of their conquests, it would seem that nothing on earth could be more solid than their power; but it is certain that, while their armies were overrunning the finest and most powerful kingdoms of the earth, they themselves were frequently defied and insulted in their

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9 History of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 22. 10 Idem, passim.
11 Ockley, vol. ii. p. 126, et seq.
12 Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. ix. 292.
13 D'Herb. art. *Moaviah,* and Ockley, in the history of his reign.
14 Ockley, vol. i. p. 10.
15 D'Herbelot; Ockley; Koran, Chapter of Spoils.
16 Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 443, 444.

own capital. They mingled freely with their subjects; consulted, argued, contended with them, and submitted to very harsh counsel. All this, however, was in the infancy of their power, while the ideas of sovereignty and absolute sway, which had been planted by their prophet, were striking root in the bosom of society, and acquiring that vigour and ascendency which afterwards clothed the Caliphs with unlimited authority. These princes preached and prayed in the mosque, and administered justice in person to their subjects; but they decided without appeal, and were the absolute interpreters of the word of their prophet. Their power was the offspring of the Arabian character, roused and carried away by religious enthusiasm; yet it would never have grown to its maturity, had it not been transplanted early out of its native soil. There were sects and tribes in Arabia, who never acknowledged the prophet, and many more who perpetually rebelled against his successors; and admonished them, by their conduct, that it was necessary to remove the seat of sovereignty. When this took place, Arabia relapsed into a kind of independency; the armies of the Caliphs made inroads into it as into a hostile territory; their caravans were attacked by the Karmathians, while performing the pilgrimage to Mecca; and long before the extinction of the house of Abbas, Arabia was only a nominal portion of the Caliphate. The people of Medina, assisted on one occasion by an eclipse of the sun, successfully resisted the attempts of three Caliphs (Moawiyah, Abdòlmêlik, and Al Wáled) to remove from their city the pulpit of the prophet.[17]

When Moawiyah ordered a new Governor of Medina to pull down the house of the person who had previously exercised that command, and was about to execute his commission, the latter said he hoped the Governor would not obey the Caliph in that. "I must obey," said Merwan, "and you yourself would have pulled down my house, when you were Governor, had you been ordered by Moawiyah to do so." Upon this the other showed him an order to that effect, which he had received while Governor, and observed that through friendship he had ventured to disobey it. The Caliph's order was thrown aside; the men became united in friendship; and Moawiyah, becoming ashamed of his conduct, was induced to entreat their pardon.[18] In the difficulty of enforcing obedience from the Governors of distant and powerful provinces, consisted the chief imperfection of the government of the Caliphs.[19] As the Empire declined, this difficulty became absolute inability, and their Lieutenants assumed the title and maintained the rights of independent Sovereigns.[20] These princes pretended to hold their power of the Caliphs, but were in no way subject to them; and the latter losing by degrees all temporal power, the Sultans of Egypt retained them at Cairo in the quality of *Imam* merely.[21] Even during the earlier ages of the Caliphate, it was deemed of great importance to obtain the allegiance of the Lieutenants of Egypt, Syria, and Persia; and it was sometimes deemed expedient to bribe great men with promises of office and dignity, in order to obtain their suffrages. Thus Moawiyah induced Amrou to swear allegiance to him, acknowledging him Caliph,

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17 Ockley, Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. 109—111.
18 Idem, vol. ii. p. 119.
19 Idem, passim.
20 D'Herbelot, art. *Khalifat.*
21 Idem.

and Prince of the Musulmans, by promising him the Lieutenancy of Egypt.[22]

In cases of rebellion and treason, the Caliphs were not at first revengeful or severe. Othman satisfied himself with commanding a traitor never to come again into his presence; and Ali was equally mild to the followers of Moawiyah in Syria. The case was very different, it must be owned, with the Abbasside Caliphs, who fixed their residence at Bagdad; and although they could not, strictly speaking, be called an Arabian power, yet, as they emanated from Arabia, and always looked upon it as their political birthplace, it will be proper to describe, in a brief manner, the complexion and frame of their government. It was essentially different from the first or Arabian Caliphate. The Caliphs of Bagdad were real despots; they made the Koran and the wishes of the people give way before their will, which was frequently disgraced by the most extravagant excesses of tyranny.[23]

Even these, however, had stated functions which they thought proper to perform; one of the principal of which, in quality of Imam and Sovereign Chief of the Musulman religion, was to begin or proclaim public prayer, each Friday, in the principal mosque, and to preach the *Khotbah*, sermon, or homily. Radhi, the twentieth Caliph of the house of Abbas, was the first who appointed public regular preachers, who exercised this duty as the Caliph's proxies. But they never omitted to repeat the prayers themselves, unless confined by ill health; and Al Mamon conceived great offence against a man who, without his express order, had dared to pray in his stead. Another part of the Caliph's duty was to conduct the pilgrims to Mecca, and to march at the head of their armies. For this reason no Prince was chosen Caliph, even after the dignity became hereditary, before he had reached an age in which he might perform these duties of his station; though it was seldom that the sovereign did in reality command his own armies, as this was generally given up to the *Emir-al-Omara*, Prime Minister, who was at the head of the administration civil and military. Before this office was created, the Vizier was the chief personage in the empire next the Sovereign. He filled the office which Omar himself had filled under Abubeker, and directed the councils of his master in war and in peace. For judiciary matters, the Abasside Caliphs had a Divan, (Council Chamber, or Hall of Justice,) which was called Divan al Mothalem, where the causes of all oppressed persons, who applied for justice were judged. The Caliphs were accustomed to preside in person in this Divan, and the historians remark, as a singular abuse, that in the reign of Moctader a woman was President of this Council.[24]

The Eastern people have always shown a strong attachment to coarse and visible demonstrations of power; they are as anxious and solicitous for the signs as for the thing itself; and know nothing of that surer tyranny which corrupts the heart in order to enlist its evil passions in its service, that the despot may rule through the vice of the slave. The effect takes place every where; but the Orientals are generally ignorant

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22 Abulpharagius says they did not swear to him by the title of *Caliph*, but only of *Emir*.

23 See D'Herbelot on the various articles of the Abbasside Caliphs.

24 D'Herbelot, t. i. p. 608.

of it as a maxim of policy. Their passion is for pomp, and the outside of royalty.[25] From one of the windows of the magnificent palace of the Abbasside Princes of Bagdad, there depended a piece of black velvet twenty cubits long, which came down within a man's length of the ground; it was called the *Caliph's Sleeve;* and all the great lords of the court did not fail daily to kiss this sleeve, and to touch the threshold of the palace gate with their foreheads. It was in this manner that they paid their respects, and made their court, to the Sovereign. These customs and manners kept up in the hearts of the Caliphs an excessive pride, evidences of which they suffered to escape them even after they had ceased to have any authority.[26] Nor was this to be wondered at; for, as the best politician of antiquity[27] observes, "in despotic power there is a charm that can poison the best understanding." They indulged likewise in extraordinary magnificence and luxury; and Abulpharagius relates that the Caliph Motâzen had seven hundred women in his harem, and three hundred eunuchs who kept watch over them. In the midst of all this luxury, they were not neglectful of the arts and sciences. Commerce was pursued with vast avidity, and the subjects of the Caliphs were seen passing to and fro, from the Pillars of Hercules to the extremities of China.[28]

The best picture of the state of society under the government of these Caliphs is to be seen in the Arabian Nights; nothing can possibly be added to it by the most extensive Oriental learning,[29] as is evident from D'Herbelot, and several others; but it would not be deemed of any authority in an inquiry into the principles of government. Supported by history, however, it may be considered a good guide. We see in that work, that under the Abbasside Caliphs, education was so extensively diffused amongst the people of Bagdad, that even porters and camel-drivers acquired a tincture of the sciences;[30] we learn that the manners of all orders were refined to a very high degree; and that in the extraordinary excitement which had been produced by marvellous events in the minds of men, there was nothing too incredible to be believed. This is exactly what we find in history. But the whole course of these events belied the prophecies of the founder of their religion. He had declared that education was the road to infidelity;[31] but, although this may in some sense be true, it was not to be apprehended from the kind of education which commonly prevailed under his successors. The sciences of astronomy, geometry, &c. studied in company with astrology and alchymy, were not calculated to shake the foundation of Islamism; it was only in very particular cases, as with Averroes,[32] when the student grappled with the subtleties of logic and metaphysics, that the religion of the prophet was endangered by learning. The dry sciences, that lead the *nisus* of the mind into a track lying remote from the realities of life,

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25 This was not the case with the first Caliphs, as it is well observed by Gibbon; but their simplicity and frugality arose from their national character.

26 D'Herbelot, t. ii. p. 421.

27 Tacitus, Annales, l. vi.

28 Vincent's Periplus; Robertson's Disq. on Ancient India; and Crawfurd's Hist. of the Indian Archipelago, vol. iii. p. 203.

29 See the Court of Haroun al Raschid, drawn to the life in the story of the Sleeper Awakened; and in that of the Three Calendars.

30 Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. x. p. 43.

31 Koran, chap. xxx.

32 See his article in Bayle's Dict. Hist. et Critique.

are not naturally unfavourable to superstitious deception; it requires a practical knowledge of its destructive influence on morals and the domestic affections, to enable the mind to discriminate between the evils necessarily arising from the condition of humanity, and those induced by error and prejudice; and this knowledge it is not likely that mere men of science should possess. The ancient Egyptians were scientific and slavish; they could construct pyramids, but they were ignorant of the art of building up a free state. In this the subjects of the Caliphs resembled them; and it is remarked by Gibbon, that when they turned their attention to the learning of ancient Greece, they did not, among the numerous versions which they made of books from that language, translate one Poet, Orator, or Historian. These being, in fact, the peculiar growth of freedom, would not have been thought to possess many charms by the subjects of a religious despotism.

But the learning of the Arabs was great for the age in which they flourished; their language, which had acquired a permanent form before the time of Mohammed, was brought to perfection under the Caliphs, and has not altered yet; while not one of those jargons (to borrow the words of a philosophical writer) which were at that time spoken in Europe, has left behind the slightest trace of its existence.[33] The dominion of the Caliphs lasted six hundred and fifty years; and if ever power threatened to become universal, it was that of those princes, whose words were as so many oracles, and whose soldiers were at once learned and fanatical.[34]

TO ——

With a Vase of Rose-dew, collected in Egypt, and sent from India by Sea.

When late my wandering steps were borne
  Along the banks of Nile's green vale,
Oft as I drank the breath of morn
  That floated on its humid gale,
The wild rose, rich in vernal bloom,
  Bending beneath its purest dew,
Breathed fresher sweetness of perfume
  Than art's distilling power e'er knew.

Amid its rich unpencilled hues
  Were seen—but oh! with fainter glow—
The blushes love could once transfuse
  O'er thy chaste bosom's swelling snow;
While studded thus with lovelier pearl
  Than Selim's favourite Georgian wears,
Like thee it shone, dear absent girl,
  In brighter beauty through its tears

When trembling on thy lids of light
  As twin-born stars I've seen them rise,
Blending, like these fair orbs o'er night,
  Brilliance and softness in thine eyes;

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33 Voltaire, Hist. Generale, t. i. p. 408. 34 Idem, ibidem.

How have I wished that chymic art
 Could give their drops a crystalled form,
That I might wear them near my heart,
 For ever bright, for ever warm.

But since the prayer was breathed in vain,
 As starting from their feeling source,
Proud Science' self could forge no chain
 To bind them in their trickling course;
Gathering from Arsinoe's fair flower
 The gems its bud at morning wears,
I fondly stored the heaven-wept shower
 As emblems of thy purer tears.

Long near my heart this vase I've worn,
 Accustomed ever to receive
My earliest kiss at smiling morn,
 My latest sigh at blushing eve:
And every dewdrop there that fell,
 Formed, as it swelled the odorous store,
A stronger charm, a sweeter spell,
 To bind it to that heart still more.

Nor wonder that, when every gleam
 Which brightened life and love had flown,
A vase like this could feed the dream,
 That cheered my path while wandering lone;
For it had been my silent guide
 O'er deserts wild, o'er mountains hoar,
O'er rocks that rise in savage pride,
 And bounding streams, and cataracts' roar.

Yes! e'en amid the ruined piles
 That hallow old Ægyptus' flood,
Beneath whose giant-pillar'd aisles
 Transfixed with silent awe I've stood,
Lost in the dreams of ancient lore,
 And 'wildered in its mystic maze,
This simple vase possessed the power
 A dearer, stronger charm to raise.

Go! then, companion of my way,
 Round stormy Hope's high Southern Horn,[1]
Go! to exhale thy sweets away,
 Upon a fairer bosom borne;
And if that bosom's rising swell
 Shall greet thy first warm pressure there,
Dear and complete will be the spell
 That hung on love's remembered tear!

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[1] One of the ancient names of the southern promontory of Africa, now the Cape of Good Hope.

LABOURS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PARIS.

The value and importance of a medium, through which the scattered rays of individual information may be collected into one common focus, have been so clearly demonstrated, and so justly appreciated, that it would be a waste of time to attempt the proof of a position so universally understood. To the recognition of this principle we are indebted for the formation of all those societies in the East, whose object it is to investigate the past and present state of the Oriental world, and to transmit the fruits of their researches to the nations of the West. But these researches are now no longer confined to the East: the spirit of Oriental inquiry has extended itself into Europe, and the foundation of two new Societies, the one in Paris and the other in London, affords a striking proof of the progress which it is making in this quarter of the globe. Of the labours of the latter we have not yet occasion to speak; not that its members have been inactive or negligent, on the contrary they have already done much for the promotion of Oriental knowledge; but because the very recent date of their establishment has not yet allowed of their sending forth a volume of their Transactions. The Asiatic Society of Paris is, however, of somewhat older date, and the form in which many of its most important papers are made public, enables us to lay before our readers a more complete view of its labours.

This Society was established in the spring of 1822, and already counts among its members nearly all the principal Orientalists of the Continent of Europe, together with many distinguished names among our own countrymen. In the month of July, in the same year, there appeared, under their auspices, and edited by a Committee chosen from among themselves, the first number of the Journal Asiatique, which has since continued to be published regularly every month. This Journal contains Original Communications on subjects connected with Eastern literature, from many of the best Oriental scholars on the Continent, together with Critiques on the more important works in that department, the Proceedings of the Society from which it emanates, and Miscellaneous Notices from various sources; and is well calculated to spread over Europe a taste for such studies, and to attract, in a powerful degree, the attention of the learned world. As, however, it probably will not fall into the hands of many of our readers who yet may feel a considerable degree of interest on the subject, we have thought that a concise analysis of its original articles could not fail to be acceptable to those who might otherwise remain ignorant of its contents.

In prosecuting this analysis, we have deemed it advisable to leave entirely out of view the order in which the numerous papers that compose these volumes succeed each other; inasmuch as the total want of connexion between those which immediately follow each other, and the multiplicity of the subjects discussed, could scarcely fail to be exceedingly embarrassing to the reader, by distracting his attention at every moment from one subject to another. We have therefore classed them, in the first instance, according to the countries to which they refer; secondly, according to the branch of literature or science which they profess to illustrate; and thirdly, by the names of their respective authors. By

means of this classification, we hope to be able to show, in a more connected and intelligible manner, how far the learned writers have succeeded in throwing a light upon the obscurity which still involves the nations of the East; and, at the same time, to point out to what extent we are indebted to the labours of each of them in particular. Having said thus much in explanation of the plan which we propose to adopt, and of our motives for preferring it, we proceed, without further preface, to our task of analysing, as briefly as possible, the contents of the volumes before us.

We commence with the Chinese Empire, as being the most distant, and perhaps also the most interesting country in the series. The remote antiquity of its authentic records; the singular state of half-civilization, in which it appears to have remained for ages almost stationary; the obscurity which, thanks to the cautious jealousy of its policy, still envelopes almost every subject connected with its internal organization, its literature, its arts, and its natural productions, giving to all that regards it the character and the charm of novelty; and the obstacles opposed to the acquisition of its language, which have hitherto been considered of the most appalling nature; all these and many other circumstances have combined to excite the highest degree of interest with respect to every thing that concerns so apparently mysterious a subject, and we accordingly find in these volumes a very considerable number of articles devoted to its illustration.

To the first division of these, which we arrange under the head of Philology, the only contributors are M. Abel-Rémusat, and M. Klaproth; the former Professor of Chinese in the Royal School of Oriental Languages, and who, in that capacity, and by the publication of his Grammar, and various other works, has perhaps done more than any other individual, with the exception of our learned countryman, Dr. Morrison, to facilitate and promote, among Europeans, the study of Chinese; the latter well known for his numerous publications on Eastern subjects, and for the almost universality of his Philological and Ethnographical Researches. The papers on this interesting subject, which has lately assumed a very different aspect from that which it presented not many years ago, are five in number, of which, three are from the pen of M. Rémusat. The first of these is a Note on the State and Progress of Chinese Literature in Europe, in which M. R. gives an account of the important advances which it has made during the last ten years. He first points out the low condition in which it existed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which he attributes, in a great degree, to the prevalence of the notion that the study of the Chinese characters alone was so exceedingly difficult, that the whole labour of a learned life was barely sufficient to attain a thorough knowledge of their various forms; a notion which, in spite of numerous examples to the contrary, we regret to see, still obtains among the most profound scholars of this country, as we find it reproduced by Dr. Young, in his admirable work on Hieroglyphic literature. This notion, inculcated probably in the first instance by the jealousy and vanity of those who really possessed some knowlege of the language, and eagerly received and industriously propagated by the ignorant, the indolent, and those who were too much occupied with other pursuits to inquire into its validity, has so long possessed the stamp of authority, that it is difficult altogether to divest one's

self of its influence. It must, however, speedily give way before the evidence of facts contained in the daily increasing number of those whose zeal and perseverance have combated and overcome these pretended difficulties, we will not say with the greatest, but certainly with the most unexpected facility. Not to mention Sir George Staunton, Dr. Morrison, Messrs. Milne, Marshman, Thomson, and many others, it will be sufficient to instance two of M. Rémusat's pupils, to whose labours we shall have further occasion to refer in the course of this article—M. Stanislas Julien, and M. Fulgence Fresnel; the former of whom, in the space of little more than a year, made such an astonishing progress in the Chinese language, as to translate the whole of the works of Meng-tseu, one of the oldest and most celebrated Chinese Philosophers; while the latter, after less than two years' study, found himself capable of reading and translating works of so difficult a character as romances. One of the concurrent circumstances to which M. R. refers the change which has thus been effected in the study of Chinese, is the establishment of the Professorship, (which he so ably fills;) and, while he speaks with becoming modesty of his own exertions, he forcibly points out the advantages which must necessarily have resulted, both to the student and the teacher, from the union of a number of individuals, zealous in the pursuit of one particular study. He bears also a very honourable testimony to the merits of Dr. Morrison's excellent Dictionary, although at the same time he laments, that the difficulty of procuring on the Continent that and numerous other works printed in India, is likely considerably to restrict their utility. "The English," he observes, "have of late years done more than we; for their works on the Chinese language are now on a level with our own, and we shall have much to do to maintain the reputation of superiority acquired by our Missionaries, and recognised even by Sir W. Jones." He is not, however, inclined to allow the English too much credit for what they have performed in this way; for this candid acknowledgment extends only to the collection of materials and the publication of texts, for the former of which he conceives that the position of our learned men offers the best opportunities, while the pecuniary means placed at their disposal afford a facility to the latter, which the literati of the Continent do not possess. Leaving, then, to the English the task of collecting and publishing materials, he claims for his countrymen that of criticizing, comparing and discussing whatever they may furnish, together with the rich stores of the Royal Library; and, in this respect, he asserts the decided superiority which they have acquired by means of the labours of Gaubil, Visdelou, Mailla, Deguignes, and Klaproth; and concludes the comparison, somewhat whimsically, as we think, by vaunting the superior liberality of the French, who, he says, "are more disposed to despise a futile rivalry, to do justice to the efforts of their competitors, and consequently to profit by them." After enumerating a variety of subjects which he considers particularly to require illustration, and which he recommends to the attention of those who study Chinese literature, he proceeds to sum up the important additions which it has received within the last few years. The comparative facility with which the language may now be acquired; the reduction to their true value of the false ideas which had gained ground with respect to the mechanism of the characters, chiefly effected by means of three Grammars, the same number of Dictionaries, and M. Klaproth's Supplement

to Father Basil's Vocabulary; the substitution of practical rules for vague and erroneous suppositions; the investigation of the ancient characters; the history of their invention, and of the modifications they have undergone, from the direct representation of natural objects, to the means devised by the Japanese and Coreans for expressing syllables and forming an alphabet; the refutation of the assertion that the Chinese were utterly ignorant of geography, by the production of books and maps in their language, calculated to illustrate some of the most obscure points in Asiatic geography, especially during the middle ages; the correction of the belief that they had always neglected the study of languages, by the discovery of Sanscrit and even Polyglott Dictionaries, of Translations from Indian and Thibetan works, and of the existence, at Pekin, of a college for the study of Western languages, instituted six centuries ago; the assistance which has been derived from their books in tracing the origin and descent of the various tribes of Upper Asia; the details of the trade in silk anciently carried on between them and the Western nations: the discovery of the list of the successors of Buddha; the investigation of the singular doctrines of some of their philosophers, which has led to the most unexpected conclusions; and the translations of the various works on Legislation, Philosophy and Literature, which have appeared in France and England during the last ten years; these and many other advantages gained in so short a space of time, have not only thrown a new light upon the manners, habits, and institutions of the Chinese, but have also served to connect them so closely with the history of other nations, as to render the study of their books indispensably necessary, in order to obtain a complete idea of the former state of the Continent of Asia, and of the revolutions which it has undergone.

Among the causes which have operated most powerfully to facilitate the progress of Chinese literature, must be reckoned the successful attempts to analyse the characters, the multiplicity of which has formed the great stumbling-block in the way of its more general cultivation. On this subject M. Rémusat has presented to the academy a very valuable memoir, an extract from which he has given in a subsequent Number of the Journal. The ground, it is true, was not entirely new; it had been in some measure pre-occupied by Barrow and others, to whose labours we observe with surprise that M. R. has not once thought fit to refer in the course of his extract; but we must suppose that he has given them due credit in the memoir itself, which is yet unpublished, and which, to judge from the specimen here given, certainly treats the subject in a more scientific and systematic manner than had before been attempted. It contains an analysis and classification of all the primitive characters, in number about two hundred, consisting of representations of the most familar objects, and forming the basis on which the present system of Chinese writing is founded, and from the various combinations of which its almost innumerable characters are derived, in a manner perfectly analogous to that in which the innumerable modifications of language, necessary to adopt it to the wants of a civilized state of society, have been gradually formed from a few primitive roots. From the knowledge of these primitive characters, M. R. deduces a singular but apparently just result; he considers that these signs must have been capable of expressing every object, the communication of which was considered important by their inventors, and consequently that the whole of them taken

together must contain a faithful picture of the ideas which they entertained, and of the knowledge which they possessed. That this is actually the case is, he asserts, abundantly proved by the traditions of the Chinese themselves; for proof of which he refers to the memoir itself. Descending into particulars, he divides these ancient characters into several series. From the heavens, their phenomena, &c. only seven of them are derived; and among these there are no traces of religious belief, unless we consider as such the representation of a victim offered up as a sacrifice, and the head of a demon or evil genius. The earth furnishes more numerous materials; 17 characters have reference to the configuration of its surface, and 11 to structures raised on it by the art of man, all of which are of the most simple construction. 23 characters belong to man, and his social and kindred relations; but among these we look in vain for symbols to represent king, man of letters, general, or soldier. Of the 27 signs which represent various parts of the body, 2 only, the heart and the vertebræ, relate to internal parts. Their dress is represented by 6 characters, all of the most simple and even savage form; jewels, musical instruments, coins, glass, china, not one of these comparatively modern inventions, nor even gold itself, has any symbol in this barbarous vocabulary. The whole of their furniture, utensils, and arms, is comprised in 35 characters, 9 or 10 of which represent instruments of destruction, while only 3 have reference to agriculture. Their list of animals is very limited; 5 domestic and 7 wild quadrupeds, 11 birds, most of which are very imperfectly delineated, 2 fishes, and 7 animals of the lower classes, complete their zoological knowledge. One very remarkable fact deserves particular notice, namely, that none of those fantastic animals, the dragon, the phœnix, the unicorn, in which the fables of the Chinese abound, are here represented. "If," observes M. R. "the species of writing, which we are investigating, is anterior to the origin of fable, what better proof can we require of its remote antiquity?" The vegetable kingdom is represented by 26 characters, among which the rice and millet hold the first rank; wheat and barley are not noted; the mulberry, the paper-mulberry, the tea-tree, &c. which have for ages held so important a station in the domestic and rural economy of the Chinese, are all equally wanting. It is clear from this summary of the principal traits in this interesting picture of the condition of the ancient Chinese, furnished by themselves, that at the time of the invention of these characters, they could pretend to no higher a degree of civilization than the present inhabitants of New Zealand or the Friendly Islands. One circumstance alone raises them above the level of these savages; it is the happy idea of communicating their ideas in writing, a most important step in the progress of human intelligence, and which many nations, much more advanced in the arts which render life comfortable, have not attained. M. R. next proceeds to point out the manner in which this small number of simple characters was subsequently modified to suit the purposes of a more advanced state of society. In order to represent natural objects, and many others, which were capable of being subjected to the same laws, the original symbols appear to have been considered as a sort of generic type, under which all similar objects were classed, while each individual was distinguished by the addition of a sign indicative of some peculiarity in its conformation, habits, or uses; thus emulating, in some measure, the binary nomenclature,

which naturalists of the present day concur in attributing to Linnæus. In the expression of abstract ideas, their ingenuity is no less remarkable; for this purpose they combined together two or more of the primitive characters, forming a multitude of compound signs, which evince no inconsiderable degree of imagination, wit, and knowledge of mankind, and furnish a most interesting and instructive study. Thus, to express anger they made use of a heart, surmounted by the sign of slave; to represent a friend, they placed two pearls side by side, &c. But, on the other hand, as a striking proof of their barbarism, they associated with the image of woman the words expressive of vices and imperfections; thus, twice repeated, this image signifies dispute; thrice, profligacy, &c. Such is the origin of the system of Chinese writing, which it will be seen contains within itself the most ample materials for the study of the manners, customs, habits, and traditions of this singular people, at a period antecedent to history. In this point of view, it is deserving of the most serious attention, and the study of its innumerable combinations by no means deserves to be classed with those minute and trifling discussions, which have too often exposed the philologer and his studies to ridicule and discredit.

The last of M. Rémusat's papers, under this head, approaches somewhat too nearly to the latter class of compositions. It is an explanation of a Chinese Riddle, proposed by Dr. Morrison, in his Anglo-Chinese Dictionary, under the word Enigma. This enigma, as Dr. Morrison observes, may easily be comprehended by any one versed in Chinese. It consists of twelve characters, each of which is altered in such a manner as to indicate a meaning different from that which would belong to it if written correctly. The reader will probably be satisfied with the explanation of the mystery contained in the first of these characters, which affords a fair sample of the rest. It is the sign of *Ye*, night, and is exceedingly elongated; it is therefore to be read *Ye Tchang*, a long night. M. Rémusat gives numerous examples of various other sorts of verbal enigmas; and also several of a more legitimate character, of which he says the Chinese have collections; as also of Ana, of Rebuses, of Quolibets, and a thousand other such trifles, in which they may even bear a comparison with European nations.

A Memoir on the Language of the Natives of Formosa, by M. Klaproth, is of considerable importance to the elucidation of their origin. The Missionaries had asserted that this island was unknown to the Chinese previously to the year 1430; but M. K. adduces a variety of passages from the Chinese books, which clearly prove that it was well known to them long before that period, although seldom mentioned by their historians, because, its inhabitants paying no tribute, and sending no ambassadors to the Emperor, it could not be treated as a state, subject to the laws of the son of heaven. But since its western coast has been entirely brought under the subjection of the empire, forming the district of Thay-youan-fou, dependent on the province of Fou-Kian, numerous colonies of Chinese have settled there, and their descendants have multiplied to such a degree, that their number is estimated at half a million. The mountains, however, and the whole eastern part of the island, are still inhabited by the aborigines, who form a vigorous race, of extraordinary stature, and of a colour between yellow and black. These mountaineers live in a continual state of warfare with the Chinese, and com-

pel them to keep strong garrisons in their towns. The only specimens of their language to be met with in Europe, consist of some religious books in Dutch and Formosan, printed by the Missionaries of the former nation, while they held possession of several establishments on the coast. From these M. K. has formed a vocabulary of such of the words of the Formosan language, amounting to upwards of 100, as were capable of being compared with other dialects of the south-east of Asia, and of the Islands of the Pacific. This comparison proves the natives of Formosa to have been a branch of the great Malay stem, which has spread from the Peninsula of Malacca, as far as the Sandwich Islands, the Marquesas, and New Zealand.

In a short article, headed Conjectures on the Origin of the Name of Silk among the Ancients, M. Klaproth endeavours to prove that it was immediately derived from the Chinese. The word σηρ, according to the Greek authors, designated at the same time, the silk and the inhabitants of the country which produced it. It is, therefore, probable that it was given to the latter in consequence of the precious merchandise in which they dealt, and that the name itself was derived from that which it bore in their language. Now silk is called sirkek by the Monguls, and sirghé by the Mandchous, the one dwelling to the north, and the other to the north-east of China. In China itself, it is called szé, or szu, and the analogy is the more striking, as in the Mandarinic language, the *r* is not pronounced; although probably this terminal letter was to be found in some of the dialects on the frontiers. With respect to the hypothesis which places Serica, the country of silk, in the valleys contained between the *glaciers* and snowy *plateaux* of Thibet, M. K. remarks that in Thibetan the silk-worm is called dar-kou, and silk itself, sing or gotchen-ghi, words which bear no resemblance whatever to the Greek. To this note M. Rémusat has added an observation, which he considers calculated to change M. K.'s conjecture into certainty. In a Corean vocabulary, forming part of the Japanese Encyclopædia, and consisting of 113 words, many of which differ from the Chinese only in pronunciation, and this for the most part in consequence of the addition of paragogic letters, he finds the Chinese word ssé, silk, formed into the Corean sia, the absolute identity of which with the Greek term, leaves no doubt of the true etymology of the name, on which so much has been written.

In the Historical and Antiquarian department, we have but one paper relating to China itself. This is an article on the Origin of Paper Money, in which M. Klaproth proves that we are indebted to the Chinese for its invention. The celebrated traveller, Marco Polo, appears to have been the first who made it known in Europe, and the circumstance of its having been employed by the Monguls, who were then masters of China, and who subsequently introduced it into Persia, has given rise to the opinion that they were its inventors. The fallacy of this opinion is, however, shown by a reference to the Chinese historians, from whom it appears that the first rude attempt at such a speculation is of so early a date as the year 119 before Christ. Improvements were at different times made upon the original idea, but it was not till towards the close of the tenth century of our era, soon after the elevation to the throne of the Soung Dynasty, that the system acquired a perfect consistency. This convenient expedient for supplying the deficiencies arising from a scarcity of the metals, continued to be made use of by the

princes of this and the succeeding race, and was carried to so great an excess under the Mongul Emperors, that they were at length compelled, by the extreme depreciation of the paper money, to quit the country which they had almost totally ruined. The Dynasty of the Ming, which succeeded the Monguls, continued to augment the quantity of notes in circulation; and various rules and ordinances were promulgated, in order to support their credit, which was sinking in a most alarming manner; but these were ultimately of no avail, and they at length entirely disappeared about the year 1455. "The Mandchous," concludes M. K. "who succeeded the Ming, and who still remain masters of China, have never attempted to issue any paper money whatever; for these barbarians are still ignorant of the fundamental principle of all good financial administration, that the more the debt of a country is increased, the more rich and happy it becomes."

In addition to this disquisition on an interesting point of the History of China, we have several papers relative to that of the Monguls, which, as that people are now dependent upon China, and were once its masters, may with propriety be introduced in this place. These are four in number, and are from the pens of M. Klaproth, M. Schmidt, of St. Petersburg, and M. Rémusat. Three of these form part of a controversy, which has for some time past been warmly carried on between the two former gentlemen, relative to the language and writing of the Ouigours, the origin of the word Bidé, employed to designate the Monguls, and the authenticity of the Mongul history of Setsen-sanan-kesoung-taïdji, which M. Schmidt has translated, and is about to publish. As, however, the controversy has run to a considerable length, and as some of the papers relating to it have appeared in the Mines de l'Orient, and some in a separate form, it will be better to pass it over entirely for the present, than to offer the imperfect sketch to which we should now be restricted.

We have next to direct the attention of the reader to an article of the highest interest, on a subject which, although intimately connected with one of the most important periods of the history of Europe, has hitherto been so little understood, that Voltaire, Deguignes, and many others, have not hesitated to treat as fabulous the almost forgotten passages of the old chronicles in which it is noticed. We speak of the political relations which subsisted during a considerable part of the 13th and 14th centuries, between the descendants of Jenghiz-Khan, and the Princes of Christendom, and particularly the Kings of France and England, and the Sovereign Pontiff. The researches of M. Rémusat have served to place these relations in a new light, and to show, beyond the possibility of doubt, not only that they really existed, but also the powerful motives which led to their formation. The sudden irruption of the Monguls, who had spread themselves over nearly the whole of Asia, and extended their boundaries westward towards Poland and Silesia, had excited in the minds of the Christian Princes the greatest terror; but when they saw the objects of their alarm, after overthrowing the Musulman power of the Caliphate, turn their arms against the Saracens, they resolved not to lose such a favourable opportunity for forming an alliance with so formidable a power, and ambassadors were according despatched by the Pope and Saint Louis, in order to engage the assistance of the great Cham of Tartary, as the Mongul Emperor was then called, in the Holy War which they meditated. But the Tartar Princes, who were then in

the zenith of their power, and who counted upon subduing the whole world, treated these ambassadors with the greatest contempt, and even threatened the representative of the Pope, to strip him of his skin, and return it stuffed to his master. Their letters to the European Sovereigns were couched in a similar strain, enjoining them to submit without delay, and to bring their revenues to the foot of the Tartar throne. But this haughty demeanour insensibly gave way, as the Tartars learned better to appreciate the assistance of the Franks in their wars with the Saracens. Their vast empire speedily became divided in itself; and the conquerors of Persia, whose new dominions bordered on those of the Sultan of Egypt, now that they were left to their own resources, began to discover the importance of that empire of the Franks in Syria, which had long been declining, and had at length entirely given way, and anxiously to desire its restoration. It was true, that a new crusade might speedily raise it to its former state of prosperity, and this did not escape the sagacity of the Mongul Princes, who began to be disheartened by the reverses which they almost uniformly sustained in their encounters with the Musulmans. The effects of this change in the state of affairs soon became visible, in the altered tone which they assumed in their communications with the Princes of Christendom. From menaces they softened to offers, and from offers they descended to entreaties. The Christian ambassadors were treated with the most signal respect, insomuch that, when, in the year 1288, the envoys of the King of France refused to prostrate themselves before the Tartar Prince, according to the etiquette, the latter remonstrated in the most moderate terms: " If," he said, " their master had ordered his ambassadors to act thus, he was satisfied, for whatever pleased the King of France, pleased him also." Their letters too assumed a very different form; that addressed, in the year 1305, to Philip the Fair, is a roll of nine feet in length and eighteen inches in breadth, and this extraordinary magnitude, together with the size of the writing, the breadth of the margin, &c., all most important circumstances in Oriental diplomacy, was the highest testimony of respect that a King of France could reasonably expect from a Mongul Sovereign. M. R. has counted nine principal attempts made by Christian Princes to form alliances with the Monguls, and as many as fifteen embassies of the latter to different Sovereigns of Europe. He gives translations of two of the letters brought by these ambassadors, the originals of which still exist in the Archives of France, where they have lain unnoticed for the last 500 years. The first of these was written by Arghoun, the son of Abagha, in the year 1289, and the other by Oldjaïton, the brother and successor of Ghazan, the son of Arghoun, in the year 1305; and both evince the extreme anxiety of the Tartar Princes to excite anew that zeal for the crusades, which appeared almost extinguished. Besides making known to the world these incontrovertible proofs of the existence of these singular relations between Europe and Asia, M. Rémusat's researches have also led him to form conclusions of another sort, which will probably not meet with such universal assent. He discovers all the most wonderful inventions of the 14th and 15th centuries, in use among Oriental nations at a much earlier period, and ascribes their subsequent appearance in Europe to the free communication which was, at this time, opened between the Eastern and Western divisions of the Old Continent. The polarity of the magnet, known to the Chinese from the earliest times; the chariots of thunder, which, in the 10th century, produced the effects of our can-

non, and by the same means, and which were employed by Houlagou, who carried with him to the conquest of Persia, in the year 1255, a century before the battle of Crecy, a corps of Chinese artillerymen; the art of printing from wooden blocks, invented in China in the year 952, five hundred years before the time of Guttemberg; the fabrication of paper money; the manufacture of playing cards, the origin of which has employed so much of the attention of the learned, as marking one of the earliest applications of the art of engraving on wood, and which were known in China in 1120, while the first mention of them in Europe is in the Statutes of a Spanish Order, to which they were interdicted in 1332; the knowledge of all these great inventions was derived from the East by means of the Europeans on the one hand, who traversed the whole of Asia under the character of missionaries, ambassadors, or merchants; and of the Mongul Ambassadors on the other, who passed from the frontiers of China to Rome, Barcelona, Lyons, Poictiers, Paris, London, and Northampton. Such, according to M. R., were the mighty consequences which flowed, independent of his will, from the ambition of a conqueror, and which served to enlighten countries into which he was unable to extend his ravages; and thus was the progress of civilization assisted by the very means which would appear best calculated to impede it.

Our examination of the Papers on the Religion, Natural History, and General Literature of the Chinese, must be reserved for a future Number.

WAR SONG.

Hail the brave! and hail the land!
Where the sons of freedom stand,
Firm of heart, a glorious band,
Prompt to strike, prepared to die,
Nerved for death or liberty!

Hallowed be the Patriot's grave,
Who Freedom's banners dared to wave,
With ready hand and bosom brave—
Who met alike with dauntless eye
The frowns of death or tyranny!

His the spirit-stirring name,
Dear to freedom—dear to fame,
That shall rouse the soul of flame,
The high emprize—the thrilling cry,
That leave the brave to victory.

Oh! who that patriot honour warms,
When sound the trumpet's wild alarms,
That does not burn for deeds of arms,
To bid his country's foemen fly,
And burst the bonds of slavery?

The victor's brow may proudly shine
While beauty's hands the wreath entwine,
But every Briton's heart 's the shrine
Of him who greatly dares to die
For honour, home, and liberty!

D. L. R.

FRAUDULENT AND DISGRACEFUL TRANSACTIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

"Monopoly always produces an indifference to improvement: and the prohibitory system, by which it is upheld, is fertile, as every one knows, in inconveniences and crimes."—Huskisson.

In an early Number of our Publication, we detailed the conduct of the Government of Bombay, and the Court of Directors in England, towards an oppressed and injured Mohammedan Prince, Fyaz Ali Khan, the son of Hyat Sahib, whom they had deceived, insulted, and robbed of his honour and his wealth, in a manner that must reflect infamy on the chief instruments in those abominable proceedings, as long as his name and his case shall be remembered.[1] We have reason to know that the statement of facts connected with that case, made a deep and general impression, as to the iniquitous character of many of the transactions in India, which never see the light. It has explained, better than volumes of argument could do, the cause of the hatred of men in authority there, to the freedom of the press; but, though they have succeeded, for a period at least, in removing the offensive engine of publicity to a distance, we rejoice to find that the channels through which we can receive information from every part of India, are more freely open to us now than they ever were in the country itself; and that the whispers which men were compelled to stifle there, can find free utterance here, and be returned, with more than tenfold force, upon the guilty heads of those who would silence them for ever, if they dared. This is as it should be. The period for discussing the continuance of the East India Company's charter, is fast approaching. The progress of sound information has already stripped them of every chance of their arguments in favour of Monopoly being for a moment listened to: and it shall be our duty to amass, for that period, such a store of facts, in illustration of the crimes which Mr. Huskisson has so justly considered to be inseparable from a Government founded on the most selfish of all the monopolies that ever yet existed, as will serve, we trust, to sweep the whole fabric from its foundations, and plant in its stead an edifice more worthy the intelligence and the justice of the present age.

As a companion to the case of the unhappy Mohammedan Prince, we shall present a corresponding picture of oppression towards an industrious and deserving Parsee merchant, living under the same Government of Bombay. Neither the case of the one nor of the other could have been made public in India, however undeniable the truth of the statements in which they were embodied might have been. The press there, though *nominally* free, is, we hear, in reality as enslaved as that of Bengal. There is no actual censor, and no actual license for restraining the freedom of publication, but the power of transportation without trial exists in full force; and since Mr. Elphinstone has condescended to give the world his opinion, in the letter read by Mr. Impey at the India House, on the 9th of July, as to the propriety of Mr. Adam's conduct in carrying that power into execution,

[1] See Oriental Herald, vol. i. p. 308.

it may be safely inferred that a similar fate would await the unhappy culprit who should dare to uphold in Bombay what Mr. Adam is praised for putting down in Bengal. Though it will form a slight digression from our subject, we shall, perhaps, be forgiven for assisting to preserve this morceau of Mr. Elphinstone's, so carefully treasured up in the pages of the *Asiatic Journal*, by inserting it here. It is given in the form of an extract from a letter to a friend in England, dated Bombay, Aug. 14, 1823, and is as follows:—

Nothing can exceed the praise which every body in Bengal bestows on John Adam's administration, which is the more to his credit, as much of his employment has been of an unpopular nature—the restrictions on the press in particular; but the inconsistency of a free press where *nothing else is free*, or INTENDED TO BE FREE, is too obvious to escape you. It is our duty, and I am happy to say it is our wish too, to hasten on the time, when the people of the country may take a share in their government. But, at present, nobody would take a part, or an interest, in political discussions, but the Europeans, of whom more than nine-tenths compose the strength of the army.

It is difficult to say whether the misstatements as to fact, for we cannot suppose it ignorance,—or the fallacy as to argument, for we cannot believe that Mr. Elphinstone was himself unconscious of the sophistry,—predominates in this short sentence. In the first place, it is not true to say that nothing could exceed the praise which every body in Bengal bestowed on Mr. Adam's administration. It was notoriously the reverse. Even in getting up the Address, a compliment which the greatest tyrant that ever reigned might have from the slaves that surround him, it was necessary to allure the signatures of many who disapproved of Mr. Adam's administration, by declaring that the Address was merely a tribute to Mr. Adam's private virtues, which had nothing to do with his public character; and discussions on this very distinction took place in the *Calcutta Journal*, of which Mr. Elphinstone was a constant reader, and which, therefore, he must have seen. Besides, upon the very face of the proceeding, is it likely, that if every body praised Mr. Adam's administration, and that nothing could exceed this praise, he would have taken such hasty and effectual steps to restrain all expression of opinion, and fetter the press more heavily than had ever been done before? Again, if *much* of his employment was of an UNPOPULAR NATURE, and the restrictions on the press in particular, as Mr. Elphinstone himself avows: what is this but to admit that this *much*, and these *restrictions*, were such as the great majority of the people of India did *not* approve? It is thus only that they could have been unpopular; so that to say that every body praised Mr. Adam's public conduct, though the great part of that was such as was never popularly approved, is a contradiction in terms.

Mr. Elphinstone, however, is not satisfied with this blunder; (and it is quite enough *even* for a Governor to make;) he plunges further yet; and finds that " below the lowest deep there is a deeper still." He misstates facts, and even then is not able to make out his position without being illogical in argument. He says, in India *nothing is free*; nay, he adds, NOR IS EVEN INTENDED TO BE! Sharpsighted politician! He pretends to penetrate into the abyss of futurity—to lift up the veil that obscures the days to come; and is yet palpably blind to that which exists before his own eyes. What! is nothing free in India? Are not men free to do every thing there, as they are elsewhere, when not prohibited by law?

Are not all classes free to walk, to ride, to buy, to sell, to marry, to build, to go into partnerships, to enter into contracts, to make wills, to bequeath property, to prosecute in courts of law, to sustain actions, and obtain damages from the East India Company itself? Are not men free to propagate any creed they please, from Christianity to Atheism? May they not perform any barbarities they desire, from self-inflicted tortures of the most painful kind, to being roasted alive? All these may be freely done, without punishment of any sort or kind—" the law allows them, and the judge approves." They are free to commit every species of crime that can be named, subject of course to subsequent responsibility to the law and a jury; and are not previously restrained from doing any thing but printing. In short, they are as free, in every other respect, as in England; and they are only not as free in this, because the Governor has the power to transport any one that displeases him, without trial or hearing—a power which of itself is quite sufficient to change freedom into slavery; and one, which if it existed in England in the same irresponsible manner as it exists in India, would leave not a vestige of liberty behind it. Give the king or the minister of England the power to send any man he pleases out of the country, who, in *his judgment*, shall deserve it, and without subsequent responsibility for his acts, and no man who dares to resist his views would remain, so that liberty and all its advocates would be effectually banished from the kingdom. But if it were true, as Mr. Elphinstone asserts, that there is *nothing* free in India—(and it is by the existence of this odious power of summary removal that this total absence of freedom is effected)—still it would follow, that *because* there were no other free institutions, through which to gain redress, *therefore* this freedom of the press would be by so much the more needful. Among the few reasonable things ever said by Sir Francis Macnaghten, was this, on his releasing Mr. Arnot from his illegal imprisonment: that because men had but little liberty in India, they ought to be the more determined in their preservation of the little that they could command. Mr. Elphinstone, however, has a different notion, and says, in effect, " To him that hath much, still more shall be given; and from him that hath nothing, even the little that he hath shall be taken away." How easy is it to obtain a reputation for talent, in a country where there is no scrutiny to which it can be submitted!

Mr. Elphinstone goes yet further: he says—In India, *nothing is even intended to be free!* Hear this, ye Legislators of England, who pass statute upon statute, for the government of India: who have sent out Supreme Courts of Judicature to protect the Natives from the oppression of their rulers: who call your country the freest in the world, and contend that wherever the British flag waves, there a portion at least of British freedom is also meant to be enjoyed. Has Mr. Elphinstone been put in possession of the secrets of the Cabinet; or does he speak only his own sentiments, when he says that in India, no freedom is even intended to be given to its people? If the former, it is high time that the Legislature should speak out upon the matter, and let us know their real determination. If the latter, we can only say that Mr. Elphinstone has been playing a double game, quite unworthy of himself: for one of the very first acts of his new government, when he succeeded to Sir Evan Nepean, was to abolish the Censorship of the Press in Bombay, in imitation of the Marquess of Hastings in Bengal; for which he received his due share

of praise: and ever since that period, up to the close of Lord Hastings's administration at least, he has been known to express himself openly as an avowed advocate for that freedom of publication which he here says, in order to help Mr. Adam (his friend and relative, besides a brother governor) out of his difficulties, is inconsistent, does not exist, and was never intended even to be given. Woe unto ye———! Is there no plain dealing to be found among men?

The climax of this absurdity is, that there, in a country where nothing is free, and nothing even *intended* to be free, it is acknowledged to be the duty, and professed to be the wish, of the rulers, to hasten the time when the people shall take a share in their own government! The only disqualification pretended for the delay, is, that they are not sufficiently instructed, or acquainted with the nature of a free government. Free discussion would soon remove this disability; but those benevolent rulers who wish to hasten their fitness, destroy the only engine that can do so. And why? Because, they allege, there would be great danger, in opening the press to the Natives, before they are fit to use it. But what says Mr. Elphinstone on this point? Let the reader mark his deliberate opinion. "At present *nobody* would take a part or an interest in political discussions, but the Europeans."

Oh! matchless reasoning! Really, if the natives of India want instruction before they are fit to publish, their rulers are not much more advanced in the proper use of their faculties: and we should strongly recommend, for the sake of all parties, that schools for teaching logic be at once opened, and professors of the art of reasoning employed for the governors as well as the governed. We should then be spared the mortification of seeing the English language prostituted to such glaring contradictions and absurdities as these, in a short sentence of a dozen lines.

LOOK ON THIS PICTURE.	AND ON THIS.
Every body in Bengal praises John Adam's administration.	Much of John Adam's administration in Bengal was extremely unpopular.
Nothing is free in India, or even intended to be free.	It is intended to give the people a share in their own government, which is the very essence of freedom.
It is inconsistent to allow free discussions in India. It would be likely to inflame the Natives.	At present, nobody would take a part or an interest in political discussions, except the Europeans.

Let us return, however, from this digression, to the practical illustration of what *is*, and what is meant *to be*, the conduct of the Indian Government towards their Native subjects, by detailing the outlines of a case of the most flagrant wrong that could be inflicted by tyrannical rulers, on a victim of their avarice, as well as power. Fortunately, we possess the official documents, on which this case is founded; including the judgment of the Court of Justice, at Bombay, on the evidence brought before it. We shall therefore proceed on safe grounds; and in order to bear out our assertions by proofs, we shall insert the documents themselves in another part of our publication. The case is briefly this—

In December, 1802, the Government of Bombay entered into a contract with a Parsee merchant of that island, named Cursetjee Monackjee, binding themselves to receive from him, for the space of one year, at a rate of price stated in the contract itself, all the supplies of rice that

should be required during that period, for the use of their military department or commissariat, at Bombay: the Parsee merchant binding himself to furnish it at a rate considerably below the then existing price in the bazaar, on condition of a corresponding engagement on the part of the Bombay Government, to purchase their supplies of no other party during the period agreed upon. In consequence of this engagement, certain expensive and hazardous speculations were made, in order to bring the required quantity of rice into the possession of the merchant; as a failure in the regularity of his deliveries would have vitiated the contract, and involved him in considerable loss. The requisite supplies were, however, obtained by him for that purpose, and his part of the contract scrupulously fulfilled. In the mean time, the price of rice fell considerably; grain being ever more fluctuating in its value in India than in countries where the harvests are more regular in their produce. The Bombay Government finding this, violated their contract, and, leaving the large stores accumulated by the Parsee merchant, on the faith of their engagement, in his hands, they purchased their rice of others because they could have it at a cheaper rate. About this period, the army of General Wellesley (now the Duke of Wellington) was in the peninsula of India; and requiring supplies of grain from Bombay, sent to that presidency for them. Capt. Moor, then military storekeeper, and acting in the commissariat, applied to Cursetjee Monackjee, the unfortunate Parsee, in whose storehouses vast quantities of rice had accumulated, from the failure of the Bombay Government to receive it from his hands, and succeeded in purchasing from him, on the pretence of its being a private transaction, and for private purposes, a large supply of rice at the then depreciated price, which was two rupees per bag less than the price agreed to be paid by the Bombay Government for the supplies to their military department: and which, indeed, would have been paid, had it not been purchased under this pretence of its being for a private and altogether distinct purpose. Nevertheless, this rice, when bought, to the extent of 38,000 bags, was actually sent off through the military department of Bombay, to General Wellesley's army; by which the unhappy Parsee was literally defrauded of 76,000 rupees on that transaction alone, every bag being had from him, on the understanding of its being a private sale, and for a private purpose unconnected with their commissariat demands, at two rupees per bag less than the proper price, Captain Moor himself acknowledging, when the matter was referred to him by Government, that it was from motives of *policy* he concealed the fact of the rice being required and supplied for the military department.

The amount of actual loss, occasioned to the Parsee merchant, by this breach of contract on the part of the Bombay Government, by their procuring rice from others, and by this surreptitious mode of gaining their supply for Lord Wellesley's army, was 110,000 rupees. When he first made his demand on the Military Board for this amount, they offered him, as a compensation for his loss, the paltry sum of 3,472 rupees. To a second demand, a similar offer was returned. A third demand, accompanied with observations which will be seen hereafter in the document itself, brought down an offer of 12,500 rupees. A fourth letter induced the Military Board to recommend the Government to pay the merchant 43,000 rupees: but they still refused to offer more than 12,500. A memorial was then sent to the Court of Directors in England, and they

awarded the 13,000 rupees recommended by the Military Board; but in lieu of interest, then justly due, they offered the Parsee a pension of 200 rupees per month, or less than 200*l.* a year, if he would relinquish all his claims: telling him, that if he rejected this, he should have nothing, and that he might then seek redress in a court of law.

Twenty years having now elapsed, the original demand, with interest, amounted to 450,000 rupees. The suggestion of the Company as to going to law was adopted, and proceedings were instituted in the Court of Bombay. The Company's counsel, however, aware of the injustice of the refusal to pay the Parsee's demands, tried to compromise the matter, by offering him 43,000 rupees, with six per cent. compound interest. This was rejected. The cause was brought on, and Sir Anthony Buller, the Recorder at Bombay (there being no juries in civil cases, in any of the Courts of India,) adjudged the payment of 47,000 rupees, as principal of debt, with simple interest of six per cent. for twenty years; though, supposing the principal sum correct, the allowance ought to have been nine per cent. compound interest for the same space of time.

A new trial was moved for and granted; and in June, 1823, the cause came before Sir Edward West, a Judge of a very different character from Sir Anthony Buller, both as regards his talents and his feeling towards Governments; and after a patient hearing of all the circumstances of the case, he pronounced a judgment, awarding to the Parsee merchant, who had been for twenty years pursuing his plaint, the sum of 527,400 rupees. Even this, large as it may seem, was nearly 400,000 rupees short, of what the whole sum would have amounted to, if the principle of compound interest been carried through; but Sir Edward West struck off five years of this, because the plaintiff had for that period abstained, in despair, from continuing the prosecution of his suit; although this arose, as will be seen hereafter, from causes that would have deterred almost any other man from proceeding.

The Bombay Government, however, (of which Mr. Elphinstone is now at the head,) are not willing to pay even this just award. They made an effort to get another trial, which Sir Edward West agreed to grant, provided they would previously consent to its verdict being final. This they refuse to accede to, and are accordingly going to make the case a subject of Appeal to the King in Council, by which they may hope still further to protract the suit, until the unhappy Native sinks into the grave unredressed, and until Delay shall give, even to Right and Justice, the character of Iniquity and Wrong.

We recommend to the serious attention of our readers, the documents bearing on this case, which they will find in another part of our Publication. If they have within them any feelings of indignation against protracted injury, and the most cruel and grinding of oppressions, these cannot fail to bring them forth: and we trust, that throughout the country at large, a sense of shame and sorrow will be felt at the disgrace of the British name, by proceedings such as these. Sir Edward West is compelled to say, of this fraudulent transaction,

I think the Plaintiff has been treated throughout the whole of this affair most unjustly. Those who composed the Government during the whole of these transactions are passed away: and I am confident that no one would meet with such treatment from the *present* Government, as this Plaintiff has experienced. I am unwilling to speak harshly of those who are gone; but reviewing the whole transaction, I cannot but say, that this individual has been treated most shamefully.

It is acknowledged by Major Moor, and admitted by all, that the Plaintiff was a most zealous and faithful servant—and see how he has been repaid for his fidelity and zeal!

Sir Edward West is evidently an upright and conscientious man: and it is no small praise to say of any Judge, as can be safely said of him, that he does not shrink from the honest discharge of his duty, because it may be unpalatable to those in power. He falls into the common error of all Judges, however, in supposing that bad as may have been the Governments that have passed away, the *present* Government cannot be so bad. But his conviction was a little premature. This present Government of which he thinks so highly (as perhaps in duty bound), have, in our estimation, done even worse than the Governments that preceded them. The former Governments might have had the excuse of being parties to the transaction, naturally disposed to favour their own view of the case, and maintain what they considered their own interests in the dispute:—they might also have hoped, that though wrong in point of equity, the law would bear them out. But here is a Government, who are *not* a party, who can have no interests to maintain, who not only see the wrong done, but hear it pronounced to be unlawful, who behold the victim of all the oppression of their predecessors, overcome with age and trouble, pressed by creditors on every side, a prison before his eyes, his helpless children likely to be left destitute, and he himself about to descend with horror to the grave:—and yet, (hardened indifference!) they coolly consign this aged sufferer to despair, by contemning the decisions of the law, and putting the case through an Appeal, which may be years before it will be heard and determined.

These are the reasons, and mighty ones indeed they are, which make the Rulers of India dread, as well as hate, the freedom of publication. This judgment of Sir Edward West was passed in April, 1823; but it was never published in the Newspapers of India. The Letter of the injured Native was sent to the Bombay Government, in March, 1824, but it could not find admission into the Prints of Bombay. Yet, this is only one of a hundred such cases of wrong, occurring every year in the interior courts of the three presidencies, none of the proceedings of which are made public; but every thing kept as silent as the iron reign of despotism requires. Bengal is not the only presidency in which the Functionaries of Government have had the entire control over the Papers, by becoming sharers in the property of them. It is known that a Member of Council in another presidency, has the principal property, and entire control of two such Papers; and that therefore, being himself, a member of the Government, nothing can appear in their columns that does not please himself.

But, the whole system is so full of iniquity, that nothing but a thorough cleansing of the Augean Stable will do: and, we sincerely hope to see this undertaken by the Parliament of England, before another session passes away. We shall see then, whether Mr. Elphinstone's notion, that nothing was ever *intended* to be free in India, is generally entertained by the Legislature at home. That nothing *is* free in India, may, perhaps, more readily appear, unless the liberty taken by the Governors to oppress their unhappy fellow-subjects, be an exception. That seems to be free enough. Let us hope that this liberty will be curtailed, and a little wholesome freedom to expose their misdeeds be granted in its stead.

We have heard that the injured Native, whose case we have here detailed, is the very individual alluded to by Sir Charles Forbes, in his Speech in the House of Commons on the 25th of May last; the individual whom the Government of Bombay threatened obanish from the Island, if he did not abandon his claims, and accept the small pittance which they chose to offer him. Let this explain to the people of England for what purposes the Indian Governors wish to retain this odious power of trasportation without trial, to silence the cries of the injured, and to remove from their presence those whose importunities serve only to remind them of their crimes.

THE WILD ASS OF THE DESERT.

Seest thou that inmate of the wilderness,
Whom hunger, storms, and danger vainly press?
Whose back no rider ever galled, whose eye
Views in proud man no marks of mastery?
The desert is his dwelling; there to roam,
Knowing no crib, no master, and no home,
His soul delights; and, stretched beneath the sky,
To slumber in the night-dew tranquilly.
For him the tender morn no toil prepares,
When wrapt in gray, her dewy form she rears
Above the orient deep, but lends her light
To lead along the hills his joyous flight.
Stillness surrounds him, save when to the main
His clattering footsteps thunder o'er the plain,
And drawing near, unruffled by the breeze,
A power, untamed as his own freedom, sees.
Old Ocean smoothes his forehead at his look,
And seems as mild and gentle as a brook,
In which sweet nymphs in summer bathe their limbs,
While nigh the dipping swallow shoots and skims.
If roused within the barren land he loves,
His nostrils breathing thunder as he moves,
His eyes flash lightning, and no savage dares
Provoke his untamed hoof, that never tires or spares.

Who in his mouth shall put the slavish bit?
He spurns man's power, and scorns his vainer wit.
Where nature gave to range, he fearless goes,
And crops the verdant herb where'er it grows;
Grazes unscared while tempests round him roll,
Nor feels one taint of terror in his soul.
Such once was man, ere artful tyranny
Caught him with guile, and tamed him with a lie.
He, too, was free, was fearless—but 'tis o'er!
His mind is Truth's untainted realm no more.
Slavery and error rule him; and 'tis long
Since real freedom flourished—but in song.

Bion.

SKETCH OF THE CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF PETER BAYLE, THE CELEBRATED PHILOSOPHER OF ROTTERDAM.

Great men stand out; like alto relievo figures, from the surface of society; and nature has taken care that they should not press too closely upon each other. The intermediate spaces, like the surface of the globe, are roughened a little, by the projections of moderate merit; but, to the eye, all this seems smooth at a distance; and we are attracted only by those prominences which throw a long shadow upon the plane. Life does not permit us to wander at leisure over this varied map. We must hurry on to those spots where our feelings may be most powerfully excited; where the great, the new, the wonderful reside. Say what we will, greatness of mind is a quality that does not live on air; it stands in perpetual need of the lifts and proppings of kindred natures; it longs to project itself towards its fellows. The cravings of a powerful imagination, too, can only be satisfied in two ways—by having the spoils of external nature thrown before them; or by being given the inward workings of the mind to prey on. In the first case a Poet springs up—in the second a Metaphysician. The union of these, to any great degree, seldom takes place; and when it does, unless in minds of the highest order, it is commonly detrimental to poetry and to truth.

Peter Bayle, the subject of this article, possessed from nature, an imagination of the greatest vividness and force: though harnessed to the same chariot with the soundest reason, it plunged forward like a fiery steed, before its sober mate, who still possessed, however, sufficient power to draw it back, and to keep it in the path through which they were to move together. He chose, nevertheless, the thornier track, abandoning poetry from his youth, and attaching himself solely to the pursuit of "the shadowy tribes of mind." To him there was little delight in any obvious or beaten track. His eager gaze was for ever turned towards the remote in antiquity and science; he wished to grasp those objects which flit upon the edge of the horizon of knowledge, and seem every moment about to vanish into the mists of time. For this purpose, he was willing to become the chronicler of other men's thoughts; nay, a mere aqueduct, through which the knowledge of past times, condensed into one rich stream, might be poured forward upon posterity. His reading was immense, his memory tenacious beyond credibility,—his judgment greater than either his reading or his memory.

But in spite of judgment, in spite of taste, the mind of every man is swayed in some measure by the spirit of his age. It will be necessary to say a few words of that which influenced the studies of Bayle; as otherwise, some of his literary propensities might convey a very disadvantageous idea of his genius.

His father was the Protestant Minister of Carla, a small village in the county of Foix; where Bayle was born, Nov. 18, 1647. From his earliest youth he witnessed the secret rancour that subsisted between those of his father's religion and the catholics. He was, indeed, nursed in religious controversy. He saw the French nation separated into two factions, that nourished for each other nothing but contemptuous hatred: he saw them, in default of secular power, fortify themselves with the

keen-edged sword of controversy; with the logic of party; with the faculty of showing their enemy to be eternally in the wrong. He attached importance, therefore, to polemical skill; and applied the maiden vigour of his mind to theology.—In considering his after-progress, these early associations should be kept in view.

Nothing dissolves the social compact so completely as religious disputation. In political feuds, each party may innocently be looked upon by the other, as at least endeavouring good; but theology tolerates not this spirit—those who are not with us are against us, now and for ever. Thus, in the partial toleration which the French Government afforded the Huguenots of that age, the orthodox saw nothing but the fostering of a damning error; but the nourishing of a upas whose poison might be carried about on every gale. They murmured at the slumbers of the secular power—they wished to be "up and doing." The Protestants, on the other hand, feeling the slippery tenure upon which they held both fortune and life, were indefatigable in presenting to their enemy an unbroken front. They looked upon the secession of a single member as a national calamity—and the lost sheep that strayed over the rubicon of faith, was not less lamented on one side than he was hailed and pampered on the other.

But proselyte-makers will always be numerous and undiscouraged on the side of power; and, as long as the enthusiasm of party lasts, will attach signal importance to their calling. When Bayle arrived at a *convertible* age, this enthusiasm was at its height; and, as the great qualities of his mind were very early discernible, the Jesuits seem to have had his conversion much at heart. The Jesuits have almost always possessed the advantage of being more learned than their enemies; and of making, in consequence, a kind of monopoly of the education of youth. Even those of the reformed religion have committed to them the unfolding of their children's understandings; making apparently more account of the learning they could bestow, than of that unshaken purity of faith, which an intimacy with them might taint. Bayle's parents gave into the general practice; sending him, at an early age, to the Jesuits' college at Toulouse.

It was not long, however, before they had reason to repent of their confidence: their son, like our Gibbon, was led, by the eloquence of a priest, who lodged in the same house with him, to abjure the Protestant faith; and, actuated by the spirit of his new creed, shortly afterwards, to attempt the conversion of his whole family. He commenced with his brother—and the letter with which he sounded the inclinations of the latter, is a very curious specimen of the logic of fanaticism. He had, he assured his brother, received inexpressible lights on the subject of faith; and was in full expectation of something supernatural, that should change the creed of those he loved. Still he could not so completely rely upon this anticipated influence from on high, as to neglect those carnal motives which his reason suggested to him—for he laid no little stress upon the dangerous position which the Reformed then held in France.

Not long after this, these lights vanished; clouds of doubts came pouring in upon his mind; the warm tide of his imagination ebbed from him; and he saw himself stand alone upon a naked solitary shore, beside an empty fane, which he had mistaken for the temple of Truth. In the first bitterness of his soul, flight from France was the only path he could perceive, through which his escape from the Jesuits seemed practicable,—and he took refuge in Switzerland.

Here, for a time, he lived by performing the duty of a preceptor; but, like most great authors who have attempted the education of children, he found, upon a protracted trial, that he was not equal to his undertaking. It is remarkable that few men of genius have succeeded in the business of education. It would seem that the progress of their own minds so entirely usurps their cares, that nothing external to themselves is permitted to share in them. Though dissatisfied, however, and unsuccessful in his profession, he repeatedly took the same task upon himself, removing from situation to situation, and becoming weary of them all. At length his friend, M. Basnage, pointed out to him a better course—that of Professor of Philosophy—and, with other friends, procured him to be elected to the philosophical chair in the university of Sedan.

Here it was that his evil destiny connected him with Jurieu. This person was Theological Professor in the same university. He was a fanatic of the most incorrigible species; for, together with theology, he professed the art of prophesying, and a disposition to hate those who doubted his predictions, or prophesied differently from himself. From the first moment of their acquaintance, he followed Bayle like a vampyre; wound himself into the web of his fortunes; poisoned the springs of his happiness; and, towards the close of his life, deprived him of almost his only means of living. "La haine Théologique est un feu qui ne s'éteint point," says the biographer of Bayle.

Upon the suppression of the Protestant universities in France, our philosopher was invited to Rotterdam; but he was not satisfied with the kindness which was shown him, unless it were extended to M. Jurieu; and he obtained permission to bring his evil genius along with him. Upon their arrival at Rotterdam, that city instituted an academy to oblige them; conferring the professorship of philosophy, with a pension of five hundred florins, upon Bayle; and that of *theology* upon M. Jurieu. Here, then, they were at ease; each to pursue his favourite studies, and to enjoy such pleasures as were congenial to their minds. Bayle's happiness, more than that of any man we ever read of, consisted in the cultivation of letters and philosophy. Those who have written his life, tell us he had no passions; or such only as his reason could keep in utter subjection. Jurieu was a prey to very ungovernable ones; and *his* delight arose from being accounted, among the Reformed, a prophet, a kind of theological dictator. Had he lived five hundred years sooner, his project might have been put in practice; but Time, and the progress of knowledge among mankind, make sad havoc with credulity.

When Bayle's friends first perceived the dawning of that hatred, which was springing up between these professors, they endeavoured to reinforce the weaker party with a wife. But philosophy was very shy, and could not be prevailed upon to accept this aid. It was in vain that the burgomasters were eloquent in the praises of the lady's beauty, wit, amiableness, *mastery of her desires*, and fifteen thousand crowns; they could not prevail—the immoveable professor was still resolved to go forth alone against his adversary. Yet Bayle thought marriage a very laudable institution, as the reader may see by turning to his apology for Farel, a sage reformer of the church, who yielded up the victory to his carnal propensities, after having resisted them successfully for sixty-nine years.

Though Bayle's works are more voluminous than those of Voltaire, it was comparatively late in life that he commenced author; his first work

not being published before his thirty-second year. This was an Examination of M. Poiret's book, entitled, "Cogitationes rationales de Deo, Anima, et Malo." But, "Ce petit ouvrage," says his biographer, "fait voir que Bayle avoit approfondi les matieres les plus sublimes de la philosophie." This was as it should be.

From that time forward, however, his productions followed each other with a rapidity nearly equalling that with which the Scotch novels stream from the press. The next in succession was a satire on the Marechal de Luxembourg; and in the same year was published his famous Letter on the Comet, which had just then appeared. This letter was the first work which caused him to be suspected of impiety. But we will not make a catalogue of his publications; it will be sufficient to specify those for which chiefly he is remembered.

The "News from the Republic of Letters," is not the least curious of his performances. It was planned with the most patient industry, and the widest range of thought. The objections of every sect, and of every class of readers, were foreseen, examined, and eluded, with the most delicate ingenuity. He held forth to the light-armed pursuers of knowledge, the brief abstract, the simple quintessence of books. To those who march more leisurely over the field, he presented more lengthy and complete analyses. He seized with exquisite tact, the light graces which sometimes fluttered over the bosom of an abyss of learning, and linked them to each other with the bright chains of taste and judgment. He threw an awakening splendour over even theology itself; and made the dreamy speculations of the schoolmen a fine arena for the conflicts of a sublime dialectique. Even scepticism assumed a fascinating power in his hands; and sparkled forth brightness, or breathed serenity from beneath her fatal tresses. His mind, like a prismatic glass, shot its own illumination over the dark mysteries of nature; and if, when he withdrew it, they but appeared the more gloomy after the transient light, it must be confessed that even indifference itself was allured, while it continued, to look into the skirts of the abyss of things. Bayle was not an every-day critic: he was not content with barely unfolding the roll of other men's ideas, and giving his reader the scanty measure of things; an imperfect system was insensibly moulded beneath his eye, into a full and well-rounded theory. He gave new feet to the sluggish ideas of those whom he analysed; gave a body to their naked imaginings; expanded, to their mature dimensions, the incomplete births of their minds: but in doing this, he did not mislead the inquirer into the merits of authors. His additions were not to be confounded with the stocks upon which they were engrafted: they were inserted ingeniously, and looked well in their new positions; but you might perceive they were not aborigines:—there was a foreign and superior air about them, as if they had come to civilize the first inhabitants. These, we think, are some of the distinguishing features of the "News from the Republic of Letters."

But passing hastily through the well-ornamented and beautiful avenues, let us hasten on to the grand temple of his fame, his "Critical and Historical Dictionary."

This work appears to have been the great labour of his life. He had planned, and sketched it out, innumerable times, before it assumed its present august port. He perceived that he had to combat the whole multitude of human errors, the cherished prejudices, the ill-founded

hopes, the laboriously formed opinions, of ages, consecrated by our dearest reverence for antiquity. In giving the biography of the great of all times and countries, he was aware that his manner of treating their opinions would be watched narrowly. When, therefore, he had any daring sentiments to give birth to, he did not seat himself upon high places, to attract the gaze of the passenger; he was not desirous of display, nor ever better pleased than when taking advantage of some obscure article in his Dictionary, he felt retired, as it were, into a quiet corner, where he might spin the fine web of his philosophy, out of the sight of his enemies.

The plan which he at first conceived, was that of an immense chart of human knowledge, where should have been marked the rocks and shallows upon which the mind of man had suffered shipwreck. But mankind, more solicitous of pushing their discoveries into unknown regions, than of rendering themselves fully acquainted with what they already possess, relished not his project; and he abandoned it for that of the work now before us. In fact, no species of writing appears to have squared so admirably with his excursive genius as biography, mingled, as it was by him, with philosophy and criticism. For, although, if necessary, he could restrain himself, and adhere to his subject as strictly as any man, it neverthertheless was not his manner to walk in a straight-forward path, looking neither to the right hand, nor to the left: he wished to be running, at every moment, into digressive wanderings, by the wayside: like a child in a summer-field, he wished to pluck every flower that nodded its sweet head among the dew-sprinkled grass: he wished to be restrained by no rules, from interweaving with his philosophy whatever was beautiful or sublime in poetry, graceful in wit, or pointed and sparkling in anecdote and repartee. His Dictionary, accordingly, is a mighty intellectual amphitheatre, in which the great conceptions of people of all ages, are placed by the side of each other, without rank or precedence; and he, like a wonder-working magician, passing through piles of thought, clusters them into ever-changing and delightful groupes, and gives to the whole scene the appearance of a universe of first principles.

In one thing Bayle especially resembled the ancients, whom he admired so much: he never appears weary of his subject; never writes as though he wanted to have done with it, in order to repair to a party or a tavern, where a reputation for talent is acquired much more easily than in one's closet. He considered what he was about as the only thing in the world of importance to him, and therefore dwelt upon it with uncontaminated pleasure. He both read and wrote at his ease: one word followed another as the clouds glide in each other's footsteps in the sky; serenely, pleasurably—as if they had nothing else to do. In him there is never observable a desperate straining after sublimity, a thirst after novelty of phrase: his language was an inexhaustible river, which could be drained into a thousand channels, without becoming either weak or shallow. Thoughts were driven through his mind like the leaves through an autumnal forest, in endless variety and succession: he had no need to husband his ideas—he was the very Shakespeare of philosophy.

At present, many of the subjects, which he most delighted in, are contemned and neglected. Most of the prevailing literary chiefs are too wise to desire to know much about what Zoroaster, Pyrrho, or Manes,

thought or invented. They are immersed in the depth of their own understandings; they find that vilifying *innovators* in politics, poetry, religion, &c., and defending "the powers that be," is quite enough for them; and, in looking backwards, seldom can they see beyond the barrier of the French revolution. It stands up between the *legitimate* writer and antiquity, like an impassable mountain, over which not even his imagination can clamber; it reflects back his feeble gaze upon himself, and makes him egotistical; he cannot muster sufficient strength to burst over this formidable boundary, and to roll back his spirit into the endless vista of past time. His views are, therefore, little; the sphere of his mind's activity circumscribed; for, like an ox, confined to graze in the middle of a meadow, his excursions cannot exceed the length of his chain.

Bayle did not thus reason in fetters. He looked upon truth as upon the heaven which stretches its blue wings over the world; and supposed the march of the human mind to be along an everlasting road, sometimes leading over hills, sometimes through valleys or across plains, and, at vast intervals, over etherial mountains, which seem to have a communication with the incumbent heaven. He did not believe that the path of antiquity had always lain upon the low lands; for he saw that some of its master-spirits had reached summits, at least as lofty as have been trodden by the travellers of later times. How far they had profited by their proximity to the divinity of their worship, was the aim of his inquiry.

In spite, however, of metaphysics, Bayle was very far from being a grave professor of philosophy. To suppose this, would be to do injustice to the joyousness of his disposition. He was not wedded to logic—he affected no state with his hobby-horse.—Plutarch and Montaigne were his favourite authors—and he resembled them in the manner in which he discussed the most lively and ludicrous subjects. His Dictionary will bear us out in this. There are the articles Fontevraud, Abelard, Heloise, Foulques, de Limieul, &c. in the most exquisitely *Rabelais* manner. St. Anthony's Wife of Snow, is put in edifying contrast with the more dangerous penance of Robert d'Arbrissel; and we are highly interested among monks and nuns, who at first promise to be very tiresome company.

It is, in fact, in those articles where nothing is expected, that we frequently meet with the liveliest bursts of his vivacity. The smiles and the graces flit over the stocks and stones of theology, like fawns through the ruins of a cemetery—enlivening even desolation and barrenness. No writer ever equalled him in this—we can read in his Dictionary what patience itself would be wearied in looking through elsewhere.

But those few articles which he has given on the personages of the Heathen Mythology, are a good specimen of his manner of writing. Instead of a lifeless mass of learning, you meet with every thing of gay and interesting that antiquity has left us on the subject; and all this is thrown into the most risible contrast with the serious fury of the Greek and Latin fathers, and the prosing dulness of their commentators and apologists. The taste of the fathers, it is well known, was not the most delicate; but few people would imagine to what lengths they proceeded in their animadversions on the Pagan religion. Through a praiseworthy love of truth, Bayle was desirous that mankind should see the unshrouded nature of their ecclesiastical warmth, and, by permitting them to

speak for themselves, he has selected a curious commentary on the spirit of theology; but he has taken care not to translate—they would not bear that.

Yet it is not the fathers *only* who supply him with this kind of *materiel;* even the theologians of his own country have been much addicted to the same species of casuistry. They have seldom judged it sufficient to know what is innocent and becoming in a French Bishop, or Abbé; they must inquire into the terms upon which Juno lived with her husband Jupiter; and how intrigues were carried on formerly in Olympus. They make a serious business of matters of this nature; and expend, without remorse, a good folio page in adjusting each momentous particular. Amongst these pages the most brilliant periods may sometimes be found, full of animation and *esprit;* the deepest understanding, exerting itself upon nothing; and imagination pausing with delight amid the mystic groves and pearly streams of the mythology. Bayle's mind was patient and indefatigable. He plunged deliberately into this sea of words; and with the drag-net of a discriminating taste, drew up the gems that sparkled on its oosy bottom.

It is vain, however, to attempt to paint every feature of his writings. In a sketch like this, little more can be given than a faint outline. But this outline will not have been drawn in vain, if the reader should be induced by it to court a further intimacy with Bayle. We assure him he may fall in with worse acquaintance.

Let us finish the sketch.—Most people are willing to possess knowledge; but they would acquire it without a great deal of labour—and no labour is more revolting to such persons, than turning over a great number of books. They would find what they are in search of within a small circle. Hence they apply themselves to abridgments, Encyclopædias—to all those books, in short, which profess to give the quintessence of knowledge. But it seldom happens that compilers, or abridgers, possess the genius and discrimination necessary to compress extensive theories, or sciences, into intelligible abstracts. They present their reader with the husk, the lifeless skeleton of what he is in search of; and either cause him to remain satisfied with his first ignorance, or drive him at last to those pure sources from which indolence only could have scared him in the beginning. In being an exception to this consists one of Bayle's principal merits. He had, from his earliest years studied philosophy for its own sake; not absolutely, perhaps, without having an eye to future publication, but without that consideration being the great momentum of his studies. He had amused himself with bringing together the scattered fragments of ancient systems; with following their principles through all the consequences that could result from them; with comparing the actions of their inventors with the schemes of life which they sketched out for others. This course of education enabled him to enter into the spirit of every sect; to expound with authority their open and secret opinions. He was not unworthy of becoming successively the representative of Pythagoras, Plato, Epicurus, Arcesilas, and Pyrrho; and of pleading before the modern world, in behalf of those who had adorned and exalted the ancient. In reality, we find, in his Dictionary, the most clear and comprehensive exposition of the ancient systems of philosophy that exists; and we owe it to his enthusiasm for those hardy efforts of man's understanding.

The theologians of France and Holland, much more learned in the words than in the ideas of the ancients, contended that he had sharpened, strengthened, and pushed further than ever, the arguments of infidelity; that he pretended to clothe the opinions of Pyrrho, of Bion, of Xenophanes, in modern language, only that he might by that means give the freer vent to his own heterodox notions;—that to be convinced of his impiety, the public had only to observe with what unbecoming acuteness and levity he had searched into the foibles of those, whose names were held in the highest veneration by at least a small portion of mankind. But even in this the writer intrenches himself behind the sentiments of the fathers, commentators, and casuists; and, very frequently, only points the artillery which those good men levelled against characters who happened to displease them, as well as against each other.

But it was not in these articles that the principal venom was supposed to lie; but rather in those consecrated to the heresiarchs of the earlier ages of Christianity: to Manes, to Arius, &c. Here, it was said, he had wantoned in the subtlety of his logic, and entangled the feet of orthodoxy in an inextricable web of sophistry. We all know the ingenuity with which theological bigots can metamorphose every thing into sophistry, which they cannot answer; as well as the rancour with which they pursue whoever has the misfortune to overcome them in argument. Hence their hatred of Bayle. Hence the pious doubts which they entertained of his salvation. Saurin, who was not a bad man, believed himself possessed of no small portion of charity, when he hoped that God had forgiven Bayle. Yet he expressed that hope in a tone which conveyed a strong doubt of its fulfilment. He could hardly conceive that a man who had "followed the path of heretics," and quoted books, "the names of which a learned mouth never uttered," could ever find the path to heaven. Few have been so moderate as Saurin.

Let us now, like the fisherman, draw together our net, and see what this lengthened speculation has produced; let us endeavour to put into one single picture, what has been viewed distinctly, and at intervals.

The greater part of authors, who, upon a first view, strike the eye with all the "pomp and circumstance" of genius, shrink to mere skeletons upon closer examination. But Bayle, upon our first approaches, resembles one of the sons of Anak, seen from a distance; and does not excite any very powerful emotions. As we draw near, however, the features display their beauty, and the giant-limbs their full and unfamiliar proportions. Our previous ideas render us little assistance in measuring the figure before us; but by repeated efforts we succeed at length in equalling our conceptions to its enormous power. This, it must be confessed, is a differential character; and no one, who has made himself acquainted with his works, can deny that it is the character of Bayle.

The mind that is imbued with the love of knowledge, should pause and fasten on such characters as this, till it borrow something of their greatness; for merit is reflective, and is caught by being deeply meditated. It passes, like heat, into that, which for any length of time preserves an intimate contact with it; it tinges, with the hue of eternity, whatever lingers within the sphere of its influence.

The private and moral character of Bayle, was that of a virtuous and amiable man. He was much beloved by those who lived in friendship

with him; for his manners were simple; his temper mild; his affections moderate, but equable and lasting; his principles upright and independent. He inspired esteem in all those who approached him. His studious and retired habits left him but little time for society; but that little was enjoyed tranquilly in the bosom of his friends. Many persons of very high rank were ambitious of his acquaintance; princes, who visited Rotterdam, appeared to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of genius—others wished to attach him, by pensions, to their courts: but that commercial and republican city possessed, in the liberty it afforded his free temper in philosophy, much stronger attractions for him than the courts of kings. He was neither desirous of amassing wealth, nor of attracting personal attention. It was enough for him if the irradiation of his intellect were spread over the world; he did not wish to canopy himself beneath the rays, that the eyes of admiration might be turned upon him. He wished, like the Deity, that mankind should be sensible of his existence, by the benefits which they received at his hands—himself remaining unseen. Yet did no tinge of affectation mingle with this retired spirit. He did not resemble the comet, which, while it plunges into the abysses of ether, leaves behind it a trail of glory to direct the sight; but rather some modest star, which, shrouded, as it were, among myriads of lesser magnitude, twinkles quietly in some pure corner of the sky. He was sensible that fame must be consequent upon labours such as his; but he did not wish to gulp it down, like new-made wine, with all its impurities floating at the top; he was satisfied to wait until time should refine it to an etherial fluid, though it might be tasted only by his manes. Numerous as were his friends, he knew it was not for that age to weigh his worth in the balance; he foresaw the approach of a period in which superstition should be shaken from her throne; in which the scales should fall from the eyes of the people; in which reason, knowledge, rectitude, should be placed upon the forsaken pedestals of credulity and folly. He stood upon the *table-land* of knowledge, if we may be permitted to borrow the expression of a powerful and original writer of our day, and saw beyond the darkness that hemmed in the narrow moment that was present to him, the sunshine which streamed upon the skirts of the promised land.

Beholding, therefore, the splendour of this vision, it is matter of little wonder that he reposed him tranquilly beneath the wing of fate; yielding up his intervals of meditation to the pleasing converse of his friends. He was a perfect contrast to the literary courtiers, who, in the encyclopedic era, thronged the capital of France. They had their merits as well as he: but retired modesty was not amongst the number. Yet he was the father of the sect; the creator of every thing that was noble in their philosophy; the *explorator* that pushed on before them into the enemies' country, to observe the nakedness of the land. In the hey-day of their success, they sometimes forgot him; but his works remain, and are an altar upon which the vows of the latest posterity will be offered up to genius.

FROM THE SHAH NAMEH.

Seest thou yon plain in verdant bloom array'd,
Where nodding poplars form a grateful shade,
Where purling rills of dearest nectar flow,
And flow'ry meads etherial fragrance blow?
There opening blossoms spread their sweets around,
And orient hues adorn the silken ground,
Rich gales of fragrance scent the ambient air,
And smiling groves their loveliest beauties wear;
In melting cadence, on the lofty spray,
The warbling nightingale attunes her lay,
While, 'twixt the branches gemm'd with sparkling flow'rs,
The graceful pheasant glides amid the bow'rs.
Oh may these scenes, to Time's remotest day,
Like Eden bloom, and suffer no decay!

But now behold far different views arise,
That thrill the soul, and captivate the eyes—
On the green hills a band of damsels play,
Whose forms celestial dart a golden ray!
High in the midst, Manizha treads the plain,
And shines trancendent o'er the heav'nly train;
Flush'd with the glow of youth, her cheeks display
The bright effulgence of the solar ray!
Sitàra, deck'd with beauty's radiant beam,
Close by her side diffus'd a starry gleam;
Majestic grandeur in her aspect shone,
As potent queens adorn the royal throne;
Whilst lovely nymphs around her, hand in hand,
With glossy vests in pleasing order stand.
In vain the rose expands its wonted bloom,
In vain the jasmine boasts its sweet perfume,
Her sovereign beauties more resplendent shine,
And charm the gardens with a grace divine!
With them, a throng of Turkish maidens smile,
Whose festive glee the genial hours beguile;
Their sparkling features, rich with rosy red,
Their glowing cheeks with blushes overspread,
The musky ringlets of their flowing hair,
Fann'd by the Zephyrs on the wanton air,
Full o'er the plains unnumber'd sweets exhale,
Revive the flowers, and enchant the dale.

Asiaticus.

GOVERNMENT, CHARACTER, AND RESOURCES OF THE BURMESE NATION.

In our last Number we gave a brief review of the history of the Burmese, from the establishment of their independence under the intrepid and enterprising founder of the reigning dynasty, till the commencement of the present war. We there attempted to illustrate, by a reference to historical facts, the more prominent points in the national character of the warlike and powerful people, with whom our Indian Rulers are at length involved in measures of active hostility; and and we shall now proceed to fill up the outline by a slight sketch of the nature and form of their government, of their military system, religion and laws; of their resources, commerce, manufactures, &c.; and, finally, of those peculiar and distinguishing traits in the physical and moral character of the people themselves, which separate them so widely from all the nations by which they are surrounded. In doing this it will not be necessary to enter into any minute details on these subjects. It will be sufficient for our present purpose, which is to place before the reader at one view a clear delineation of the actual condition and distinguishing features of the people and their government, to touch lightly upon those peculiar circumstances, under the operation of which they have attained their present formidable station among the nations of the East, and which must necessarily have exercised a considerable influence on the formation of their national and individual character.

The Government of Ava exhibits in its details a strong resemblance to the feudal monarchies of Europe in the dark ages, the principles of which had probably their origin in the East. It differs, however, from that hateful system, in one most important point: it does not admit of hereditary dignities, which indeed are utterly incompatible with the pure and unqualified despotism that it maintains. All honours and employments emanate from the crown, to which they again revert on the death of their possessors. "Princes of the blood, high officers of state, and provincial governors, receive grants of provinces, cities, villages, and farms, to support their dignity, and, as a remuneration of their services, the rents of these assignments they collect for their own benefit. Money, except on pressing occasions, is never disbursed from the royal coffers; to one man the fees of an office are allotted; to another a station where certain imposts are collected; a third has land; each in proportion to the importance of his respective employment. By these donations they are not only bound in their own personal servitude, but likewise in that of all their dependents; they are called slaves of the king, and in turn their vassals are denominated slaves to them: the condition of these grants includes also services of war, as well as the duties of office."

As every man in the kingdom is thus liable to be called on for the military service of the state, they may be considered as a nation of soldiers. They have, however, no standing army, their peace establishment consisting only of the royal guard and a sufficient number of troops to preserve the police of the capital. When an army is to be raised, a mandate issues to all the viceroys of provinces and miongees of districts, requiring a

certain number of men to assemble at a general rendezvous on an appointed day; the levy being proportioned to the population of the province or district, estimated from the number of registered houses that it contains, and the burden to be borne by each house being determined by the provincial court. The conscripts thus raised are supplied by the Government with arms, ammunition, and probably a stated daily allowance of grain, but receive no pay. Their families are considered in the light of hostages, and in case of treachery, desertion, or even cowardice, are sacrificed without pity or remorse. The allegiance of the troops is thus secured by the most powerful motives, and men who have no national interest, and who feel no national pride, are stimulated to vigorous exertion by the common sentiments of mankind.

The infantry are armed with muskets and sabres; this latter weapon indeed is used by them not only as an implement of war, but also for various other purposes: with it the Burman peasant fells trees, shapes timber, cuts bamboos, or defends himself against an enemy or a wild beast; he never travels without it, and generally when on a journey carries a shield on his left arm. The cavalry consists almost entirely of natives of Cassay, who are much better horsemen than the Burmese; their horses are small, but very hardy and active; they ride, like all Orientals, with short stirrups and a loose rein; and are provided with a spear about seven or eight feet long, which they manage on horseback with great dexterity, seldom requiring or making use of any other weapon.

Their navy, such as it is, forms a very considerable force, and was once highly formidable among the neighbouring states. It consists of war-boats, of which every town of note in the vicinity of the river is compelled to furnish one or more, together with a certain number of men, in proportion to the magnitude of the place. These boats are constructed out of the solid trunk of the teak tree, which is excavated partly by fire and partly by cutting, the sides being afterwards artificially expanded. They carry from fifty to sixty rowers, each of whom are provided with a sword and a lance, and about thirty soldiers armed with muskets. On the prow, which is solid and has a flat surface, is mounted a piece of ordnance, a six, nine, or even twelve pounder; and swivels are frequently fixed on the curvature of the stern. When Colonel Symes was in Ava, he was informed that the king could assemble 500 of these vessels at a very short notice; but their number has since been much diminished, and they are seldom used except on occasions of ceremony, the Burmese having learned to place more reliance on their military force than on the exertions of a navy so imperfectly constituted.

The revenue is very considerable, but we do not possess sufficient data to ascertain its amount with any degree of precision. The tenth of all the produce of the country, and of all foreign goods imported into it, is exacted as the authorized due of the Government; a great part of this is received in kind, and distributed in lieu of salaries to the various dependents of the court. The remainder is converted to the private use of the monarch; and as the favourite maxim of Oriental state policy, which inculcates the accumulation of money in the royal coffers, is steadily acted on, and very little of what enters the exchequer returns into circulation, the assertion that the Burman monarch is immensely rich, may readily be credited. The manufactures of the Burman empire consist

chiefly of articles for home consumption; they have made but little progress in the arts, except that of ship-building, which is extensively carried on, and in which they have of late years become very expert. About 3,000 tons of shipping are annually sent for sale to the ports of India and other places, besides those employed in the commerce of the country.

The extent of their coast, and the commodious harbours which it forms, give the Burmese abundant opportunities for the prosecution of commerce. On the whole British coast of the Bay of Bengal, from the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, there is not a single harbour capable of affording shelter to a vessel of 500 tons burden; while the opposite coast of the Burman empire comprehends at least three excellent ports,—Negrais, the most secure harbour in the bay, Rangoon, and Mergui. The river Irawaddy, which flows through the heart of the country, also affords peculiar facilities for inland navigation; most of the foreign merchandise is introduced into the interior by means of this noble stream, by which a communication is also opened, and an extensive trade carried on with the south-western provinces of China. The import trade is considerable; it consists principally of European broadcloths and hardware, and Bengal muslins and silk-handkerchiefs. One of the most important productions of the country is the teak-tree; vast forests of this valuable wood, which may almost be said to rival our native oak, are to be met with in various parts of the empire, and more particularly in Pegu, whence large quantities are annually exported to Calcutta and Madras, and even to Bombay.

So indispensable is this trade to the prosperity of Calcutta in particular, that a durable vessel of burden cannot be built in the river of Bengal, without the aid of teak-timber, which is procurable principally from Pegu, though large quantities are also brought from Malabar. The Burmese themselves, who are by no means shortsighted in whatever relates to their own interests, are so fully sensible of the advantages which they possess in the abundance of this wood, and its comparative cheapness, that they have of late years given much encouragement to the building of vessels in the Rangoon river, which possesses local advantages for the purpose equal to those of any port in the world, and superior to most. Their shipwrights have in consequence made so great a progress in this art, as to awaken a considerable degree of jealousy in the bosoms of their more scientific neighbours, many of whom have, however, been wise enough to profit by the superior cheapness of their workmanship; and a large portion of the shipping now employed in the Indian seas, is the produce of the ship-yards at Rangoon.

The Burmese, in common with almost every other nation to the eastward of the Ganges, are sectaries of Buddha, whom they worship under the name of Godama. They profess to have derived their religion, more than 600 years ago, from Arracan, into which it had been introduced at a much earlier period from Ceylon, which has ever been the focus of Buddhism. As in most other countries, it has here also undergone considerable modifications, in order to accomodate it to the genius and character of the people. The priests are called Rhahaans, and are distinguished, like the priests of Fo, the Buddha of China, by wearing yellow garments; they live together in convents or colleges, called Kioums, and are generally well-informed men, remarkably decent in their lives, and unobtrusive in their conduct, never interfering either in politics or

war. There were also formerly nunneries of virgin priestesses, but these have been suppressed, as detrimental to the population of the state.

The Rhahaans perform no daily or stated rites, neither are they entitled by law to any fixed or compulsory remuneration. They take no care for the things of this world, but subsist entirely on the charity of the city, the contributions of which in articles of food they receive ready dressed. At the dawn of the morning, each convent sends forth a certain number of its members to collect supplies for the day, who walk through the streets at a quick pace, carrying a box in which the donations are deposited. They keep their eyes steadily fixed on the ground, and never stop to solicit; they seldom look at the donors, who appear more desirous to bestow than they are to receive, for charity to the Rhahaans is considered by the Burmese as one of their most sacred duties. They eat but once a day, and as a much larger quantity of provision is usually collected than is sufficient for the convent, the surplus is distributed to needy strangers, and to the poor scholars, who daily attend them to be instructed in letters and in their moral and religious duties.

Toleration is nowhere more complete; the Burmese never trouble themselves about the religious opinions of others, nor disturb their ritual ceremonies. That they are desirous of making proselytes is evident from the translation which Dr. Buchanan has given of a treatise written by one of the principal Rhahaans, with the view of converting the Christians; but no compulsory means are ever resorted to for that purpose, and every one is at perfect liberty to worship God in his own way. Of late years, the Brahmins of India have contrived to introduce themselves in considerable numbers; but they have no concern whatever in religious matters; they are merely consulted as astrologers, in which capacity they are supposed to be eminently skilful; and as the Burmese are much addicted to divination, they have by this means obtained considerable influence even in affairs of state, as well as in the most trifling concerns; for no person will commence any undertaking, without first ascertaining from some man of skill the precise day and hour which will be most propitious for his purpose.

The Burman laws, like those of the Hindoos, are inseparable from their religion; indeed, both are derived from the same source. The Dherma Shastra of the Burmese is one of the best of the numerous Commentaries on Menû, and its regulations appear to be conscientiously administered. "It is," says Colonel Symes, "replete with sound morality; and is, in my opinion, distinguished above any other Hindoo Commentary, for perspicuity and good sense; it provides specifically for almost every species of crime that can be committed, and adds a copious chapter of precedents and decisions to guide the inexperienced in cases where there is doubt and difficulty. Trial by ordeal, and imprecation, are the only absurd passages in the book; but on the subject of women, it is, to a European, offensively indecent. Like the immortal Menû, it tells the prince and the magistrate their duty, in language austere, manly, and energetic."

Most of the Burmese are taught to read and write the common language; but a knowledge of the Pali, in which the sacred books are written, is confined to the priests and higher orders. Every convent has a collection of books, and some of these are very considerable. The King's library contains many thousand volumes, and is supposed to be

more extensive than that of any other Asiatic monarch, with the exception of the Emperor of China. By far the greater number of these volumes relate to divinity and law; but they have also many histories, which are said to be highly fabulous, and books of medicine, music, poetry, painting, and romance.

"Hitherto," says Dr. Buchanan, "I suspect the laws or religion of the Burmese have contributed little to the happiness of the people; but fortunately they have not, like those of the Brahmins, placed any insurmountable obstacle in the way of national improvement." The Burmese, indeed, are happily free from the malignant influence of that abominable institution of *castes*, to which India is indebted for a state of society utterly incompatible with moral restraint and mental improvement; and which, in the hands of the Brahmins, has been converted into the most cruel and degrading system of oppression that ever tyrannized over the human mind. In consequence of this fundamental distinction, the Burmese and the Hindoos, though separated only by a narrow range of mountains, in many places admitting of an easy intercourse, exhibit a contrast which could hardly be stronger, were they placed at opposite extremities of the globe.

The Burmese are a lively and inquisitive race, active, irascible, and impatient; while the character of their Bengal neighbours is of the most opposite description. The females are treated with a liberality which is unknown in the other countries of the East; that morose jealousy which immures them within the walls of a harem, and which especially prohibits them from all communication with foreigners, is unknown among the Burmese. Their wives and daughters have as free intercourse with society as the ladies of Europe; and the management of the household, and many other important concerns, are committed to their charge. They are, however, considered as of an inferior rank in the creation to men, and their testimony has not an equal weight in a court of justice. Men, too, are permitted to emigrate; but this indulgence is denied to women, under whatever circumstances, as tending more especially to diminish the population of the state. Consequently, if a foreigner marries a Burman wife, and afterwards quits the country, she and her daughters must remain behind: this law is rigorously enforced, and a breach of it would subject those who might be accessaries to it to the severest penalties. This extreme solicitude for the maintenance of the population, affords another contrast to the state of things still permitted in Hindoostan, in many parts of which the horrible custom of exposing children, and especially females, still flourishes in full vigour under the protection of a Christian Government.

Marriages are not contracted, as among the Hindoos, before the age of puberty; the contract is purely civil, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction having nothing to do with it. The law recognises but one wife, though concubinage is allowed to an indefinite extent. Infidelity is rare, for idleness, the grand corrupter, is unknown among the women; a female of the highest rank seldom sits at home unemployed; her female servants, like those of the Grecian dames of antiquity, ply "the various labours of the loom," whilst their mistress superintends and directs their industry. Like most other people, they exhibit striking inconsistencies of conduct and character, displaying, says Colonel Symes, "in some points of their disposition, the ferocity of barbarians, and in others all

the humanity and tenderness of polished life. They inflict the most savage vengeance on their enemies: as invaders, desolation marks their track, for they spare neither age nor sex. But at home they assume a different character; there they manifest benevolence by extending aid to the infirm, the aged, and the sick. A common beggar is nowhere to be seen; every individual is certain of receiving sustenance, which, if he cannot provide by his own labour, is provided for him by others."

The following quotations, the first of which is from Colonel Symes, and the two latter from Captain Cox, will give an idea of the comfort, security and independence of the lower orders.

Every thing in this district seemed to be flourishing; the peasants and the farmers acknowledged in the Maywoon (Viceroy) a mild and beneficent landlord: if they were not so opulent as some, they were not so poor as many others: content, I thought, shone in every countenance, and comfort appeared to be an inmate of every dwelling.

Every step I advance, I meet with proofs of a better police, and more thriving people than I had any conception of. All along the banks, wherever I have landed, I have met with security and abundance; the houses and farm-yards of the peasantry put me much in mind of the habitations of our little farmers in England. The population much exceeds what I had been taught to believe; and on inquiring of the villagers, they mention in every place that there are larger towns inland. Game is scarce and shy, and tigers unthought of; a proof, not only of considerable population, but also of cultivation.

To-day I had a proof of the independence of the common labourers in this country; the crew of my boat went ashore with their little bundles, refusing to proceed further, unless the laidaghee (the cockswain or owner of the boat) paid them the balance of their contract-hire for the trip to Amarapoora. The laidaghee pleaded that he had no security for their performing the trip, whereas they were sure of obtaining redress against him if he refused to pay. The officers of government with me, never interfered to compel them, but at length compromised the business, by becoming security for the owner of the boat. During the passage also, on several occasions, the boat's crew have been threatened with punishment for neglect of attention; the rattan has been brandished, and even the culprit bound, but I never saw a blow inflicted.

No nation, not even the Chinese, to whom in many particulars they bear a marked resemblance, can exceed them in their fondness for show and ceremony, in the importance which they attach to the distinction of ranks, and to the insignia by which these are designated, as well as in the haughty and arrogant notions which they entertain of the omnipotence of their Emperor, who acknowledges no equal upon earth. A ludicrous instance of their ignorant self-importance and inflated vanity occurred to Captain Canning, who was at Amarapoora in 1810, and who, in a conversation with one of the ministers, having mentioned the war which then desolated Europe, was told that "had his Burman Majesty been applied to at first in a proper manner, he would have sent an army and put the English in possession of France."

It cannot, however, be denied, and ought not to be dissembled, that the Burmese are endowed with a degree of energy, perseverance, and policy, and possessed of resources far superior to any of the eastern nations with which we have hitherto had to contend; and although the final issue of the contest in which we are engaged may not be considered doubtful; yet, the subjugation of such a people, and the overthrow of so powerful and consistent a government, will not be accomplished without much expense of blood and treasure. The policy of attempting such a conquest, and the ultimate consequences to which it will in all

probability lead, are questions that we shall find some future opportunity to discuss; contenting ourselves, for the present, with having placed the actual condition of the people before the reader, and furnished him with the necessary materials for forming his own opinion on the question of their probable resistance.

THE HOSPITALITY OF THE BEDOUINS.

Sweet, to the Arab, is the tramp of steeds,
Which gratefully at evening-fall succeeds
To wizard stillness, in his desert camp,
What time the housewife trims her early lamp.
For oft some wandering poet comes to bless
With his blithe songs their weary loneliness;
And then the kid is slain, and brimming bowls
Of sober milk regale their cheerful souls;
The harem curtain drops, and lovely dames,
In meek simplicity, surround the flames
Of the bright hearth, and listen to the lay
That melts their sweet unpractised hearts away.

The fierce, brown warrior of the desert, too,
Feels his dusk cheeks oft moistened by the dew
Of pity, as the minstrel's words unfold
Some lovelorn story of the days of old.
And still the stripling robber presses near,
When feats of love or daring strike his ear.
When, as oft haps, his gallant sire's renown
Comes last, the proud recited acts to crown;
His fancy pictures in some hostile tent
Of soft bright eyes the soothing blandishment,
And burns, through straits and danger to awake,
In maidens' breasts, some pity for his sake.
He hears the snort of coursers in the wind,
And war's whole pageant passes through his mind;
While, by the lamp's pale glimmer, you might see
His face disturbed by mental agony,
And mark his feet, forgotten all the lay,
Steal from the midnight tent their devious way;
Pursue him where beneath the moon he lies,
Stretched on the sand, while tears suffuse his eyes.

Meanwhile the bard, the song concluded, sees
The young Bedãwis cluster round his knees,
Sport with his beard, or gaze upon his beads,
While his pleased hand soft pats their curly heads.
The mother smiles, the father joys to see
His lovely hopes, his beauteous progeny;
And when to rest they go, their simple bed
Invites bright golden dreams to fill the minstrel's head.

Bion.

LETTER IV.

ON THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MONOPOLY OF TEA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, London, Sept. 10, 1824.

I REGRET that the accounts relating to the Tea Trade, which the East India Company have laid before Parliament, had not appeared before my last Letter went to press; but I am gratified to find that my statements are fully borne out by them, as I have been all along desirous to avoid exaggeration, and to present your readers with the plain unvarnished truth. These accounts afford information to which I had no access, and I shall therefore proceed to dissect them.

In Table, No. 1, it will be perceived under the head Congou,

		Quantity sold.	Sale Price.
In Dec. 1822		4,363,194	2*s.* 8*d.* per lb.
March, 1823		5,006,545	2*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{3}{10}$
	Excess	643,351	fall $\frac{7}{10}$*d.*
June	Sold	4,806,554	2*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{4}{10}$
Sept.		4,027,376	2*s.* 8*d.* $\frac{4}{10}$
	Short	779,178	rise 1*d.*
Dec.	Sold	4,841,409	2*s.* 8*d.* $\frac{1}{10}$
	Excess over Sept.	814,033	fall $\frac{3}{10}$*d.*

By Table 4, it will be perceived that on an average of four years 82,770,299 lbs of Congou cost 5,668,234*l.* or 1*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{4}{10}$ per lb., and sell at one hundred per cent. advance, as per table, No. 1; and it cannot fail to strike the most casual observer, that the East India Company can increase or diminish the quantity of tea three quarters of a million pounds, as it suits their pleasure to make the public pay; for instance, the short declaration of September, 1823, raised the price

1*d.* per lb. on 4,027,376 lbs. is	£16,780 14 8
Add duty	16,780 14 8
Extorted from the public in one quarter of a year, on this quality alone	33,561 9 4

And as a proof of the quantity put up being too limited, the increase of 814,033 lbs. next quarter only lowered the price $\frac{3}{10}$ of a penny per lb.

Souchong, Table 1.

	Quantity sold.	Sale Price.	
In March, 1822	45,322 lbs.	3*s.* 11*d.*	
June	406,582	2*s.* 10*d.* $\frac{9}{10}$	fall 1*s.* per lb.
Sept.	373,889	2*s.* 10*d.* $\frac{8}{10}$	
Dec.	579,257	2*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{1}{10}$	

	Quantity sold.	Sale Price.	
In March, 1823	31,940	4s. 4d. $\frac{7}{10}$	rise 1s. 7d. $\frac{6}{10}$
June	351,209	2s. 9d. $\frac{7}{10}$	fall 1s. 7d.
Sept.	805,683	2s. 11d. $\frac{3}{10}$	rise 1d. $\frac{6}{10}$
Dec.	96,448	4s. $\frac{3}{10}$	rise 1s. 1d.

Here again you perceive they can vary the quantities ten, and even twenty-five fold, and raise the price 30 and 70 per cent. These are the blessings of Monopoly, and to such risks is the property of the dealers exposed by the caprice, cupidity, or want of foresight in the East India Company. The price of this description in four years on 382,460 lbs. costing 38,908*l.* is 2*s.* $\frac{4}{10}$ per lb., and sells at about fifty per cent. advance.

In Twankay, as far back as these tables go, the quantity has not been greatly varied, and the price has consequently been very stationary at about 3*s.* 5*d.* per lb. The average price in four years on 14,992,208 lbs. costing 1,071,621*l.* is per lb. 1*s.* 5*d.* $\frac{3}{20}$, and sells at about 170 per cent. advance on the cost!

Bohea, the cost of 8,502,156 lbs. is 336,297*l.*, or per lb. 9*d.* $\frac{4}{10}$, and the medium sale price is 2*s.* 5*d.* per lb., or above 300 per cent. advance!!

The other descriptions are chiefly consumed by the opulent, and are therefore not so important; but it cannot fail to create a feeling of disgust to see those qualities most heavily taxed, which are consumed by the poor and middling classes, viz. Congou, Twankay, and Bohea, on which the East India Company get the most profit; and the least on Souchong and Hyson.

Before I close this part of my examination, I must observe that the statements are not altogether satisfactory. I should like to have known how the East India Company estimate the cost, at what rate they calculate the dollar, or, if they pay for any part of the tea in barter, at what profit do they charge their exports to the Hong merchants, who are compelled to take them in part payment? It is very usual for their officers to estimate the cost of their private trade at 5*s.* the dollar, whereas it is intrinsically not worth more than 4*s.* 2*d.*; and if the East India Company do the same, one-sixth must be deducted from the account of the cost. However this may be, the extortion practised by the East India Company on the people is clear enough; and if they should not have the good sense to lower the price of tea, I hope every town and village in the kingdom will petition Parliament next session to compel them.

In Table 2, we find the average price of tonnage paid by the East India Company to be 21*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*, or 4*d.* $\frac{6}{10}$ per lb., which is at least double what private traders could sail for, as is proved by their having taken up two ships to load for Canada direct, at 10*l.* 8*s.*

29,230 tons at 21*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* is	£645,116
Salaries at Canton, Table 6.	79,516
Average of expenses, Table 7.	234,444
	949,076

At the first view this would appear very greatly to exceed my rough estimate of expenses for freight, &c. of 750,000*l.* but in reality I am not far wrong.[1]

[1] See Oriental Herald, vol. ii. p. 211.

For instance, in the charge for freight, according to their statement, tea is made to bear the whole, but where is the proportion for the outward cargo to India, the intermediate freight on cotton, &c., thence to China, and that upon other goods home, which are worth one-third, or say one-fourth, or £161,279

Salaries, at the same rate	19,879
But assuredly I never dreamt of such an enormous sum as 79,516*l.* under this head	
Charges at Canton, one-fourth	12,662
	193,820
Deducted from 949,076*l.*, leave	765,256

In this are not included the charge for interest and insurance, both of a questionable nature, and the latter altogether inadmissible, as I believe a clause in the charter-party renders the owners liable to damage above a certain amount, which is deducted out of the freight, and forms the principal part of the risk. Were I inclined to enter into minutiæ, I might question the first item of charges in England, varying from 68,341*l.* and 84,989*l.* Such amounts are as dust in the scale, and I will not tire the patience of your readers with them; but there is one item which I cannot pass over. The East India Company give credit for the proportion of the charges in England, deducted from the accounts of their officers, but they omit altogether the profit which they derive from the deduction of 27 per cent. on the selling price of the officers' teas. Now this I estimate to be at least equal to double the freight which they pay; or in other words, that such deduction is equal to freight at 45*l.* per ton. I have no certain data to go by, but I should suppose that the officers' tonnage may be about 2000 tons, upon which the East India Company gain about 50,000*l.* What, therefore, appears at first sight great liberality, is a very handsome bonus to the Company; for if their officers were not paid in tonnage, they would be paid by the owners in wages, and of course the East India Company would pay higher freights.

The only remaining statement to notice is that of the exports to China, No. 5, upon which I have to remark that after the number of years, in which the East India Company have enjoyed the exclusive supply, the greatest amount is 828,310*l.* which falls very short of what the little port of Singapore has taken off, only four or five years after its establishment. Can any thing show more clearly how utterly incapable such privileged Companies are to carry on trade, or more clearly falsify their repeated declarations, that the exports to China from this country were incapable of increase? Attached to the late treaty with the Dutch, I perceive, is the surrender of Singapore to the East India Company's jurisdiction. What effect this may have on its prosperity time will show: but if his Majesty's ministers have not stipulated that it is to remain a free port, as originally constituted, the result will I fear be in the highest degree disastrous. Let those who have formed establishments there look to it, or they may repent their supineness when too late.

Perhaps it may not be superfluous, now that I am examining these public documents, to submit to your attention a few facts extracted from another Parliamentary paper on Shipping and Merchandise, which may

put the relative value of our East and West India trade upon a correct basis, and prevent false statements on both sides.

Table 1.

Imports from the East Indies and China.		West Indies.
1818	7,687,278	8,326,927
1819	7,337,689	8,608,790
1820	7,537,563	8,188,540
1821	7,562,647	8,354,512
1822	6,233,571	8,367,477
1823	5,106,400	8,019,761
	41,465,148	49,166,010

It is to be remarked, respecting the imports from the East Indies and China, that the amount is 2,580,878*l.* less in 1823, than in 1818, and I believe about that sum was imported in specie; and according to all appearance the same amount in specie will be brought home this year, as almost every ship has on board from 100,000*l.* to 300,000*l.* in value. The imports from the West Indies do not greatly vary in official, but I should think there must be a great falling off in the real value; and it is to be observed, that from the more bulky nature of the imports, the value is for the most part made up in freights and charges, whereas the East India imports are chiefly of great value and little bulk, such as indigo, silk and tea.

Table 2.

Exports to the East Indies and China.		West Indies.	
1818	2,779,626	7,015,590	
1819	3,186,981	5,989,706	
1820	2,373,913	4,692,414	
1821	3,272,817	4,555,775	
1822	4,313,047	5,311,771	
1823	3,886,950	4,370,099	
	19,813,334	31,935,355	
Declared value exceeding the official	4,489,063	1,343,214	Declared value less than the official.
	24,302,397	30,592,141	

The official value of all exports to both quarters, it will be perceived is,

	To the East Indies and China.	To the British West Indies.
In 1818	£2,779,626	£7,015,590
1823	3,886,950	4,370,099
	Increase 1,107,334	Decrease 2,645,491

There is a most remarkable difference in the official and declared value of their exports of British produce; the declared value in six years

to the East Indies and China exceeding the official value by 4,489,063*l.* and the declared value t the West Indies being 1,343,214*l.* less than the official; so that taking the declared value as the most correct standard, which I verily believe, the exports of British manufactures will be,

To the East Indies and China, in 1823	£3,771,222
To the British West Indies	3,439,817
Balance in favour of the East Indies	331,405
Besides an excess in foreign and colonial produce	74,499
Making a total, according to the declared value, of	405,904

The official value of the exports to the West Indies exceeds the declared in 1823, 687,156*l.*; but, whichever account is correct, it is plain that, while the

Exports to the West Indies have fallen off	£2,645,491
Those to the East Indies and China have increased	1,107,334

As the East India Company's exports to China are rather on the decline, the increase is entirely attributable to the free trade, for the Company export little more than military stores to the East Indies. If any one should after this venture to laud the greater importance of the West Indies, he must be wilfully blind. It is not my wish to advocate the interest of either, but let there be even-handed justice observed towards both. If the cause is to be decided by the greater advantages which the mother country derives from them, these extracts may be of some use in forming a correct judgment; and it ought not to be overlooked that our East India establishments maintain themselves, which is not the case with the West India. What the East India trade might become, under a more liberal feeling, is almost beyond the reach of imagination; but the Editor's remarks upon my suggestion respecting the cultivation of the tea plant in India, are too confirmatory of my own apprehensions of the hopelessnsss of looking to the East India Company for so beneficial a measure, although common humanity would dictate its immediate adoption.[1] When the Colonial Government at the Cape of Good Hope, proverbially one of the most supine, can offer a premium for the cultivation of tea there, everlasting disgrace will attach to the East India Company, for never having made the attempt in their more congenial and populous territories; and if it be true, that the Company prohibit its cultivation, I trust the day of retribution is not far distant.

The history of the world does not present another such anomaly as the government of our Eastern possessions by this Company, nor has the interest of so vast a population ever been sacrificed to such commercial cupidity, without one corresponding advantage, or apparent motive, except that of patronage; which appears, from their laws and regulations, the sole god of the Directors' idolatry. The Natives have derived no benefit, civil, moral, or religious, from their rule;—no public works have increased their prosperity or happiness, nor will remain monuments to future ages of the power once exercised over these fruitful regions.

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[1] For these remarks, see Oriental Herald, vol. ii. p. 412.

The name of the East India Company is, and will continue, a bye word; and when their power has passed away, as it soon must, their memory will be a disgrace to the country they have misrepresented.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

P. B. P.

Postscript.—In my Letter, p. 408, v. ii., of the Oriental Herald, I prematurely anticipated that the East India House must yield to the public voice, and increase their declarations; for at the sale just concluded, they diminished the quantity of Congou 250,000 lbs., which occasioned a rise of

1*d.* per lb. on 5,100,000 sold, is	£21,250
Additional duty	21,250
	42,500
Add consequent rise on 500,000 lbs. Bohea, at 2*d.* with duty,	8,333
Making a total this quarter of	50,833
Thus extorted from the public, at the rate of, per annum	203,332

FANCY AND GENIUS.

In fiction's realm two powers maintain
A strong hereditary sway;
And while peace marks their easy reign,
No monarchs live so blest as they.
Their subjects flourish—o'er the earth
Extend their fame, increase their power,
And join with love and joy and mirth,
To grace the sweet or festive hour.

Sovereigns of forms! their sons possess
The cunning hand, the fiery eye,
And seizing nature's loveliest dress,
In pictures rise, or poetry.
But, ah! if Taste, a vizier keen,
Be unconsulted in the state,
What grisly monster-forms are seen
High-seated there, where once he sate!

Genius and Fancy toil in vain,
If Taste the guiding helm desert;
For, scattered o'er the boundless main,
Their wreck no caution can avert.
Taste, still the God of Letters stands,
And Fame awaits his fixed commands.

CHARACTER OF THE GREEKS AND THE TURKS. FROM THE DIARY OF A RUSSIAN TRAVELLER.

[It is curious, as well as instructive, to hear the opinions of men so peculiarly situated as are the Russians, with respect to the pending contest between the Greeks and the Turks; and with this impression we conceive the following article from an observant traveller of that nation, will not be without interest to our readers.]

On the 10th of July 1821, the squadron of the Pasha of Egypt was to sail from Alexandria, in order to join the fleet of the Sultan. For this purpose four Sclavonian merchantmen had been chartered, and armed with 18-pounders from the walls of Alexandria. To these were added three brigs belonging to the Pasha, fitted out in the same manner, now dignified by the name of frigates (his whole navy having been hitherto employed in the conveyance of wheat and beans to European ports), and finally a few small vessels borrowed from the consuls of the Barbary states, and a few zealous musulmans. Thus arose a formidable fleet of seventeen vessels, the command of which was intrusted to Ismail Gibiltār (or Gibraltar, as he is frequently called in the newspapers). In order to fit it out with more convenience and leisure, an embargo of forty days had been laid on all vessels lying in the port; by which means it was rendered impossible to escape from the plague, then raging at Alexandria. All the Greek sailors that could be found, were pressed into the service of this fleet; but as their number only amounted to 80, the remainder of the crews was made up of bargemen, porters, cobblers, and Bedouins, which latter had come expressly from their deserts, in order to get a sight of the sea. This impress (with which the Turks seem to be as familiar as the English) lasted for two days, during which time the streets of Alexandria were deserted, as no tradesman ventured to show himself abroad.

When the squadron was ready to put to sea, a violent altercation arose in the Divan about the necessity of having signal flags, or not. Tshoush-Oglu, a relation of the Pasha's, and general of the Arnauts, destined to accompany the expedition, was of opinion, that, whoever should first come up with the giaours (infidels) would be followed by the rest. But the admiral was of a different opinion; and being supported by some Franks, who influence the councils of the Pasha, his arguments prevailed, and it was ordered that ten pieces of velvet should be bought of the merchants on credit, in order to be made into flags. This obstacle prevented the sailing of the fleet for some days, during which the artillery-men, who had been taken from the land-service, were practising at the guns. In the mean time, however, a new misfortune occurred; one of the vessels had been overloaded with such a disproportionate weight of metal, that she was materially damaged, and began to sink. She required a thorough repair; but as both the Islam (the Faith) and the Empire were in danger, and neither of them could wait, it was determined that the squadron should sail without her. All the crews considered this event as a bad omen, and every one of them foretold that they should never return to Egypt; a degree of despondency which was greatly confirmed by daily reports of advantages gained by the infidels. At last the squadron sailed, under a discharge of artillery, on the 17th of July, taking its course towards Cyprus.

Captain Ismail Gibiltār, the admiral of the expedition, had hoisted

his flag on board the *Bella Africa*, the best sailer among the Pasha's frigates. Ismail, whose acquaintance I made at Cairo, speaks good Italian, and tolerably good French; is a friend to good living, and, what is very rare in a Turk, very cheerful in company. He was, in his youth, captain of a trading vessel, afterwards a merchant at Leghorn, (where he learnt to drink wine,) resided some time in France, and ultimately entered into the service of the Pasha, in the characters of translator, secretary, minister, admiral, and (in case of emergency) that of courier. His master had despatched him to Sweden, for the purpose of purchasing fire-arms and iron, and to propose to the Swedish merchants to take Egyptian beans in exchange for their goods. He was also to negotiate with the Swedish government for the purchase of a fleet for the Pasha; but this part of the plan was frustrated through the jealousy of the Sultan, and Gibiltār returned with one frigate, *La Bella Svezia*, which was built during his residence, and which, we believe, was either repaired or fitted out in the dock-yard of Deptford.

The sixteen vessels that had sailed carried out 2,800 men, including sailors, servants, *Kahwedshi-Bashis* and *Tshubooktshi-Bashis*, (chiefs of the coffee-sellers and pipe-cleaners and fillers) in great numbers, and fourteen Frank steersmen, who were to have fifteen piastres a month. The day after the sailing of the squadron, one vessel, which proved too heavy to keep up with the remainder, returned; and, on the next day, another, which, through awkwardness of management, had lost her main-mast; thus reducing the expedition to fourteen vessels. The embargo on European vessels continued for several days after their departure.

Mehmed Ali Pasha, who at the beginning of the insurrection of the Greeks had shown great apathy, had become a zealous defender of the faith, since the arrival of the last tatar (a courier, not a Tartar) from Constantinople, with strict orders from the Porte. But perhaps even these might not have roused him into activity, had he not received so many personal insults from the insurgents. One of his frigates, and several smaller vessels, loaded with corn, had been captured by them. However, what exasperated him most, was the capture of a large ship belonging to a merchant of Alexandria, who owed him some millions of piastres, by a vessel belonging to a Russian house at Constantinople, which, after having sold her cargo at the former place, and taken her papers from the consulate, left the port, and immediately hoisted the colours of the insurgents.

Yet, notwithstanding these repeated losses, which must have been very painful to a Turkish heart, he took no revenge upon the Greeks residing within his pashalik, where Christians remained perfectly secure and unmolested. The Bairam passed in the most perfect tranquillity, as the Turks even abstained from their favourite amusement of firing their pistols. A conspiracy among the Albanian soldiers had been formed to murder all the Christians in Alexandria during the first days of the festival; but the Pasha, who had timely notice of the plot, frustrated it. The Mollah of the city, one night, collected the wives and children of the Arab sailors, who had lately been captured and hung by the Greeks off Rosetta, and led them before the *kiosk* of the Pasha. There, under the windows of the Viceroy, he ordered them to raise the most piteous howls, intermixed with curses on the infidels, and to demand back their husbands and fathers murdered by them. The Pasha ordered the crowd to be dispersed; but the next morning he sent for the authors of the disturbance,

and examined their complaints. To those who had lost their relations he assigned various indemnifications, but the Mollah was told, that he should infallibly lose his head, if his zeal should ever again so far mislead him as to serenade "His Felicity" in this disagreeable manner.

The intelligence, however, which was brought the day after the sailing of the fleet, by a Maltese captain, named Mammo, excited the indignation of the Pasha, and indeed of every honourable mind. Eight Turkish merchants from Candia, who, in order to escape the troubles and dangers of a civil war, had embarked on board his vessel for the purpose of seeking an asylum in Egypt, had been taken out of it by a Cassiot pirate, and hanged up at the yard-arm. The fellow had not only made no attempt to save the lives of these peaceful and innocent men, who had trusted themselves to his honour and the inviolability of the British flag, but had actually consented to take the money from the pirates which they paid him for the passage of those Turks and the carriage of their goods. The Pasha complained to the British consul, Mr. Salt, who told him that his power only extended to the Egyptian ports, but that he would refer the case to the government at Malta. The fury of the Musulmans on this occasion was excessive, and nothing but the absence of the troops saved the Christians in the city from the most fearful retaliation.

On the 22d of July, I sailed from Alexandria, on board the Austrian merchantman *L'Illirico*. On the 27th, in the evening, we saw the island of Castel Rosso,—a few days before the madness of revolution had stained its shores with the blood of the innocent. This little island, which is entirely inhabited by Greeks, contained a few Turkish families who had settled here for purposes of trade, whilst the natives support themselves by fishing, and the conveyance of wood from the Caramanian forests to Cyprus and Egypt, in small vessels, called *Sacoleivi*. Too weak for any bold enterprise, they had lived hitherto apparently quiet and indifferent spectators of the successes and reverses of their countrymen in the Archipelago and the Morea. In the mean time, however, a secret conspiracy was formed, and on an appointed day the unsuspecting Turks fell under the daggers of the islanders; and the flag of insurrection was raised on the ruins of their gothic castle, which is a relic of the Venetian dominion. There were, during that time, two Turkish ships in the harbour, the capture of which was included in the plan of the insurgents. Of one of them, the crew was despatched without much resistance; but that of the other, amounting to thirty men, being in possession of a considerable store of arms and ammunition, defended themselves stoutly for about forty minutes; when the captain, who, after the Turkish fashion, had been sitting during the whole combat, near the stern of the vessel, at last saw that it would be impossible for his men to resist any longer the ardour of the Christians, he rose majestically, and walking slowly into the hold, set fire to a powder-cask. The ship blew up in an instant, the harbour was covered with shattered planks and spars, which in their fall killed several of the Greeks in the surrounding boats.

On the 31st, at daybreak, we fell in with the Ottoman fleet, opposite the northern point of the island of Rhodes, on her way to join the Pasha's fleet, which was then in the harbour of that island. It consisted of four line-of-battle ships of 74 guns, five frigates of from 40 to 44 guns, eight smaller vessels, and an unarmed merchant-ship, which had been a Greek fire-ship taken off Samos. One line-of-battle ship, which formed

the vanguard of the fleet, approached us till within pistol-shot, when she sailed right under our head, without a voice being heard to challenge us. The wind was so slack that it scarcely moved our sails, which nevertheless were hastily reefed. But in the same moment the Turks turned, and sailed close along our larboard bow, whilst a voice with a Sclavonian accent asked us, in Italian, whence we came, whither we were bound, and what was our cargo? The answers having been to their satisfaction, several voices called out *Buon viaggio!* and the rest of the fleet passed us without asking us a single question. Every ship had some boats, full of rowers, dragging after them in the water. We were rather surprised at this precaution, which is only equalled by the cowardly Neapolitans, who not daring to fight the smallest pirate, have always some boats ready for flight. The general silence too, prevailing in the fleet, and which is so unusual with the Turkish soldiers, showed that they were not in the best spirits. At last the fleet cast anchor at the entrance of the Bay of Rhodes; but although the junction of the two fleets was thus effected, not a shot was fired to celebrate this happy event.

On the 1st of August, the boisterous state of the weather forced us to enter the harbour of Tilos or Piscopie, where we cast anchor. It is impossible to describe the consternation which seized the few poor inhabitants of this island on our arrival. Taking us for Turks, they prepared for the worst, and fled to the top of a neighbouring mountain, which, within an hour after our arrival, appeared crowded with people. Soon after, we saw some armed Greeks, led by their priest, climbing down the sides of the cliffs. When they found that we were not Turks, they gave a signal, upon which the others also came down upon the shores. I landed with the captain, who hoped to be able to purchase some fresh provisions and wine. The Greeks had seated themselves under a shady fig-tree, where, still headed by their priest, they began filling their pipes, and prepared to make merry.

The situation of these poor people was truly lamentable. For two days that the Turkish fleet had remained in sight, they expected every moment to be that of their destruction. Their two villages were deserted; the inhabitants concealing themselves in caverns; mothers carrying their infants amongst the most frightful precipices, which till then had been thought inaccessible; whilst their cattle were driven to the western shore, which is a complete wilderness, and is separated from the rest of the island by a high and steep chain of rocks. In their constant fear, and daily expectation of death, the inhabitants had changed the island into a desert; and, without leaving their parent soil, had rendered it uninhabitable. They had but twenty-two musquets and a few pistols among them, with scarcely any powder or shot; notwithstanding which some of the boldest of these islanders, encouraged by despair, had determined, in case of an attack, to defend themselves at the entrance of their villages, and, if compelled, to bury themselves under the ruins of their wretched habitations. The disappearance of the Ottoman fleet had now somewhat calmed their fears, and they again hoped to be able to preserve their dwellings, and to withdraw from among the rocks their poor babes, whom the cruel Musulmans would have trampled under foot, if unfortunately they had landed. Our hopes of finding provisions on the island were frustrated; the poor natives had nothing to spare, and, indeed, besides their lives, seemed to have nothing to lose.

Under the pretence of shooting, but in order to see the state of the island, I wandered over the rocks, and within a few hours had examined the whole of it. Nature seems to have provided here as little for birds as for man; for even the air seemed untenanted: nor was there any game, and I found nothing among the glens except some large-sized serpents, and a great number of chameleons and lizards. The prospect from one of the highest mountains, however, is one of the most beautiful I ever beheld. The small stripes of soil, which are found among the rocks, are cultivated by the natives, who contrive, by dint of industry, to extort an uncertain subsistence from it. There are but few trees on the whole island, and these seem to bear very little. On some of the lower parts of the hills I saw some vines, but the grapes were sour and tasteless. There are some gardens near the sea-coast, in which some plants seem to thrive. Water is altogether scarce in the island, and a slice of bread with a few almonds or walnuts form the frugal meal of most of its inhabitants. The rest of their produce is sold to the neighbouring islands, to furnish them with clothing and their other few necessaries.—Their largest village is on the north side of the island: it is built on a high hill, and rises in the shape of an amphitheatre; the houses are built of a white limestone, and the terraces on which they stand are also whitewashed, which gives the place from below the appearance of a town. The ruins of a gothic castle[1] on the top of a hill to the right, serve to enliven the gloomy appearance of the island. The charm, however, disappears on entering the village, where the eye meets with nothing but wretchedness. The only places which offer any appearance of beauty and comfort, are the house of the priest and the church. There were a few monks from the Greek convent on the island of Simai; but both in point of clothing and knowledge their condition was most miserable. The primates or elders of the island, three of whom reside in this village, and two in the other, were a little better dressed than the rest of the people, but not so richly as the priest. Indeed, the clothing of these islanders, of both men and women, was so wretched, and so completely in rags, that it would baffle every attempt to give a description of their costume, either in point of colour or form. But notwithstanding their poverty, they have to pay, like the other islands of the Archipelago, the tribute (or *haradsh*) to the Captain Pasha; besides which every inhabitant is compelled to work for fifteen days every year, in the dock-yard of the Bey of Rhodes, to whom this rock is subjected. The harvest had not been in above forty days, yet we were assured by the inhabitants that their remaining stock of corn would not keep them above six weeks; an observation which I subsequently made at San Riscy, Naxio, Lero, Calamino, Patmos, and several other islands of the Archipelago.

It was late in the afternoon when I again reached the ship, with the produce of my day's sport, consisting of two partridges. I had not arrived long, when the scout placed by the natives on the top of a hill, announced the appearance of several Greek vessels between the island and the neighbouring continent of Asia Minor. It is impossible to describe the extacy of the islanders on hearing this joyful intelligence. Born and bred in despair, fed on the bitter bread of slavery, they had not even dreamt of the possibility of their deliverance from thraldrom; and now to see their ab-

[1] It was built by the Knights of Rhodes, to whom Tilos formerly belonged.

ject countrymen, who, till lately, would have crouched before a single Janissary,[2] fearlessly scouring the seas in search of their once so redoubted oppressors, was an event which they had never before contemplated, even in their ardent imagination. My feelings were somewhat akin to theirs; and I ardently looked forward to the gratification of seeing a Greek free on his own soil, though the duration of his freedom were but that of an hour. At about five o'clock P. M. the first vessels of the insurgents came round the cape, which had till then concealed them from us. They scudded at a fearful rate before the gale, although they carried but little canvass. We soon counted twenty brigs tacking at the entrance of the harbour: the lightness of the vessels, and the dexterity of the crews astonished us. One of the brigs, having hoisted her flag, approached the harbour, and the captain with a few his people immediately came on board of us. I was curious to learn what influence their new situation might have had on the state of their minds, and therefore closely observed every one of the motions and words of the Greeks. In order, however, to come to an impartial conclusion concerning their character, I considered it indispensable to keep constantly in view two things, which seemed to me to be inseparably connected with the novelty of their situation—viz. 1. That all their actions must bear the stamp of great mental exaltation; and, 2. That, at that early stage of their independence, they must more resemble revolted slaves than freemen.

The captain requested to see our papers, which were handed to him; and one of his companions seating himself down on the deck in the oriental fashion, began to examine them. In the mean time the chiefs of the other vessels also came to us, and in a short time our ship was surrounded with boats, and our deck crowded with visitors. The company having become thus numerous, their pipes were filled, and the *keif* (mirth) began in the true Turkish style. The conversation became very animated, but it was difficult to understand any thing of it, for they all cried out against the Turks; and the same event or fact was told by every one in a different manner. Some said that the number of armed vessels in the hands of the insurgents amounted to 600, whilst others reduced it to 400, and others even to 150. But in one thing they all agreed, viz. that Ypsilanti had taken Adrianople, and was marching straight upon Stambhul; whilst, in fact, he was then no longer on Turkish ground. Indeed, they gave the freest scope to their warm imagination and the bragging so peculiar to the Greeks. Imaginary heroes, and still more imaginary victories, were enumerated and described by them with the greatest minutiæ and vivacity; and, what is more remarkable, they seemed themselves as fully convinced of the truth of all this glorious romancing, as they wished us to be.

One of them, however, who spoke Italian well, having spent the earlier part of his life at Leghorn, entered into a private conversation with me, and discovered to me the melancholy state they were in. His chief complaint ran upon the refractory spirit of the seamen, who, mistaking the meaning of the word liberty, would not obey their commanders. Every thing was decided by suffrages, and the crew of every ship was divided into the captain's party and the opposition, thus making a floating republic of every vessel.—Most of the wealthy Greek families,

[2] Whenever a Greek met a Janissary, he was compelled to stop, till the arrogant prætorian had passed by him.

who could have forwarded their country's cause by their riches, had withdrawn to Italy, or the Ionian islands. Enthusiasm had animated every heart, but discord and selfishness were thwarting every useful attempt. The chiefs wished to attack the Turkish fleet near Cape Kolon, and by sacrificing a few boats, set fire to the enemy's fleet, in the midst of the smoke and general confusion; but the sailors opposed this heroic plan, and the good opportunity was lost. Before this, when they had succeeded in burning a ship of the line near Mitylene, the captains wished to profit by the first enthusiasm of their men and the confusion of the enemy, and attack their numerous fleet; but this plan was frustrated by the selfishness of some rich men, who commanded their own vessels, and were afraid of losing them in the engagement. Upon this a resolution was passed in the general assembly of the mariners, by which the command of vessels was to be taken away from the owners, and intrusted to experienced seamen.

The Greeks, although in pursuit of the Sultan's fleet, were in perfect ignorance respecting the state of their own affairs, and pressed us for European intelligence. At the same time, however, they felt the difficulty of the undertaking they had embarked in; and almost every conversation closed with the sentence—"*What is to be done? Either we or the Turks must perish.*"

At last their scribe, who had been all this time examining our papers, was satisfied that we were not Turks, and that they ought not to prevent our proceeding to Smyrna, whither we were bound. But at that moment a Jewish Merchant, who had embarked with us at Alexandria, showed himself upon deck. The Romaic captains immediately inquired who he was, and what merchandise he carried with him; and being satisfied upon this head, they said, that they must take him with them, and tie him up to the main-mast. "But why?" asked our captain. "Because he is a Jew," was the reply; "we are ordered by our admiral to lay hold of every Turk, Jew, or Armenian, we may meet with." It was in vain that our captain expostulated with them; they persisted in their demand of having the Jew and *his property.* Being driven to the last shift, one of the leaders said: "He may be innocent, but he has killed Christ." "This is no argument," replied our honest captain; "Once for all, I tell you, that I shall not give him up freely, such a step being both contrary to law and honour; but if you will take him by force—here I am, you must first fire upon me!" This declaration had the desired effect: the chiefs entered into a long consultation, which was kept up in the Arnaut language;[3] the result of which was, that the poor Jew was released of his fears, by their giving up their claims upon his person and property.

It was dusk when our visitors left us, and soon the approach of night covered their fleet with the veil of darkness. The events of the day gave occasion to various reflections on the greatness of the undertaking on the part of the Greeks, and the scantiness of their means to execute it. We regretted that such a noble enthusiasm, such bravery and skill, was re-

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[3] The Hydriots and Speziots, the first defenders of Greek independence, have nothing in common with the Greeks but their religion. They are Albanese by their origin, speak the Arnaut language, and differ from the Romaic in character, dress and habits.

duced to the shift of such small vessels, twenty or thirty of which seemed scarcely sufficient to make a successful attack on a large man of war. Even those vessels that were best armed, carried not above sixteen small field pieces; and their whole advantage lay in the lightness of their vessels, their superior nautical skill, and above all that they had to do with Turks.—Twenty years ago the Greeks had no vessels, except small *sacoleivi*, with which they carried on the coasting trade of the Ottoman empire. The principal trade of the country, however, was in the hands of the English, and the European nations bordering on the Mediterranean. But the general blockade of the South of Europe by the English, during the latter years of the late continental war, by impeding the trade of all other nations, gave the Greeks an opportunity to develope their native skill and industry. They took to smuggling, which at that time held out immense advantages to any one who would embark in the perilous undertaking. The enterprising Greeks bought light and quick-sailing vessels in the ports of Illyria, and with these the Hydriots, Speziots, and other Greek islanders, dashed through the midst of the English fleets, and carried provisions into the ports of Italy and Spain. They were always manned by a numerous and well-disciplined crew, in order to defend themselves in case they fell in with one of the British cruizers. Two events of the kind are remembered about the Mediterranean, which established their reputation for skilfulness and valour among the European mariners. One small Greek vessel having been attacked by an English frigate of thirty guns, defended herself for half an hour, and after killing most of her people, and disabling her, compelled the frigate to strike. On another occasion a Hydriot polacca fought for forty minutes with a large English frigate, till having lost most of her crew, together with her two masts and helm, she surrendered, the few remaining men hoping that the generosity of their victors would spare their lives: but they were taken to Gibraltar, where they were shot without mercy. This terrible trade was continued for several years, during which the Greek islanders amassed immense fortunes, part of which they employed in raising splendid buildings, and the remainder in purchasing new vessels. The number of their merchantmen now surpasses that of any other nation in the Mediterranean, and it was with these ships that they began the contest against their oppressors. They are considered, in the Mediterranean, as the best seamen, and their vessels as the fastest sailers.

Early on the next morning a polacca of fourteen guns entered the harbour, which, as we afterwards learnt, carried the Hydriot rear-admiral, Konduriotі. She was soon followed by two others, one of which, from Castel-Rosso, made us rather uneasy, and compelled us to be on our guard: she carried only three small guns, but had a crew of above fifty men, who soon convinced us by their conduct that they were pirates, whom nothing but the presence of the Admiral seemed to keep from commencing hostilities. Prudence, therefore, dictated that we should address ourselves to this officer, who had in the mean time landed, and seated himself under a shady fig-tree. We found him a man of about forty-five, of very ordinary abilities and understanding. He was as uninformed about the real state of his nation, as the rest of his countrymen whom we had seen; and his confidence in Greek superiority was so great, that he fondly believed one of his nation to be sufficient to beat ten Turks. He was, therefore, not inclined to exaggerate their own

power, and he candidly informed us that the Greeks were in possession of about 300 vessels of different burdens; 180 of which were armed and fitted to meet the enemy. Of these 105 were destined to pursue the Ottoman fleet, (and we afterwards found that his account was perfectly correct). Seventy of them bore the flag of Spezia, Hydra, and Rosso, and thirty-five belonged to Ipsara. The remainder of their armed vessels was blockading the coasts of Candia, the Morea, and the port of Salonicha. On inquiring of Konduriotti where the Ipsarian fleet was, he replied rather ill-humouredly, "I don't know." It seems that this was no pretext of the Admiral to hide their forces, for the Ipsariots had actually separated themselves, a few days previously, from the remainder of the fleet, in disgust, because the Hydriots and Speziots refused them their share in a cargo of coffee, which they had captured.

We sailed early in the morning of the 4th, and near the Island of Nisero fell in with the whole of the Greek fleet. It consisted of seventy-eight vessels of from eight to ten guns, only one carrying fourteen, and one, the ship of the admiral of the fleet, having thirty-two. This vessel also carried the Patriarch of Alexandria, who usually resides in Patmos. The fleet was attended by ten fire-ships, a most formidable engine in the hands of the Greeks. It had been resolved that twelve vessels should be manned by the most determined volunteers, and force their way into the harbour of Rhodes, for the purpose of burning the enemy's fleet. A promise was held out that every captain, who should return honourably, was to receive the rear-admiral's epaulette and 500 piastres, whilst the families of the slain should be provided for by the state. Every preparation for this bold and glorious undertaking was made; but whilst the Greeks waited for the arrival of the two primates of Hydra and Spezia, whose consent they required for so decisive a step, the Turks left the harbour, steering their course for the Morea.

On the 6th we fell in with the thirty-five Ipsariot vessels. Some of the captains came on board to us, and we learned from them, that having got over the late offence received from their countrymen, they were now in search of the fleet desirous of again joining the common cause. We informed them where we had last seen the Greek fleet; and they soon left us, sailing in that direction.

DEJANIRA AND THE CENTAUR.

What, Œneus' daughter, were thy thoughts, when first
The shaggy Centaur plunged into the flood?
Didst thou not watch with anxious eye, where stood
Thy dubious lord preparing for the worst?
Fear'dst thou that Nessus in his breast accurst
Aught ill contemplated against thy fame;
Or that for any thing but good he came?
How couldst thou fear that any mortal durst?—
Alcmena's son, however, soon beheld
The dripping monster tread the farther shore,
And, when his course he backward should have bore,
Thy sweet form in his rude embraces held:
Now his bow bends—his arrow flies—repelled,
The brutal savage welters in his gore.

ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE.

It would require a nicely adjusted balance to weigh the ideas of the common people, so light and fugitive are they in their nature and duration. As, however, the affairs of life are considerably influenced by the degree and kind of knowledge possessed even by the multitude, to endeavour to determine the extent and quality of their notions cannot be deemed a useless speculation. It appears to us that a very erroneous estimate has been made as to the quantity of intellectual wealth supposed to be, at this moment, diffused among the common people; and that very injudicious methods have in consequence been taken for completing the culture of their minds. The natural order of proceeding seems to have been reversed. Instead of being led from known to unknown; from things suitable to their capacities, to such as require labour and contention of mind to comprehend; they have from the beginning been brought in contact with metaphysical subtleties, which it would not be uncharitable to suppose beyond the comprehension, sometimes, of their teachers themselves; and thus, instead of being enlightened, (which is the object professed to be desired by their masters,) they acquire a string of sonorous terms, that have, in their mouths, no meaning whatever. But, as all persons are willing to believe that what they have acquired with much labour is worth something, the people are not backward in giving themselves credit for wonderful subtlety, supposing that to force a confused multitude of other men's thoughts through the mind, is *to think*. Accordingly many are deceived by the confidence, and seeming conviction, with which the common people put forth their opinions; and the belief gains ground, that knowledge, like the sun, has pierced through the upper surface of society, and, sinking gradually into its bosom, ripened, amidst dross and darkness, the ore that lay hidden at the bottom. This error is flattering, but it is prejudicial to mankind. It tends to relax the energies of those who labour to let in light upon the Tartarus of shades and chimeras, that still holds possession of the vulgar mind; it gives them the air of the Knight of La Mancha warring on the windmills, and shames them into indolence. But experience and observation at length convince us that the people have very little exact knowledge. They have been taught many things. Their imaginations have been carried into the land of opinion, where shadows flit about with the appearances of reality; where mist and uncertainty pervade every thing; and where truth (if any truth be there) wears an impenetrable veil, never to be raised for a moment by human reason. Opinion, as Plato observed very justly, is something between knowledge and ignorance, and resembles the dim light of dawn, while it is yet doubtful whether it be night or day. It is the mind's dress, and changes with the times. Nor are those who affect to be above the vulgar less mutable in this respect than they; for as they adopt new fashions in their dress, as soon as their former taste has obtained general approbation, (a proof of excellence, it seems, in other matters,) so also do they discard their opinions when they become common, and resort to new, strange, or absurd tenets, which have not been soiled by vulgar belief. But the common people encroach so rapidly upon the great, in this particular, that very shortly the latter will be compelled,

if they would still be singular, to strip their minds naked, and have no opinion at all.

To return—It is not clear to us what advantage thinking persons can promise themselves from the belief which they so earnestly inculcate, that the people are highly civilized, and deeply imbued with the principles of useful knowledge. It seems to be an opinion, taken up without examination, and believed, because, as we said before, it is pleasant and flattering to the mind. But no one has ever stepped out of his grade in society, and conversed with those above him or below him, without perceiving that prejudices are suspended, like festoons, on every step of the long ladder of human life, and that each thinks those the most beautiful which ornament the one he stands on. The rankest weeds, however, are considered nosegays at the bottom of the ladder, and their poisonous effluvia are snuffed up as complacently as if they were the richest and purest odours. This is apparently the condition of man's nature: he is fond of mysteries, of wonders, of things that raise strong emotions; and, because, upon the dead level of common life, he finds none of these things, it is his weakness to seek them in the mists of the past or future, in which every thing is magnified, distorted, or hidden from his view. Knowledge emancipates but a small portion of mankind from the tyranny of this propensity, the greater part continuing in ignorance and uncertainty—

> "As wander travellers in woods by night,
> By the moon's doubtful and malignant light."

Philosophers appear to have been sometimes deceived in their views of the common people, by taking up their notions of them from the graceless *canaille* of the metropolis. Such of the latter, as surround them, readily discover their aversion to prejudice and superstition, and learn to affect a freedom from both, which they do not feel, and quickly hasten to shake off in the genial company of their equals. People frequently deceive themselves also upon this point, and only then discover their weaknesses, when some strong or sudden blast of misfortune has shaken off the false covering of their minds. Then they relapse into superstition, and sip the grateful cup of prejudice and boundless belief, without restraint.

It is not denied that the great have the same weaknesses at bottom. Catherine de Medicis, a woman of strong mind, and profoundly versed in the arts of policy, was, nevertheless, so far a slave to error and the cant of the times, as to believe she might ward off misfortunes by a certain charm, written in cabalistical characters on the skin of a dead-born infant, which she used to wear about her person. The infatuation of Kings, for the reveries of judicial astrology, is known to every one; and it is clear from many recent examples, that the growing knowledge of all the rest of mankind has had no influence upon them.

But the errors of the people, up to this moment, are innumerable, and as whimsical as they are various. Every county in the realm teems with superstitions of its own growth, which adroitly ally themselves to all creeds and persuasions, and literally defy civilization to root them out. A list of the principal of these would be curious, but does not come within the scope of the present essay. One or two, however, may be mentioned, as they indicate a degree of civilization inferior to that of the Bedouin Arabs. When a ship is wrecked on the shores of Wales,

it is affirmed by the inhabitants that its *apparition*, previously visiting the spot, has most commonly been seen. Thousands of these spectre-ships hover about the coast in winter, their impassive sails shivering and straining in the tempest, and their decks manned with the spirits of those whom destiny is hurrying through the ocean to destruction. It would be vain to tell these superstitious people that beams, planks, masts, iron bolts, and cordage, can have no soul; they *believe*, and cannot analyze their notions, and therefore suppose that the word *ship* denotes a being which, while it continues whole, has some kind of spirit attached to it; and this, they imagine, goes before it to the place of shipwreck. In the same belief is also involved another impossibility—(unless it be a relique of that ancient Grecian opinion, which taught that man was a three-fold being—a spirit—the spirit's ærial vehicle—and the body); for if the men's spirits were on board the spectre-ship, their bodies would be tenantless in the real wooden tenement. An opinion, nearly akin to this, was entertained by the learned Earl of Roscommon, and countenanced by Dr. Johnson, and therefore might claim a stroke of ridicule: but it is enough to have mentioned it, in order to obtain it a place with that long list of ghosts, witches, predictions, &c. which an illustrious contemporary asserts to have been put to flight by the mere smell of printer's ink. We fear that they have not, however, been completely routed, but merely driven for a time to the under-cells of the human heart, to burst forth with fresh force when the torch of philosophy shall once more burn low and feebly. In plain truth, the germs of superstition and ignorance are indestructible: they are the indefinable fears, the incomprehensible forebodings, the false and delusive hopes that are indigenous to the heart of man. These are the monsters which he always hears, *sera sub nocte rudentes*; and which, when most completely overcome, only resemble the power of War, so nobly imagined by Virgil, as confined in his own temple, but sitting upon brazen arms, and still meditating confusion and slaughter.

If then we admit that high and abstract metaphysical truth is, in their present condition, beyond the reach of the common people, shall we find them more capable of correct knowledge in other matters? in matters of fact, and political and natural rights? We fear not. Mankind are always supposed to yield, to such affairs as touch their interests, a very serious and steady attention, and to acquire, by that means, a full knowledge of their bearing and nature; but the interests of men are allowed to be most strongly affected by the degree of justice or injustice which enters into the administration of public affairs, and this cannot be known without a careful observation of the conduct and character of public men. It seems evident, however, that the people in general are either unwilling, or unable, to exercise their minds in such observation, being literally a flock, led to that or this intellectual pasture by the pipe of their shepherd. Of what is going forward, whether for their good or for their perdition, they know nothing; the mere husk of transactions is thrown before them by the newspapers, and by their *representatives* in Parliament; and it was the perception of the blind avidity with which this husk is devoured, that induced a great orator, in an unhappy moment, to denominate them *the swinish multitude!* Should the epithet be deserved, where lies the blame? not, certainly, in the multitude. But we are not, at present, seeking for matter of reprehension, but of fact;

we would gain a clear conception of what the people *do know*; it may hereafter be our endeavour to show what they *ought to know*, and how it is to be taught them.

When a war with any neighbouring state is in progress, do the people ever know the true reason why it has been undertaken; the extent of means, and complexion of policy by which it is conducted; the losses and reverses suffered in battle; the probable chances for bringing it to a fortunate conclusion? Not one of these things do they know. They are, above all, kept in profound ignorance of the character of their enemy; while a factitious and absurd hatred of every inhabitant of the rival country, is fomented and nourished in their bosoms, and suffered to taint and embase the affections and charities of social life. For they proceed by degrees to hate every body whom they do not know; and it was by a process of this kind that the same word came, among the old Romans, to signify a *stranger* and an *enemy*. In remote country places the inhabitants of one village indulge a degree of this hatred towards those of the next hamlet, which has often been known to swell during *fairs*, or *merry makings*, to actual violence. All these are the effects of ignorance.

If we contemplate a country life from a distance, we shall be apt, indeed, to look upon it as the abode of sensibility and virtue; for the effect of a familiarity with nature, upon a fine intellectual capacity, is most desirable and happy. Farmers, labourers, and fishermen, however, who are much abroad among the elements, and frequently at those hours of the morning and night which are best calculated to excite the imagination, and awaken the mental powers of mankind, are yet observed to be persons of blunt feelings, and coarse, rugged manners. The fisherman considers nothing in the tossing or slumber of the dusky waves at midnight, but the lesser or greater probability of filling his nets; nor does the farmer contemplate any thing in the rich complexion of the morning in advanced spring, except such signs of the weather as may determine his stay a-field.

Very little better is the city artisan. He sees more, it is true, of the ways of men; but his sphere is *different*, rather than more enlarged. If the peasant becomes callous to the charms of nature through thoughtless familiarity, the artisan is not less sure to sink into the same state through mere desuetude. He feels out of his element the moment he leaves the smoke of the city, wandering in most insipid rurality amidst the chant of birds, or the dusk whispers of the wood. He has heard that Nature is beautiful, and therefore will not fail to speak a word in the praise of her rich hues and sunny landscapes; but, at the bottom of his heart there lurks a far stronger predilection for a fine tap-room fire, a snug seat, and a can foaming with ale. Nor is he altogether singular in this preference; for men of high intellectual capacities have been known to indulge sentiments very little more refined; and, to speak the truth, it results naturally from the general tenor of a city life. Hunting, objectionable in most other points of view, might have a good effect upon persons in danger of falling into a taste of this kind, as its rapid vicissitudes infuse a species of vigour into the human character. It was, indeed, observed by Hippocrates, more than twenty-two centuries ago, that the Asiatic nations were weak and effeminate, because they passed their lives in a dull, uniform manner, ignorant, and incapable of that

energetic state of mind, maintained by vicissitudes, which is always prepared for the worst. The manners of most modern nations are subject to the same objection. Their sameness tends to weaken the mind; for our life is a long calm that unfits us for the ensuing tempest. Private adversities, indeed, are productive of some changes; but they rarely create a great character. Men connect themselves by so many relations to society, and are upheld by so many artificial props, that they are not often driven to depend on their own resources. Sometimes, however, all the connecting links are snapt asunder, and then the naked character is displayed, bending to the blow of fortune, and sinking into hopeless oblivion and beggary; or firmly withstanding every shock; and, like Antæus, rising up stronger from each successive overthrow. But, in general, we are accustomed to move for ever in the same track, and are amazed and confounded if forced at any time to go aside into a new one; through which helpless condition of our minds it happens, that we are ready to put ourselves under the guidance of any one who promises security and ease.

This state of society is always induced when an agricultural people have long been gathered together in large cities. When a nation first evinces an inclination to pass from rural labours into the tracks of trade and commerce, the nobles are observed to linger awhile, in feudal pride, about their castles; by degrees it becomes apparent that the materials and instruments of luxury are more accessible among the rich plebeians of the cities; and the nobles divide their time between a town and country life: at length the court and the city predominate in their affections, and they never fly to the shades of their own domains, unless when driven to them by chagrin or fashion.

In the first stage of these changes the nobles possess nearly all the knowledge afloat in the realm; in the second, they waver between superiority and equality; but in the third, the tables are turned, they are become decidedly inferior, and knowledge, like virtue, is seen to reside in the "golden mean." An old French poet, quoted by Sainte-Palaye in his Memoirs on Ancient Chivalry, observes that, in the middle ages, the study of the liberal arts was prohibited to the common people; but that, in process of time, the nobility, ruined "par les excès de la gourmandise et autres," had abandoned learning to the vulgar, who, by this means, quickly gained the ascendency, and enslaved them in their turn.

"Car chevaliers ont honte d'estre clercs." [1]

A very singular effect seems, however, to take place, when the common people are supposed to possess a certain degree of knowledge. In every thing, when they choose to become competitors with the smaller number, their vast majority must inevitably ensure them the victory: when, therefore, they invade the domain of knowledge, the magnates of the land must bow down before them, humour their caprices, and conform to their whims and opinions. But as their ideas seldom soar to the heights of art, the scale of excellence must be lowered to meet their views; and hence arise common-place, repetition of truisms, trifling, and, in all respects, a subdued tone of perfection. This truth, so bitter to the palate, so perplexing and unmanageable an ingredient to those who

[1] For knights are ashamed to possess knowledge.

would administer it, is, in consequence, concealed; and those who chew it in secret, like a forbidden drug, only irritate and inflame their minds to very little purpose.

All the while it is certain, notwithstanding, that the common people are *capable* of very correct and extensive knowledge. What stands between it and them, is the spirit of their political institutions; through which it happens that their better hours are always spent in labour, which is productive, to them, of nothing further than the means of labouring on to the end of life. This incessant occupation of the body in severe toil, has a sure tendency to weaken the thinking principle, and consequently to increase credulity, and a disposition to be deceived. Accordingly, the people show a fondness for imposture of every kind; which once made a certain Cardinal Legate exclaim "*Puisqu'il veut être trompé, qu'il le soit!*"[2] The definition of the political art, also, as it was given by a Bishop, "*ars non tam regendi, quam fallendi hominem,*"[3] is an unequivocal proof that the clergy, at least, look upon man as an animal that is to be governed by his ignorance and incapacity to discover deception. It is not, indeed, to be denied that mankind may always be overreached by interested cunning; but an intellectual people will at least have the satisfaction of being duped by none but able men. This was generally the case when the citizens of the ancient republics were outwitted. It was some credit to their judgment to be deluded by such fine politicians as Pisistratus, Cæsar, or Augustus; as it showed how high men were obliged to reach, who aimed at any thing above their capacity. The intellectual capacities of a people may, in fact, be measured correctly by the degree of cunning necessary to keep them in subjection; only we must take into the account the length or shortness of the time they have been enslaved: because force may compel a people to submit for a season to governors nearly destitute of ability; but nothing short of real stupidity and incapacity to reason, can chain them, through a series of ages, to the footstool of ignorant power. To judge of the French by their present government, we might be led to think that all the germs of liberality, sown in the Encyclopedic era, had perished in the land; and that Legitimacy, like a poisonous plant, had overshadowed and destroyed all wholesome thinking. But there is room for believing that the faculties of the French people are merely bound up in a kind of frost, which may melt before the heat of vicissitudes, and carry away in its thaw the abomination that has disgraced the land. The nature of tyranny in Germany, however, appears to justify the old prejudices of almost all European nations against the German character. A jocular observation, applied by Balzac to the girls of some village in France, that they were too stupid to be seduced by a sensible man, seems strictly applicable to the Germans: they have never been able to produce, and appear never to have needed, a subtle tyrant; coarse despotism has been more to their taste, and they have not spurned even the living madman who openly uttered his contempt or fear of knowledge. The savages, described by Tacitus, who inhabited the woods of ancient Germany, appear to have been actuated, like all other savages, by an instinctive dislike of restraint; but it seems vastly incorrect, to say no more of it, to

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[2] Since it is their wish, let them be deceived.

[3] An art calculated rather for deceiving, than for governing mankind.

apply the epithet *free* to such animal aversion to slavery. They were free only in the sense in which wild beasts may be denominated free; for, properly speaking, they had not then been consolidated into society. This being considered, it is a high compliment we pay ourselves when we assert that our "matchless Constitution" took its rise in the woods, among the ignorant savages of ancient Germany.

To revert to our proposition—The great secret of promoting ignorance among the common people, *is to multiply frivolous amusements.* This it was which struck that profound observer of human nature who remarked that "Shows and Bread" were all the people demanded of their governors; for, in varying these *Shows,* and in perplexing the vulgar mind respecting the means by which this *Bread* is secured, consists all the art of tyrannical policy. It may be observed, too, that whenever a spark of knowledge, escaping from the great political furnace, is borne amongst that inflammable material, the popular mind, there are never wanting certain mercenary sophists to follow it, who, if they cannot extinguish, can at least give it the direction of an *ignis fatuus,* to lead the populace into error. This work is busily going forward at the present moment. The people are taught *this,* and are taught *that;* but are never informed how they may teach themselves to discover what is best for them.

At first view we are apt to consider it as something extraordinary that the founders of fanatical sects find it so easy to insinuate themselves into the good opinion of the people; but if we weigh the matter, it will appear to deserve little wonder; for the whole process reduces itself to the replacing a worn-out, indistinct opinion, by one that is new. This, among persons of little thought, is not difficult; for the mind is naturally averse to inaction, and easily persuades itself that to be in motion, is to make some approaches towards truth. And what motion is like that in which it is carried along by the boiling current of enthusiasm! An old philosopher taught that happiness was to be found only in the exercise of virtuous energies; and we are constrained, by daily observation, to believe that all mankind so far agree with him as to conceive the exercise of some energies necessary to its acquisition. Hence are we fond of change, and impatient of the present. We hope in a fresh position to discover more easily the texture of our fortunes, and escape from the *ennui* which we have found to adhere to us through all former vicissitudes. We spring, therefore, on a new opinion, as upon a plank that promises to bear us safe to land, from among our shipwrecked hopes and projects of gain or ambition; and with this fresh stay, are content to be driven forward anew before the gale of destiny. In the decay of empires this disposition grows very general among the common people. They are placed on the extreme circumference of a vast wheel, whose motion is every moment dying away; and, as this motion was necessary to their adhesion, they naturally experience alarm as it decreases, and fly off altogether when it ceases to act. In this stage of society they resemble the fasting Jews, watching the appearance of the stars upon the mountains; as daylight sinks imperceptibly in the west, their attention becomes more hushed, though their appetite sharpens within; and the first lamp which night suspends upon her battlements, is the signal for the close of inaction, and the commencement of Bacchanalian riot. From this cause sprang the horrors of the French Revolution, as well as the carnage that accompanied the decline of the Roman empire; and the same principles, operating the same effects, will

be the cause why all nations shall submit to change, and why the common people, wanting the connecting principle of knowledge, must always form the elements of the destruction of states, and of every mutation that takes place in human society.

From what has been said, it seems to result that civilization makes but a slight impression on the general mind, something like the ridges which the receding sea leaves upon the sand; and that when any great mutations happen, having a tendency to embase a nation, the common people easily lose every impression of knowledge, and sink back into barbarism as if it were their natural condition.

MORNING.

When from the gloom of sorrow's dreary night
Sweet sleep hath fled, and feverish and alone
I've wandered o'er these fields, 'till broad and bright
The glorious orb of life and day hath shone;
How have I joyed to make yon hoary tower,
Unfolding slowly 'neath the morning beam
His misty mantle gray!—in such an hour,
To sorrow's eye, do Nature's beauties seem
More beauteous,—and the troubled heart is still.
The sky-reflecting lake—the vocal grove,—
The cheerful plain, and softly-shadowed hill,
Wake thoughts unutterable;—that do move
The spirit's love for this sweet-smiling earth,
And joy profound—though unallied to mirth!

EVENING.

How beautiful, sweet eve! thy peace supreme!
The heart is soothed, the glowing thought is free;
While the sad spirit, rapt in holy dream,
Forgets its woes in solitude and thee.

The cares of life, that cloud the noblest brow,
Infest no more—in meditation's trance
Soars the freed soul, and scorns the things below,
That shone delusive in ambition's glance.

E'en now Devotion bends in awe sublime,
To Him who deigns to poor mortality
This beauteous scene, and sweetly varied clime;
And marks with joy this moral of the sky—
That as the bright day's peaceful evening glows,
The close of spotless life a kindred glory knows.

D. L. R.

PRETENDED INDEPENDENCE OF THE LONDON PRESS.

We are collecting, progressively, a number of useful anecdotes, to illustrate the character of the London Press, which we shall probably embody in some future article devoted expressly to that subject. There are some few illustrations of its real state of subserviency, or of fear, which will, however, require to be given as they occur: and the following is one of them, which we therefore publish without delay.

During the month of August last, Captain Seely, of the Bombay Army, thought proper to give to the English Public, his sentiments on the subject of a Free Press in India, and chose for this purpose the columns of the Sun Newspaper: his articles were of considerable length, and formed a series, which were published under his own signature, with the designation of his rank affixed. It was not until some days after they appeared, that we knew of their publication. Hearing, however, that many persons had attached importance to them from their being inserted in a ministerial Paper, and under the signature of an Indian Officer,—and that this had given to arguments utterly devoid of reason, a degree of importance which they would never otherwise have attained,—we were induced to think them worth an answer; and accordingly drew up a reply, sending it under cover to the Editor of the Sun, with a private note, requesting its insertion. Of his ready compliance with this request, we could not for a moment entertain the slightest doubt when we remembered a passage contained in the same Paper, of September 6, 1823, which is sufficiently important to be transcribed. It is as follows:—

From His Majesty's possessions in Asia rising daily into higher importance, both political and commercial, and from the increasing attention they have attracted throughout the whole of the British dominions, *it is our intention to dedicate our columns to every thing connected with their happiness and welfare.* The unexpected banishment of Mr. Buckingham from India, by Mr. John Adam, the temporary Governor General, has already excited much interest in every one connected with British India, and cannot fail to give rise to discussions of the most serious nature. For the present, we shall forbear entering further on this subject, in order that Mr. Buckingham may have the opportunity of stating fairly his own case, by our insertion of his letter.[1] At the same time we shall, with equal readiness, insert any communication from the friends of Mr. John Adam, *who appears to us to have commenced his government with a very bold and hazardous measure.* What effect these discussions will have on the public mind of India we will not anticipate; but if nothing should occur to disturb the happiness of that portion of the British empire but that which may arise from the Freedom of the Press, *we shall entertain no apprehensions in that respect.* We have our fears, however, that from other causes, the seeds of dissatisfaction have been sown, which will require all the vigilance and circumspection of the High Authorities, at home and abroad, to guard against.

Nothing could be fairer than this mode of admitting both parties to an equal hearing, and letting the world decide on their disputes:—and, coupled, as was this pledge to grant such impartial hearing, with sentiments

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1 This is the letter which was sent to the *Times*, and after a delay of a week, returned by the Editor of that Paper, who considered its publication *premature*, though written not in accusation, but in *defence* against a paragraph contained in *its own columns*. It was then admitted by the *Morning Chronicle*, and from thence voluntarily republished by the *Sun*, Sept. 6, 1823.

rather favourable than otherwise to the Freedom of the Indian Press, no doubt existed in our mind as to the course that would be followed. To our extreme surprise, however, the letter, after being kept for a week, was returned in an envelope, stating that the Editor had every wish to insert the communication, but that he was obliged to refer such articles to the Proprietors, and that they had directed its return, assigning as a reason, that it was too *personal* for admission.

Another week passed away, when we waited on the Editor in person, who again expressed the same regrets: but added that if the name of Captain Seely were not so pointedly used (he having, be it remembered, expressly provoked the discussion under his own undisguised name), and permission given to the Proprietors to make such other retrenchments as they thought proper, he had no doubt whatever, but that their sense of justice would accord it an early place. At his request, therefore, these alterations were made, as well as several retrenchments, and leave given to the Proprietors to strike out any thing they thought proper, but not to add any thing of their own. In the course of another week, it was returned in an envelope with the following Note.

"Sun-Office, Strand, Sept. 6, 1824.

"The Editor of the Sun presents his respectful compliments to Mr. Buckingham, and is sorry that he has not an opportunity of inserting the enclosed article in that Paper."

We give full credit to the Editor for the sincerity of his regret: for it must be mortifying to any man to be placed in such a situation. Fortunately, the Letters of Captain Seely were of little importance, and the circulation of the Sun very trifling (not exceeding 500 it is said): but it is generally understood to be devoted to Government; and therefore, in order to atone for the indiscretion of its former pledge of impartiality, it would seem that the Proprietors, who play the part of Censors, and put forth the Editor as a mere automaton under their entire control, thought it either indiscreet as it affected Government, or dangerous as it affected the arguments against a Free Press in India, to let any observations in favour of such a Press appear.

As a specimen of the sort of thraldom in which many of the London Papers are held, this may for the present suffice: though we shall have much more to say on that subject on some future occasion. In the mean time, we shall publish the Letter here, in its original state, and before any of the proposed retrenchments were made, in order that our Indian friends may see what a secret conclave of ministerial Censors, even in London, deem personal, and unfit to appear: and how important it is therefore to the cause of Truth and Justice, that the Freedom of the Press should be every where established, and made the *sine qua non* of every system of government that exists.

We attach no importance to the Letter itself: and, indeed, wrote it only for the readers of the Sun, in order to give the antidote where the poison had been disseminated. We have never yet, in any one instance, been the attacking party; and have contented ourselves with mere defence through the pages that contained the attacks of others. It is but reasonable, therefore, to demand, even from those who might refuse to insert an attack, a place and a hearing for a defence against

what they themselves have been instrumental in circulating. The London Press in general is, however, a stranger to this sort of fair play, though the quality is often trumpeted forth in their own columns as the distinguishing characteristic of English combats. We give this rejected Letter in proof of our assertion.

To the Editor of the Sun.

SIR,—IT was not until yesterday that I heard of your Paper containing some letters from Captain Seely, of the Indian Army, offering what he is pleased to call "Short Facts and Honest Opinions," on a Free Press in India. It does not seem to have occurred to the writer, that a fact may, in his phraseology be very "short," and yet very little to the purpose: or that an opinion may be very "honest," (if by that he means sincerely entertained,) and yet be extremely absurd; for there is not one among all the opinions long since exploded for their weakness, that did not obtain for a time at least, honest believers, and honest defenders too.

It is not from my attaching much importance to such a heteregeneous mass of crude and undigested materials as these letters present, that I take up my pen to notice them. I do not think that the gratuitous assertions, and inconclusive inferences, which the writer mistakes for facts and arguments, will impose on ten men of sound understandings: but, as there are many weak persons, whose alarm respecting the safety of India is roused by the bare mention of a Free Press in that country, and whose ignorance of the true state of the case renders them peculiarly alive to every cry of danger, I have thought it worth a moment's attention, to unravel, for them, the web of sophistry by which the writer of the letters appears himself to be surrounded, and in which a few of such timid men as I describe might be also entangled, were they not put upon their guard.

In the first place, I must take the liberty to say that there is not a single new fact, nor a single original observation (argument there is absolutely none) in all that Captain Seely has advanced. Whoever has read the Statement of Mr. Adam, and the Speeches of Mr. Impey, Mr. Randle Jackson, Mr. Trant, and Sir John Malcolm, will not find, on perusing these Letters, one single idea that must not have before been quite familiar to them. Now, as these have been not merely answered, but refuted, at least a hundred times, it must be deemed a work of supererogation to go again over the same ground. The pages of the Oriental Herald, the columns of the Times, Chronicle, Globe and Traveller, and even those of the Sun itself, (date about three months ago,) have contained ample and abundant refutations of all that has been, or, I believe, can be advanced, on this subject: and if the gallant officer has not read,—or, reading, has not understood the meaning of—what has carried conviction to the minds of almost every *disinterested* man,—it may be matter of regret and pity; but it is not in the power of those who furnish arguments, to give the faculty of comprehending them also.

Captain Seely sufficiently explains the immediate cause to which the Public are indebted for *his* productions, in the passage in which he so feelingly laments his inability to do the subject justice. "I have tried hard," he says, "to condense my subject, but I cannot get into narrower limits." The reader will, perhaps, have joined in his regret at this failure, at least. "It is my bounden duty," he continues, "as a *servant*

of the India Company, to speak of an Indian subject, one which is of the most momentous character that has for a long time engaged public attention. I think it not only my duty to speak fully and candidly on what concerns a country *from whence I derive my bread*, and my family their support. I should be an ingrate did I not raise my voice when I see India threatened with danger and future ruin, by the chimerical projects of men, who may or may not mean well, but of whose ulterior intentions no man can form any certain conjecture." The India Company are truly in a forlorn condition, when they can get *none but* those who derive their bread from them, to enter on their defence. Some of these, perhaps, may think the number of their loaves likely to be doubled, by a well-timed display of their zeal: but if it be not more effectual than in the present instance, we really think that these faithful *servants* had better let their " Honourable Masters" defend themselves.

To dispose, however, of these " Short Facts and Honest Opinions" in as brief a manner as possible, I will endeavour, wherever I can trace the meaning of the writer's sentences (and that is sometimes a matter of no little difficulty), to place what he would seem to rely on as arguments on the one side, and the answers that have already been made to these, in the Papers before referred to, on the other; from which, all your readers may draw their own conclusions.

Arguments urged by Capt. Seely against a Free Press in India.	*Replies, repeated in substance, again and again.*
1. In England it has been necessary to impose restrictions on the Press, notwithstanding that there are contemporary prints professing different political principles to counteract each other, in this enlightened and happy country: how then can a Free Press exist under a despotic government?—[where, it would seem to be meant these counteracting forces do not exist.]	1. No one ever desired a Press in India free from responsibility, or with fewer restrictions than those operating in this country; and if there are two government papers to every four opposition ones in England to counteract their influence, there are at least four government papers to two opposition ones in India; besides the influence of the whole community, who are servants of government, which makes the counteracting forces infinitely *greater* in India than in England.
2. India ever has been, is, and must always be, a purely absolute government, regulated by laws and institutes as dissimilar from those of any other civilized state as can be, possessing a great subjugated population, the great majority of which are of military habits, restless, ambitious, and bold.	2. This was asserted in the House of Commons by a certain Major Scott, before the present writer was born, and answered triumphantly by Mr. Burke. It has been repeated by Mr. Adam and Mr. Impey, with as little success as the Major: but it was reserved for the author of the Letters in question to tack on to the original notion of " pure despotism," the idea of " *absolute* power regulated by *laws*."
3. India is far removed from the mother country; therefore her rulers (who are the servants of the Directors at home) should have absolute control.	3. The further removed servants or agents are from their masters, the more need is there of checks to keep them in order. The youngest clerk in a counting-house knows this.
4. Among the numerous millions in India, many will be found dissatisfied. In the hands of these men *unrestricted* liberty to inflame the public mind by	4. The Press was asked for those who were *satisfied*, as well as for those who were *not*; and if the latter form the majority, the greater the number of

seditious writings would plunge the country in blood, and overthrow our dominion.

advocates that would arise for the defence of the existing Government. If the *dissatisfied* form the majority, then the Government must be bad, and need improvement. But no one wanted *unrestricted* liberty, nor the power to publish *sedition*. The law can punish this as well as it can punish murder; and while men wear daggers without restraint, pens might be equally free: let those be punished by law who make an unlawful use of either.

5. The Mohammedan rule was cruel, ours is mild, beneficent, and prosperous; and should not be made to give way and lead to the restoration of the Mohammedan powers, for the visionary project of enlightening the natives by a Free Press.

5. If our rule is really mild and beneficent, there can be no harm in permitting the natives to express their gratitude to us for introducing it. No Englishman can wish to restore the Mohammedan power; nor is the project of enlightening the natives *visionary*. The friends of a Free Press, believing in the present moral and intellectual superiority of the British to all Asiatics, wish to make the natives of Asia gradually like themselves. If we are better than they, this must be a benefit to them. If they are better than us, we should leave our own habits and adopt theirs. Either horn of the dilemma may be taken.

6. God forbid, (says Capt. Seely,) that I should oppose the freedom of speech or of writing in India, did it promise the Natives one single advantage or comfort:—but *thoroughly convinced in my own mind* that the effect produced would be disastrous, dangerous to their happiness, and infallibly ruinous to us, I will *for ever* raise my voice against a Free Press in that country.

6. In two able letters, addressed to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart. M. P. by a Proprietor of India Stock, published by Mr. Richardson, and republished in the Oriental Herald, the Freedom of the Press is shown to be not only conducive, but indispensable to the happiness of the natives of India. Captain Seely may be "thoroughly convinced" of many other errors besides the one here avowed: but it is *arguments* that are wanted to convince the minds of *others*; and not merely a confession of his own faith, which may satisfy himself, but must be utterly nugatory if meant to influence the faith of others.

7. As the colonization, and *consequent loss* of India, the brightest jewel in the British crown, was never contemplated by the Home Administration, it became *necessary* to place restraints on those who wished to settle in the interior.

8. It is a mere gratuitous assertion to say that the loss of India would be the *necessary consequence* of its colonization. Every other possession of England admits free settlers—the West Indies, the Cape, Mauritius, New Holland—and yet these remain to us; but no colony was ever yet lost except by misgovernment. The *necessity* of the restraint is the very matter in dispute; and to assert it without proof is to beg the whole question at issue.

8. What is published in the English papers is translated into Native papers (of which there are four in Calcutta) with every circumstance grossly perverted, shamefully exaggerated, and distorted in every possible way, and by whom? By the very persons who have gone out to India by permission.

8. This is utterly untrue, and must proceed from misrepresentation or ignorance—we presume the latter. What is published in the English papers is scarcely understood by those who conduct the Native ones: and as to those who go out to India by permission, aiding these papers in translations, &c., it is altogether contrary to the fact. If it had been so, Mr. Adam would not have omitted to notice it; but he nowhere utters a word of reproach to the Native Papers, which were timid and respectful to the highest degree: though even had it been otherwise there were laws to punish them, and that severely—yet no prosecution of any kind ever took place against any one of these papers, nor was any complaint ever raised against them by the most scrupulous alarmist in India.—So much for Captain Seely's "Short Facts."

9. It has been said that the Government in India wish to keep the people in mental darkness; but nothing was further from their intentions—for, in placing the late restrictions on the Press, *they themselves* said, "The foregoing rules impose no irksome restraints," &c. All that the Government wished to avoid was political discussions, &c., holding up the administration of the country to contempt and obloquy.

10. No doubt, when the African warrior first binds his captive in chains—when he is crammed into the hold of the slave-ship—or made to feel the lash of the planter—these several tormentors assure him that "they impose no irksome restraints;" and if *their* words were taken for it, all would be as gentle and humane as possible: but they who are made to *wear* the fetters, can better tell whether they are "irksome" than those who put them on; and it is they who now declare them to be galling, and actually call for their removal.—So much for Capt. Seely's "Honest Opinions"!

10. Sir F. Macnaghten, the judge who passed these regulations, declared that no one who heard him had *less intercourse* with the Government, or with *any of its members* than himself; [nevertheless, with *most* of them he had *long been acquainted!*] and *from his own knowledge*, as well as the character they were known to bear, he believed them to be *incapable* of abusing *any* authority with which they might be invested.

10. The learned judge is a native of the sister island, and in the habit of speaking paradoxes: so that his "long acquaintance" and "less intercourse" may be set down to that account. He it is who said also, that in India there never had been, and never could be, freedom: yet, that in no country in which he had been, had he ever seen so much freedom as in this very place where there was none! He it was who said, no one ought to speak freely of the Government; it had the power, and it was its duty to punish such freedom; yet, that he never was in a society where people were so free and fearless, or where indeed they had so little reason to be otherwise!! If the members of Government whom "he sees so little" and yet has "known so long," be but half as capable of abusing the powers of *authority*, as their learned eulogist is of abusing the powers of *speech*, they ought not to be intrusted with it, except under the same responsibility of having their inconsistencies exposed, which is all that the most zealous friends of the Press in India ever desired.

You will, perhaps, think, Sir, that I have extended my analysis, or contrast, to a sufficient length. Your readers may take this as a fair specimen of all that the writer to whom I am opposed has said, or all that he or any other man *can* say, in answer to the arguments of those who contend that the great check to all abuses, in every country under the sun, is publicity in the affairs of government. Neither the British nor the Native inhabitants of India ever asked for an unrestricted or irresponsible press. The freedom of discussion which they wished, was no more than the freedom of using every other faculty, under the fullest securities that could be required of them, to be responsible to the laws—to submit to trial—and to abide the verdict of a court and jury, whether it should be fine, imprisonment, or death. For all the *greater* offences, treason, sedition, murder, forgery, theft, &c. the law of England has ordained that, even in India, men shall be first tried and then punished: but the Government of that country assume, that in the case of *lesser* offences, by the commission of any act not known as a crime or even as a misdemeanour to the law, and not cognizable by any court, they may punish, even to utter ruin, any individual they choose to select, without any form of trial, or without the least protection of the law—a doctrine so monstrous, that it is matter of astonishment how any Englishman can be found to defend it.

Of this I am certain, that if those from whom Capt. Seely avows he *obtains his bread*, and whom it may be therefore very judicious in him to praise, were to take this bread away, and leave him and his family utterly destitute of future support, because he had been over-zealous in defending their interests, he would be the first to cry out against its injustice. And when it is considered, that I have been totally deprived of a property yielding 8,000*l.* per annum, and refused permission to go back to India to gather up the fragments of the wreck, merely because I advocated the Company's interests, and those of the public, in commenting on the impropriety of an appointment which that very Company have themselves since declared to be as I had pronounced it, and have annulled it accordingly,—I have only to ask of Englishmen and Christians, who profess the maxim, 'that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us,' whether any circumstances on earth could warrant this; or whether they need any other proof of the utter worthlessness of any man's "conviction," that the present rulers of India are *incapable* of abusing any power intrusted to them? a position that cannot be maintained of the purest and best men that ever lived.

A word, Sir, to yourself, and I have done.—You have stated, in a paragraph in the editorial part of your paper, that the speech of Sir John Malcolm has been so much misrepresented, that you have been induced to reprint it from a correct note, and that you earnestly recommend it to the attention of your readers. I beg to say, that if that speech has been at all misrepresented, it has been most so by the person, whoever it might have been, that furnished to the Asiatic Journal (from which that in the Sun is taken) this pretended "correct note," which I hesitate not to pronounce a spurious edition; and, if meant to be a correct version of the speech spoken at the India House, a misstatement: as all who were present on that day must see in it, not words merely, but whole sentences that were never once uttered within the walls of that building. That you have no participation in this deception I can readily believe, having no reason whatever even to suspect your partiality; but, that the speech sent to you from a "correct note," is *not* the speech spoken at the India House, I again assert; and the public will hear more on this subject before long. In the mean time, I send you an authentic and accurate report of what really was said by Sir John Malcolm on that occasion, taken by a reporter who had no interest in misrepresentation, which, if you think it of sufficient importance to print, with the notes attached to it, may assist those who desire to know the real state of the case in this matter, in forming their judgments.

With the fullest confidence in your impartiality for the free admission of this Letter into your columns; but without a disposition to make any further claims on your space, to combat again such phantoms as these which I have been here contending against, and which every now and then rise up in different quarters, as if they had never been put down before, though driven from the field of argument a hundred times at least,

I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park,
Aug. 24, 1824.

J. S. Buckingham.

INVITATION.

Paraphrased from the Song of Solomon.

Arise my love, dear maid arise,
  Hasten, hasten, come away,
The wint'ry clouds are gone, and the skies
Are joyous as thine own blue eyes;
The rains are o'er, and a sweet spring day
Greets you with all its opening flowers,
Lovely, as if the passing showers
Had left their rainbows on the earth
To tint the buds as they blossom'd forth.
Through the sparkling air the birds rejoice,
And flutter upon careless wing,
Greeting the leafy time of Spring;
The tender grape, the pale green vine,
The violet, and Syrian rose,
Sweet basil, and each plant that grows,
From the dewy primrose of the vale,
To the giant cedar that dwells alone
On the misty hill of Lebanon,
Mingles rich perfumes in the gale;
Whose breath is still less sweet than thine.

Bernard Wycliffe.

TO THE MINIATURE OF A FEMALE FRIEND.

Daughter of Love! Approved of Heaven!
  Friend, through affliction's night of woe!
Thou sweetest boon by Mercy given,
  'Tis sorrow hails thy presence now!
Spirit, whose power can check distraction's moan,
Wild, 'mid the wreck of joys—for ever gone!

Tho' every hope of life may fade
  Beneath the gloom that Fate hath spread,
This mimic Form, thy hand pourtray'd,
  Shall live—unchanged: though tears be shed,
Its smile of happier days, shall meet the eye,
And lend affection's dream reality.

Oh! thus still smile, unconscious Shade!
  Thus breathe! thou dear deluding token!
Be all thou wert, with fancy's aid,
  Ere this devoted heart was broken!
Still, as she weeps, the past of bliss revive!
And tell—'That past, again, in bliss, in heaven shall live!'

Y.

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE BURNING OF THE SHIP FAME, AT SEA. BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

In a preceding Number of our Journal, we gave an extract of a Letter from Sir Stamford Raffles, addressed to a Friend in England, which contained a brief account of this terrible calamity. Having since then, however, been furnished with a more detailed Narrative of the incidents connected with this melancholy catastrophe by another hand, we feel assured that it will be read with very general interest. We shall therefore give it in the state in which it has been transmitted to us for publication:

On the morning of the 2d of February, a little after daybreak, I left Bencoolen, and took a boat at the wharf to proceed on board the 'Fame,' which lay a few miles out in the Offing. The road to the wharf was already crowded with the inhabitants of the settlement, abroad at this early hour for the purpose of bidding farewell to the Lieutenant Governor, who was expected to pass immediately and take a final leave of the shores of Sumatra, and of this quarter of the world, where he had long acted so distinguished a part. Soon after I pushed off, the guns of Fort Marlborough announced that the Hon. Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles, with their suite, were also taking their departure, and, on their approach to the 'Fame,' she returned the salute. When they came on board, the ship was instantly under weigh, so that between seven and eight o'clock A. M. we set sail for England with a fine breeze from the land.

As the shores of Sumatra gradually receded from our view, and its blue mountains, becoming fainter on the verge of the horizon, were at the same time insensibly sinking below the distant line of the ocean, imagination was already bringing us nearer and nearer to the cliffs of our native isle, which we expected soon to see, embalmed in all the recollections of early youth. With how many delightful anticipations does the prospect of revisiting the land of his birth inspire the mind of the homeward voyager!

> His native hills that rise in happier climes,
> The grot that heard his song of other times,
> His cottage home, his bark of slender sail,
> His grassy lake, and bloomwood blossomed vale,
> Rush on his thought.

The first day at sea is one of much bustle and confusion, clearing away, stowing, and fastening in its proper place, every thing which has not been previously adjusted. During the forenoon our crew was employed in putting to rights the innumerable cribs and cages containing Sir Stamford Raffles's large and valuable collection of animals, which he was carrying home to illustrate the Natural History of the Indian Archipelago. Across the front of the poop, and around the canoe placed amidships (also taken home by Sir Stamford as a curiosity), these little habitations were ranged, tier on tier, three or four stories high, and wedged together as close as they could stand. After dinner, Sir Stamford took a survey of them all, to see that they were properly lodged and taken care of; and I could not but admire the lively interest which this eminent man seemed to take in their welfare, feeding them with his own hand,

and assigning to each, after its kind, the proper quantity and quality of food. Such a motley groupe, huddled together in a ship, might well call to mind that ancient vessel constructed by Noah for the purpose of preserving a pair of every race from the waters of the Flood. But, alas! the 'Fame' had not the good fortune to be endowed with the saving qualities of the Ark, nor were the innumerable living creatures on board her destined to such noble purposes as those which were landed again on the top of Ararat, when the waters of the flood had subsided.

At sunset, the blue ridges of Sumatra were still in sight; and as the breeze with which we set sail in the morning had died away to light airs, there was a probability that even at the coming dawn the land would still be visible. As the night advanced, some of the passengers began to retire to their cabins, and others continued sauntering about the deck, all looking forward to the enjoyment of a quiet night's rest as the welcome restorative after the fatigues of the day, and even of the preceding night, which had by some been entirely consumed in busy preparation for the voyage. But how sudden and appalling are the revolutions of human affairs! A few minutes past eight o'clock, just as I was sinking to sleep, I was alarmed by the terrible cry of "Fire! Fire!" in a voice of horror and dismay, which sufficiently warned us of the dreadful danger that it threatened. Rushing instantly from my cabin, and looking towards the spot from whence the cry issued, I saw a stream of flame issuing out from a store room, not more than five or six yards from me, and several persons striving to stamp it out or smother it with bed-clothes. The ship's steward, it appears, had taken the lamp from the steerage, and gone there to draw some brandy from the cask, to give to a comrade (Sir S. Raffles's butler), when he incautiously brought the light in contact with the fumes of the liquor, which instantly blazed up like gunpowder. In the confusion, by losing the stopper, or by some other accident, the brandy was also left flowing from the cask on the deck. Liquid flames now ran from cabin to cabin, through the very seams of the partitions, and spread themselves over the deck, catching at every thing in their progress; and when, by the united exertions of all hands, buckets of water were speedily brought and dashed into the very source of combustion, it only made the flames rage with greater fury.

Desperate efforts were at first made to stop up the brandy cask; but there was nothing at hand fit for the purpose, or nobody had sufficient presence of mind to do it effectually. A twist of cloth, (for instance a handkerchief,) well crammed in, might have stopped this source of destruction. The ship's purser thrust his foot upon the aperture, but the brandy flowing on his foot made it instantly take fire, which compelled him to retreat. Sir Stamford Raffles, with great presence of mind, in this trying scene, commanded some of his suite to go below and bring out the fatal cask which was the source of all the mischief, but to execute this order was found impracticable. The fire had now become too powerful to be thus dealt with. In fact, in a few minutes from its commencement, all hopes of quenching it were evidently at an end, and every person was compelled to retreat; even the hardy Scotch carpenter, who had hitherto faced it boldly, and made great exertions to subdue the flames, was now no longer able to stand the scorching heat and suffocating smoke which soon filled the whole vessel below the deck. A child of Captain Scott's (Commander of the Brig Swallow of Calcutta) had

been put to sleep in one of the cabins nearly adjoining that in which the fire originated; and he was providentially rescued from the flames just as they were advancing along the head of the bed where this slumbering infant lay.

Every moment the fire gained ground, and there was no safety now but in flight. The boats on the quarters were speedily lowered down, and Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles, with their suite, were put into the first; the Purser of the ship, and two or three of the men, accompanying them. The rest of the ship's company, (to whose steady, cool, and persevering exertions the greatest praise is due,) continued for some time longer to struggle with the fire, which had now got possession of most of the afterpart of the ship. Some were engaged in fetching water from the forecastle, and up the side; others in staving in the water casks, all performing with the greatest order the several tasks assigned them; nor did they desist from their labours until the Captain called them into the second boat, which had been lowered down from the other quarter, and kept for some time in readiness. In less than fifteen minutes from the first alarm we were all out of the vessel, a great part of which was then wrapped in flames.

After both boats had pushed off to a safe distance a-head, it was discovered that one sick man, of the name of Johnson, had been left behind. When called by his comrades to save himself, he had foreborne to come on deck, on account of his weakness, or not believing the danger to be so great, (a report of that kind having been spread to encourage the exertions of those more remote from the fire,) and in the confusion he was afterwards forgotten. But by this time the flames advancing towards him, had forced him to collect all his remaining strength, and mount the forecastle, from which we heard him calling on us to save him for the love of God. The Captain at first expressed a doubt whether we could return for him, but hearing his piteous cries, we rowed back towards the blazing mass; and bringing the boat under the bows, poor Johnson was able to descend into her by a rope; and thus, by the mercy of Divine Providence, every soul of the ship's company and passengers, men, women, and children, was rescued, and placed beyond the reach of the devouring flames.

All this happening in so short a time, it is not surprising that no one on board saved a single article of property, except the clothes they chanced to have actually on, with the exception of a small box snatched by the chief officer from the Captain's cabin, containing the ship's papers, and about 800 dollars in cash. One of the ship's compasses was also handed down from the binnacle, and placed safely into the last boat, a precaution to which we probably all owed our subsequent preservation. For we were now all crowded into two small boats, forty or fifty miles at sea, without a morsel of food or a drop of fresh water; the flames of our late habitation rising to the skies, and all else darkness around us. Fortunately the air was mild, and the water perfectly smooth; otherwise both the boats, at least the second, in which I was, being crowded with people from head to stern, must soon have been swamped. There was hardly a star to be seen at intervals through the gloomy clouds, but the blaze of the vessel enabled us easily to see the direction of the needle, and thus shape our course through the dark watery waste.

We steered in a north-easterly direction, which, from an observation

made about sun-set, was judged to be the bearing of Bencoolen, from the place in which we were. Without the compass, there not being a star to guide us, it is much more probable that, together with the influence of the currents, we should have been driven away from the island and perished of hunger and thirst; or, by making the land of Engano, nearly opposite to this part of the coast, if we had escaped the direful necessity of devouring each other, we should have run the risk of falling into the jaws of the savage cannibals who inhabit the island. But from amid the manifold dangers that surrounded us, a merciful Providence had left open a retreat. Guided by the compass, so emphatically called 'The Mariner's Friend,' we kept pulling all night, the people taking the oars in turn. Still our eyes were riveted on the sad spectacle we left behind us, which continued to illuminate intensely the quarter of the horizon in which she lay.

Immediately after leaving the vessel, we saw the flames seize upon the rigging, climb up the masts and yards, till the whole was enveloped in one dreadful conflagration. About one o'clock in the morning the fire at last reached the saltpetre, filling the bottom of the vessel, over which was placed the pepper, forming the remainder of the cargo. This upper stratum, not being of so combustible a nature, had taken several hours to burn down; but the access of the fire to the saltpetre was now announced by a column of flame, intensely vivid, suddenly rising to an immense height, and continuing with the same extraordinary brilliancy for a considerable length of time, illuminating the whole horizon so strongly, that, at the distance of twelve or fifteen miles, which we by that time computed ourselves to be, it would have enabled us to read the smallest print.

"What a splendid scene!" exclaimed Sir Stamford Raffles, with all the composure of a philosopher, although he knew that this brilliant spectacle was the funeral pile of the invaluable collections of animals, plants, manuscripts, charts, drawings, &c. which he had procured with great expense and indefatigable industry, to illustrate the Natural History of these Islands, and the moral and political condition of the people: materials which would have raised a pillar of lasting fame to their possessor. Among other things an invaluable MS. History of the large Island of Borneo, is said to have perished, no copy remaining; as also several hundred pages of a History of Sumatra, which he was composing. Here the fruits of his persevering labours, and the much-prized rewards of his scientific researches for many years, were consigned at once to destruction.

When the last lurid glow of the smouldering wreck, the sign of extinguishing combustion, entirely disappeared from the sky, a melancholy solitude surrounded our little barks, as we silently pursued our gloomy course. A great part of the night yet remained, and a tedious one it was; many of us being half-naked, and the ladies and children, who were pulled out of bed, having but a thin covering to keep them from the night air; while, from the number of people crammed into our boat, leaving us only room to sit upright, it was hardly possible, even for those not engaged in rowing, to catch a moment's repose by reclining in any comfortable position. As the dawn slowly advanced, we turned our eyes eagerly in the direction where land was expected, and many a murky cloud disappointed our hopes, rising with apparent solidity from the ocean, but on being neared, rarifying into vapour. At last the blue hills were

dimly seen, and gradually became more and more distinct; till, with the first rays of the rising sun, we joyfully descried the Sugar Loaf Mountain, a well-known landmark, which, towering above the surrounding country, stood manifest to view, and dispelled all our apprehensions.

We now knew on what part of the coast we were, and that a few hours' hard pulling would bring us in with the shore. As the day advanced, we began to suffer from exposure to the sun, having nothing to keep off its piercing rays, many of us, in the hurry of leaving the ship, being without hats, coats, &c. About nine o'clock, while pulling along, between Rat Island and Buffaloe Point, we fell in with the Swallow, of Calcutta, commanded by Captain Scott, which, in consequence of the light that had been seen during the night, was under weigh to meet us; and, going on board, we were received in the most hospitable manner, supplied with such clothes as were immediately required, and our whole ship's company treated with every refreshment the vessel could afford.

A few hours after, we proceeded ashore; and, while the guns of Fort Marlborough saluted the Lieutenant-Governor, to whom they had paid a similar mark of respect the day before, under very different circumstances, the assembled inhabitants of the settlement, Europeans and Natives, affectionately greeted our return as persons rescued by the finger of Providence from the jaws of destruction. As Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles passed the wharf, supported by the arms of their friends, the most affecting marks of sympathy on their fate were afforded by the spectators, from the highest to the lowest; even the callous Malays, (as they are supposed to be) melting into tears at seeing, in this state of distress, the man who had long been among them the powerful dispenser of fortune and happiness to others. Such sympathy in our afflictions is so grateful to the human heart, that we cannot be surprised at the declaration made by Sir Stamford, in replying to the address presented to him by the settlement on this melancholy occasion, that "the reception he had met with on his return, made him feel compensated for all his losses."

In the above account of the sudden destruction of the vessel some particulars are omitted which are yet worthy of notice. In the first stages of the fire, great alarm was caused by the captain's exclamation about the gunpowder, loudly inquiring where it was. A small quantity, the remainder of that used for firing the salute in the morning, was left in the upper part of the vessel, and liable to be soon ignited. One of the boys, named Hawkins, volunteered to go and fetch it up, and throw it overboard, which the adventurous stripling happily effected. But the quantity was so small, consisting chiefly of a few cartridges, that mentioning it at all was only creating unnecessary alarm, without contributing in the least to our safety. After hearing it made a matter of so much consequence, the passengers, who could not be certain of the removal of this danger, did not venture to return to their cabins to save any of their articles of value, which otherwise they might have rescued from the general wreck. Cash, gold, watches, &c. were all abandoned; in particular, a large box of gold, placed on Sir Stamford Raffles's table, which any one might have brought away by just stepping into his cabin; besides Lady Raffles's jewels, said to be of immense value.

My apprehensions of danger were greatly increased by the impression on my mind, that there were not boats to save all the people on board; and, consequently, that although a few might get off, in the end

some must be left behind, or perish in the struggle to get into the boat, which would be overset. I knew that the captain had sold the long-boat at Bencoolen; and some persons there having remarked at the time that he thereby endangered the lives of the ship's company, in case of any accident happening to the vessel, this flashed across my mind at the dreadful moment when I saw her destruction inevitable. Yet, when Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles, with their party, were getting into the first boat, I did not make any attempt to accompany them, resolving rather to wait the result of the efforts still making to keep down the fire, and take my chance with the rest. A few minutes afterwards, finding that the number gone off in the first boat was so small, and seeing the danger on board vastly increased, I regretted that I had let slip an opportunity of escaping. I eventually got into the second boat, then lowered down from the other quarter, which fortunately was capable of receiving all the rest of the people in the ship. I have since heard that Captain Young had offered, at Bencoolen, to sell this latter also, as well as the long-boat, but that Sir Stamford Raffles very properly forbade it: telling him, that he must keep these two boats at least. The only substitute for the long-boat, actually sold, was a long narrow canoe, taken by Sir S. Raffles with him as a curiosity, which could be of very little use at sea. Indeed there was no time to get it out, nor, from the same cause, would even the long-boat have been available *in this case*. But in dangers of another kind, to which ships are more liable, from stress of weather, to the long-boat alone could we have looked for preservation. Here we owed our lives to the two quarter-boats that Sir Stamford commanded to be retained, which could be lowered down in a moment; and, as there was no time to get out any other, if we had been deprived of one of them, the greater part of us must have perished, indeed, all who were unable, or who neglected, to get into the first boat that pushed off.

It is remarkable that Sir Stamford was, within the period of three months, in treaty with six different vessels to carry him home, before he actually succeeded in getting away.—1st. The Borneo, Capt. Ross, was detained as damaged, and fitting up for him when the Fame arrived.—2d. The Fame, Capt. Young, in which he sailed on the morning of the 2d of February, and was burnt on the same night.—3d. The Swallow, Capt. Scott, which he had nearly engaged, when they differed about the terms.—4th. The Wellington, Capt. Maxwell, which he had actually engaged to carry him home, after her return from Batavia, to which she had to go round first. But there the captain went raving mad, and consequently the voyage was abandoned.—5th. He had also made an attempt to engage the Lady Flora, Capt. M'Donnel, which was known to be at Padang; but the small vessel sent up for this purpose was driven back and almost lost.—6th. The Mariner, Capt. Herbert, which was then taken up for him, and in which he actually embarked.

It is also remarkable that Sir Stamford Raffles, as if conscious that some fatality was suspended over him, would on no account sail from Sumatra on a Friday. He therefore embarked on Thursday, (the 7th of April,) although he knew he could not possibly put to sea that day. Next morning the vessel might have sailed, but he made her remain till the fatal day was passed; detaining also the Lady Flora, Capt. M'Donnel, which he had engaged to keep him company on the voyage, for greater security.

It is equally remarkable, that on the morning on which Sir Stamford embarked to leave Bencoolen, an earthquake shook the settlement of Fort Marlborough to its foundations, and made the surrounding sea with all its ships tremble. It is recollected, at the same time, with wonder, that when Sir Stamford came to assume the reins of power in Sumatra, about the time the ship came in sight of the land, an earthquake made the whole island tremble then also. These coincidences are singular, though perfectly capable of natural explanation: but the Malays are lost in amazement at the contemplation of such signs and wonders, and the more devout among them look up with pious awe to the *Krawmuts*, and lofty mountains, on whose summits are the temples and dwellings of their angry deities.

There is, perhaps, some excuse for Sir Stamford being a little nervous, after the dreadful accident he lately met with; but let us hope that, safely landed in England, he will be ready to join in the laugh at such superstitious fancies, fit only for children and savages; and that he will also devote his great talents, through the remainder of his days, to obtain for India that freedom of intercourse, and consequent prosperity, which he was the means of obtaining for, or conferring on, the Settlement of Singapore.

STANZAS WRITTEN SOON AFTER LEAVING SCOTLAND FOR GREECE.

THE breezes are blowing
That bear me afar,
And Hope's flame is glowing,—
My bright polar star;
Yet—mem'ry recalling
Sweet moments gone by—
The big tear is falling
Whilst steals the deep sigh.

2.

Exiled, and leaving
Whate'er I held dear,
My spirit is grieving,
But dreams not of fear:
Though cares without measure
May compass my way,
Not earth's fairest treasure
Could tempt me to stay.

3.

When troubles increase,
Still fancy will hear
Such accents of peace
Breathe sweet on mine ear:—
"In darkness and sorrow,
No fond bosom nigh,
Thy lone heart shall borrow
A light from on High.

4.

"Though no lov'd voice cheer thee,
When perils alarm,
An arm shall be near thee,
To shield thee from harm:
The Lord is before thee,
By land and by sea;
His banner is o'er thee,
Wherever thou be.

5.

"Though toils, sorrows, blended,
May hence be thy lot,
Soon thy toils shall be ended,
Thy sorrows forgot;
While mem'ry, reviewing
The past, shall rejoice,—
Then rouse thee, pursuing
The path of thy choice!"

E. M.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH FOR CIVIL OFFICES IN INDIA.

No. I.

Quod quando, et quomodo, et per quos agendum sit.

Cic. Epist. ad Fam.

Men often live, during passing events of the greatest magnitude and the deepest interest, with the same indifference and apathy as they dwell in the midst of the most sublime and beautiful scenery. Thus the people of Great Britain have witnessed the acquirement, and look upon the possession of their enormous Eastern Empire, with the same unconcern as the peasants of Chamouni behold the stupendous height of Mont Blanc; for, although this latter, with its almost unrivalled summit, its glittering glaciers, and numerous sources, is reflected on with pleasure and interest by the most remote people of civilized Europe, and brings travellers from all parts to the villages and valleys, which are scattered over and indent its sides and base; yet the inhabitants of those villages and valleys, except the guides who are excited by the thirst of gain, are indifferent about the character, and unmoved by the sublimity of the landscape. In like manner the British public, except that part of it which derives wealth and influence from our Indian territories, regard with a coldness, almost amounting to disgust, the government and welfare of that vast peninsula, the possession of which by a distant and petty island is the admiration of the world, and will be the most curious historical problem of after ages.

Of late years, it is true, partly owing to the recent extension of the boundaries of British India, partly to the increased and increasing number of those nearly concerned in its prosperity, and partly to the cessation of war in Europe, the attention of the country has been roused, and in some degree directed to its possessions in the East. Watchful of this change, and looking forward to a period, rapidly approaching, when, at the expiration of the East India Company's Charter, their government will be brought in review before Parliament, and the political administration of India forced upon public notice, I have considered the present time singularly well adapted for the consideration of one most important part of that almost unlimited subject; because the agitation of the general question is still so far removed, that the heat of party, which must be then excited, is not yet felt, but not so far as to render fruitless the discussion, which these pages are intended to promote, by consigning the object of them to forgetfulness before that period shall arrive.

At the examination of the students at Haileybury College, on the 30th May, 1823, an essay was read on the following subject, "The character of individuals has been one of the most powerful causes of the prosperity or decay of nations." If the youths of the College were not reasoning on a fallacy, they were collecting arguments, when enforcing the above axiom, on the importance of their own education; for, if ever the influence of individual character was widely and quickly felt by a community, at no time, and in no place, can it have had an effect so instantaneous, or so extensive, as the influence of an Englishman's character at the present day on an Indian community; and it cannot be denied, I think, that education gives form and colour to individual character; and also, according to the above axiom, to the character of na-

tions. Hence, perhaps, I may be allowed to deduce, that the education of the British youth, who are designed for the Indian service, whether civil or military, is a matter of heavy responsibility on the British nation, and, therefore, that when the public are called upon to consider what is the *best* mode of educating that class of individuals, they are bound, though the voice be weak, to give that call the fullest and most immediate attention.

But I am particularly anxious, that, while provoking argument on the most advantageous plan of educating public servants for India, I should not be misunderstood, as belonging to a party which exists in opposition to one of the institutions already established for that purpose. For although I frankly avow that my object is to supersede the present system of educating writers, yet the College at Haileybury, it will hardly be denied by unprejudiced persons, has been a powerful instrument for improving the civil officers of the Company; but whether it be the best adapted for drawing into the service of the Indian Government talents of the highest order, or for giving the fullest effect to the influence of education, is doubted by many; and, if there be any force in the arguments which will be here adduced, may perhaps be decided in the negative. The Military School at Addiscombe does not come within the scope of these pages; the remarks, except those arising from general principles of education, are directed to purposes widely different from those of that institution—what is technical in the studies and discipline of the cadets, is necessarily withdrawn from the judgment of any but a military man. The immediate object of the writer is the education of those who may hereafter fill civil offices in India; and his endeavour will be, however feeble and fruitless, to point out the means by which young men of the first pretensions, by reason both of birth and ability, may be drawn to enter into competition for the possession of those offices, and thus raise the character (for, with deference be it spoken, although high it might be higher,) of the civil service of India, by securing for it persons eminently calculated to improve the moral and physical condition of our Eastern Empire.

The subject naturally divides itself into two parts:—1st. The advantages belonging to, and the objections which may be urged against, the plan of education, now pursued at Haileybury College;—and 2dly. The proposal of a system by which all those advantages may be preserved, others superadded, and the objections urged against the present plan for the most part or altogether removed. If in the enumeration of the advantages peculiar to the College, the amount should be found unexpectedly small, it may be because some, which many at first sight suppose proper to that establishment, are common to all liberal systems of education, and some which many consider as belonging to the golden number of advantages, will be here placed under the head of evils, and which it will be attempted to show are properly so classed.

It will be recollected that Mr. Malthus, in 1817, printed a pamphlet in defence of the College at Haileybury; and it must be present to the minds of such as are interested in the subject, that in the beginning of this year a debate took place at the India House on the merits of that institution. The champion of the College, on this occasion, was Mr. Robert Grant; and its friends could hardly have found, whether for ability or character, two more distinguished advocates than Mr. Malthus

and Mr. Grant: the one, eminently calculated to secure success in the cooler and nicer controversy of the pen, and the other a skilful gladiator in the arena of public debate. I stop not a moment to consider, whether the judgment of two such men be unbiassed by personal interest and feeling. Were I trying to win a cause, instead of patiently examining a system, I should wish that their impartiality could be doubted. Could I add, after taking the list from them, these are all the advantages which its two most partial friends can claim for Haileybury College, my argument, were I a partisan, would be incomparably strengthened. But Mr. Grant has judiciously remarked, that "exaggerated praise only tends to injure its object;" and Mr. Malthus has so long been accustomed to think and write with the exactness of a philosopher, that exaggeration of praise or blame is as incompatible with his moral, as with the physical analysis of the chemist. Therefore I gladly take their authority in support of the advantages, which are here willingly allowed to Hertford College; and the enumeration of them will thus carry with it the sanction of the best, because the most impartial, advocates of that institution.

These advantages then are reducible to the following heads, peculiar it will be observed to Haileybury College; both the above gentlemen have stated many others common, as they would readily admit, to scholastic (under which I include collegiate) establishments.

1st. The system of instruction in use at Haileybury is more various and comprehensive than that of any other institution, be it school or college.

2dly. The characteristic difference of Haileybury, as an establishment for the education of youth, is a combination of the discipline of a school and a college, rejecting what is considered the excessive freedom of the one, and the degrading restraints and punishments of the other.

3dly. The power of forming intimacies with persons destined for India—and for the same line of service in that country.

4thly. The constant direction of the mind to the practical use of that education to which it is subjected.

It will easily be perceived, that under the first head is included the grand and distinctive advantage of the College, the power of gaining an acquaintance with the vernacular languages of the East, one of several subdivisions, which compose that head—such as a distinct course of lectures on political economy, on the laws of England, and on natural philosophy; subjects, for the most part, wholly neglected at schools; and, though provided for by the system, but imperfectly attended to in the practice of our Universities at Oxford and Cambridge.

If I have omitted to state any benefits to be derived from the College at Haileybury, and from the College alone, I can sincerely declare, that it has arisen from inadvertence, and not from the most remote wish to undervalue that institution, which I allow to be the best system yet put on trial for the education of the East India Company's civil servants. One advantage I certainly have not mentioned, and for too natural a reason, because, alas! it is temporary. Need I do more than write the names of Batten, Wilkins, Malthus, and Mackintosh, and congratulate the students on the possession of such guides to knowledge and virtue; who, while they enforce a precept, present an example. I will freely confess, that, although they may find elsewhere individuals of equal,

though not of superior, merit, nowhere else will they find them combined together for their own and sole benefit. Still, this supreme advantage, I not only hope to preserve, in the plan to be proposed, but to provide also for its permanency, by showing the means of securing successors worthy of such men. If I should fail to make the services of such eminent individuals a necessary consequence of an improved system, there will exist, I acknowledge, a powerful argument against me.

Of the four heads under which the distinct claims of Haileybury to preference are classed, I shall say nothing of the first, until I come to point out how that part of the system is to be created in another place; but shall now proceed to the second division, viz. That characteristic difference, which consists in the combination of the discipline of a college and a school. This distinction, which Mr. Malthus and Mr. Grant appear to consider so beneficial to the students, is one of those, which I must transfer from the advantages enjoyed, to the disadvantages possessed by the College. I cannot but think that the attempt to unite the two kinds of discipline has been singularly unsuccessful: that what is good in either has been much impaired, and the imperfections inherent in both preserved: that the spirit of both has escaped, and left only the forms of the two to be brought into collision, but not into connexion. My objection lies not against the harmless adoption of the cap and gown for dress, and of student and professor for titles; the former was as open to the taste and selection of the College Committee, as the yellow stockings and blue vest of the Christ's Hospital boys; and the latter are now in such general use, that farriers' boys are called Veterinary Students, and drawers of teeth Dental Professors. But I object to this combination, because the advantages belonging to the two kinds of discipline, consist chiefly in their separation; and I do not believe it possible to attain their union, and preserve the effect of either. For, is it not, if closely considered, exactly what Mr. Grant, in defending the College, has described, as setting human ingenuity at defiance; and beyond the grasp of the most comprehensive philosophy? Is it not, in short, attempting the solution of what has been (to use Mr. Grant's words) "a problem hitherto so torturing to human ingenuity—in what manner we are to reconcile a perpetual system of inspection and superintendence, with that freedom of choice, which is essential to moral agency—a course of watchful guardianship, by which error shall be rendered almost physically impossible, with the attainment of that self-control and self-discipline, to which the possibility of erring is an essential pre-requisite—an arrangement of time and employment by which all temptation shall be excluded, with that habit of resisting temptation, which necessarily supposes a degree of exposure to it."? For, does not the spirit of school discipline consist "in a perpetual system of inspection and superintendence;" while that of a college is distinguished by allowing "that freedom of choice which is essential to moral agency"? Is not the former "a course of watchful guardianship by which error is rendered almost *physically* impossible;" while through the latter we gain "that self-control and self-discipline, to which the possibility of erring is an essential pre-requisite"? Is it not at school that we look for "an arrangement of time and employment by which all temptation shall be excluded;" while we expect to acquire at college "that habit of resisting temptation, which necessarily supposes a degree

of exposure to it"? In fine, does not the plan of a school exclude, as far as possible, "the liability to fall;" and does not the plan of a college try "whether the pupil has acquired the power to stand"? And is it not a truth that to unite these two is a thing impossible? And, therefore, that this supposed advantage, enjoyed by Haileybury, is in fact an attempt to achieve an impossibility?

Mr. Grant's Oxonian friend, whose letter he quotes, speaks of the discipline observed at the East India College as being midway between that of a public school and a college. He means, it is presumed, not that it stands there independent of both, and peculiar in its nature, but peculiar only in uniting properties of each. Let us for a moment consider the effect of this ambiguous sort of discipline, as represented by a member of the civil service of India, and formerly a student at Haileybury. The Civilian, whose printed letter is cited by Mr. Grant, produces an illustration apt, though homely, and valuable, because it is not a mere hypothetical statement, but the relation of a fact, which actually caused disturbance: "A regulation is made forbidding the use of fire-works on the 5th of November; a person is suspected of having some squibs in his possession—the *professors* proceed to search his apartments—the *students* conceive this to be an act alike unwarrantable and ungentlemanlike, and the individual, whom none would have supported for his own sake, excites their sympathy, and becomes the leader of a disorderly party." Mr. Grant has said, and I repeat, *experto credite.* The mere terms made use of, though harmless, help the mind to a conviction of the inconsistency, may I not add, to the absurdity of the system. Change *professors* into *ushers*, and *students* into *boys*, and the passage becomes consistent. But, as it stands, it is as if Mr. Peel were set to catch a thief, or Mr. Canning to detect a spy. It resembles the ridiculous predicaments of Lucian's Gods, and, to drop into a bathos, a Lord Mayor inquiring into the moral responsibility of dogs. It is self-evident, that if the rod had no place in the system, the prohibition should not have been issued. It is exactly such a prohibition, as being transgressed, should be enforced by a flogging. Squibbing can only be a delinquency among school-boys or the rabble; it is a practice which falls into desuetude, or loses its danger among men, because, if revived, it is exercised under their superintendence for the amusement of children.

Mr. Grant's Oxford friend, to whom I have before alluded, informs us that the pastimes of shooting, driving, and riding, are forbidden; a youth at Haileybury must get his exercise by perseverance in walking, if unused to, or unfitted for athletic sports. This assertion is not contradicted, and passes without comment; we are, therefore, left to believe, that it is not overcharged. But can we persuade ourselves to think such regulations, if strictly observed, beneficial to the student; in whom, as Mr. Malthus professes, it is endeavoured to hasten the development of manly character, and the acquirement of manly habits? The Oxonian will correct me if I am wrong in stating, that by the statutes of the University, similar prohibitions exist at Oxford, although the livery stables, which abound in St. Aldgate's and the Cornmarket, the rattling of gigs, and the crashing of tandems, the fustian jacket and gun, and the uniforms of various hunts, bear testimony to the wisdom of those, who abate of the rigour, when they are intrusted with the administration, of the laws. For, great as is the liberty allowed by the

University statutes, when compared with the thraldom of a school, yet it is rather the mildness of the ministry (which wisely leaves much to the feelings and *esprit du corps* of the gownsmen), than the liberality of the system of government, that permits to the members of our Universities, a freedom of action, whence they shortly learn to make the serious occupations of life the pursuits of their choice, as they are the line of their duty. For by that freedom alone can they arrive at a knowledge of the truth of Cicero's valuable avowal: "Scribo tamen ut te admoneam, quod ipse litteris omnibus a pueritia deditus, experiendo tamen magis, quam discendo cognovi." But, by the account of the Oxonian, how opposite in letter and spirit is the discipline of Hertford College; and, in consequence, how different is the conduct of the students, not perhaps, as the reader would without reflection expect, in the undeviating orderliness of their behaviour, but in their bold defiance, and happy evasions of prohibitory enactments; whereby, although they have never been guilty of those frantic acts of insubordination charged upon them by the enemies of the institution, they would astonish a smuggler, baffle an exciseman, and leave a Bow-street runner at fault. Yet, if the restrictive Regulations of the College were strictly observed, how sad a preparation for the enervating climate of India would be afforded by the recreations of Haileybury!

Mr. Malthus and Mr. Grant both appeal to the advantage enjoyed by the students of possessing private apartments, which gives them the power, says the former, of following their studies undisturbed, and of selecting, says the latter, their own circle of acquaintance from among their fellow collegians.[1] But the Civilian, whose letter Mr. Grant quotes with applause, appears to consider the private apartment as an evil, because it leads the student to believe, that he is living under a college discipline in its most liberal sense; and when, by transgression, he discovers that his sphere of action is much more confined, the separate apartment encourages insubordination by facilitating the formation and execution of projects, which the resentment of mortified and disappointed feelings suggests. On the power of selecting acquaintances and friends at Haileybury, I shall have to speak at large in a future communication.

But, at the age of sixteen, is privacy a desirable privilege for the mind, when the perceptions and feelings are first awakened and warmed by objects which give a new character to life; a change, which sometimes stops the advancement of a lively boy, and leaves him for ever a dull man; while it as often arouses a drowsy dunce, and developes faculties which he unconsciously slept over, but which raise him to eminence in society, and show him honoured among men, who was despised among boys? Is it not at this precise period that the latter part of our school education becomes so eminently useful, by withdrawing the mind from being enamoured of its own novel feelings and prospects; and directing the new stimulus to the excitement of exertion, and endeavours after distinction, both in the serious rivalry of candidates for literary honours, and the scarcely less useful contention of opponents in athletic sports? At this moment, to enforce privacy on a healthy mind, is to run the risk of perverting its powers, and deforming its beauty by cramping its growth; while to indulge a morbid love of solitude (for morbid it must

[1] Page 17, of the Letter to the Chairman, &c. 1823.

be in early youth) is to increase a disease of fatal tendency to the intellect, and to allow a moping boy to grow into a matured misanthropist. Of the distinction between this power, of being private and alone, enjoyed by under-graduates in their rooms at Oxford and Cambridge, and that which is made a part of the discipline at Haileybury, it is scarcely necessary to say much. The numerous gown and town population of the Universities lends a charm to retirement by giving it contrast; whereas the silence and sameness of absolute solitude at Haileybury, are but a few degrees removed from the general infrequency of sights and sounds which characterizes the place. But the difference of the time of life, at which such privacy is generally put at the student's command in the one situation and the other, is of especial importance; and the mode of living at the Universities is more likely to recommend it as a privilege to be desired, than, as at Haileybury, an injunction to be observed. Who, that has any love of study, has not felt the delight of quitting a noisy breakfast party of fifteen or sixteen, and escaping from the smell of fried kidneys, pigeon pies, and the strong diet of an Oxford breakfast table to the repose and freshness of his own rooms? Or, on the day after a hard run with Sir Thomas Mostyn's, or the Duke of Beaufort's hounds, succeeded by a roystering wine party, has he not sat down to read with that spur to diligence, which is applied by the recollection (not altogether unpleasant, when time is not too far a-head) of hours devoted to pleasure, but stolen from study, and now to be redeemed by double labour?

But, unless I am deceived, the power of studying in private, although it is an advantage claimed for, can hardly be allowed to the system at Haileybury. Among eighty[2] students, (which I believe is about the average number at the College,) the separation of apartments is not represented as causing, except for sleep, much solitude or separation of society. If, on the contrary, a bible with a black, and another with a red binding, should serve as a substitute for a *rouge et noir* table, and a partie carrée, supposed to be lost in the sublime of Pindar, or winning from a corrupt text the meaning of Æschylus, should in reality be playing, in a gentlemanlike way, at *guinea shorts*; if, in truth, the privacy of the student's apartment be converted into the secrecy of the gamester's hell, I must confess, that in my poor judgment, eighty hobbard-de-hoys, from 16 to 19 years of age, might with more advantage study together under the eye of a master.

In the beginning of this first of a series of papers upon the education of youth for civil offices in India, I have stated my object to be the promotion of discussion on this interesting subject; but I may be allowed, perhaps, to hope, if any thing in the course of my early communication should appear to call for remark, reprehension, or reply, from any quarter, that I may be heard to the conclusion of what I have to say before such be made, or, at least, before I shall be expected to put in an explanation or rejoinder, "Εννοιαν μὲν γὰρ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ μέρους τῶν ὅλων δυναΐόν· ἐπιστήμην δὲ καὶ γνώμην ατρεκῆ ἔχειν, ἀδύναΐον.[3] Polyb.

B. M. V.

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[2] There are accommodations, it is said, for one hundred.

[3] For although by a part we may form a conception of the whole, yet to gain a distinct and perfect knowledge of it, by such means, is impossible.

LITERARY REPORT.

Critical Researches in Philology and Geography. Glasgow, 8vo. pp. 202.

The authors of this volume appear to be deeply imbued with a love of Oriental Literature, and to take a warm interest in its advancement, but the character in which they have chosen to appear before the public, and the severe and caustic tone which they have adopted, are unfortunately ill calculated to conciliate favour, or to secure popularity. Nevertheless the air of open plainness and uncompromising sincerity, which they have assumed, however unpalatable it may be to the subjects of their strictures, has every appearance of being genuine; and the intimate acquaintance which they manifest with the subjects of which they treat, stamps a value upon their opinions which cannot be disputed.

The first article in the volume consists of a review of Dr. Lee's edition (the 8th) of Sir W. Jones's Persian Grammar, in which the worthy professor receives a sharp, but, apparently in many instances, a deserved castigation, for the numerous faults, both of commission and omission, with which the reviewer declares that edition to abound. It is needless to enter here into an examination of the controversy to which this review has given rise, for Dr. Lee has already published a vindication of his work, which will in all probability call forth a reply from his unknown antagonist. We shall merely observe that in our opinion the strong biting language of the reviewer, however much to be deprecated in a critic on ordinary occasions, is likely in the present instance to be productive of the best results, not only by inciting the editor of the Grammar in question to look more closely into the subject which he has undertaken to illustrate, but also by rousing the dormant energies of other distinguished Orientalists from the negligent and apathetic state into which some of them appear to have subsided. The warm stimulus applied in these critical researches to one of their number may, perhaps, operate sympathetically upon numerous others, and we hope at least that its effects will be fully evinced in the increased care and circumspection with which elementary works on the Eastern languages will in future be composed.

The subject of the second article is entirely geographical; it is entitled, "An Examination of the various Opinions that in modern times have been held respecting the Sources of the Ganges, and the correctness of the Lamas' Map of Thibet." This examination involves a profound and very interesting discussion of a variety of subjects connected with the geography of Central Asia, and with the modern discoveries in that part of the Eastern Continent, the lofty mountains of which present an almost impassable barrier to the researches of science. The author enters into a minute comparison of the positions of almost every place of importance in these remote regions, as they are laid down in the maps of the best modern geographers, and shows that D'Anville, Anquetil du Perron, Tiefenthaler, Rennel, Arrowsmith, and Pinkerton, have all successively committed far greater errors with respect to the Sources of the Ganges, &c. than those which they have charged upon the Map of the Lamas, which they have represented as miserably vague and incorrect, while in fact, considering the time and the circumstances under which it was constructed, it presents a much greater approximation to the truth than could reasonably have been expected. In the course of the article, the writer gives a detailed account of the important discoveries of Webb, Fraser, Hodgson, and Moorcroft, and concludes with a vindication of their claims from the bold assumptions of a Report presented to the Asiatic Society of Paris, by MM. Klaproth and Saint Martin, which will be found at length at p. 485 of the first volume of the Oriental Herald, and in which it is maintained that the honour of discovering the Sources of the Ganges and of the Settledj, belongs of right to the French and Germans, inasmuch as they are laid down in a map of Father Tiefenthaler, published forty years ago by Anquetil du Perron. The author shows, from Tiefenthaler's own express words, that he had never visited the Source of the Ganges, but obtained his information from the reports of others; that the description which he gives of it is utterly at variance with its actual appearances, and that the positions and bearings which he assigns to the places in its immediate neighbourhood, are grossly erroneous. With respect also to the origin of the Settledj, in Lake Mansaroar, Tiefenthaler's information was only second-hand, being derived from the report of a native messenger; and if his statements respecting it are to be taken for granted, the Lake has three distinct outlets, two of which are at ends directly opposite, a thing physically impossible. The claims of Anquetil du Perron are easily dismissed, for they rest only on the fact of his having been the publisher of Tiefenthaler's *Discoveries*;

his map having been wholly grounded on that gentleman's materials.

The third and last article in the volume is a review of Noble's Arabic Vocabulary, and Index to Richardson's Arabic Grammar, published at Edinburgh in 1820. The reviewer here reverts to the style of his critique on Dr. Lee, and treats Mr. Noble with little less severity than that which he had previously exercised on the Cambridge Professor.

After a few excellent preliminary observations on the purpose and formation of Dictionaries, &c. and on the manner in which this task has hitherto been performed by Lexicographers, or as he is pleased to call them, Phemigraphers, he proceeds to point out a great number of errors in the execution of Mr. Noble's work, which are calculated to diminish its utility, or even to render it positively injurious, to the mere student of Arabic, who may unwarily make use of it to forward his studies in that language; and as he seems determined to spare nobody who comes fairly within reach of his lash, he also falls foul of another gentleman, of whose work Mr. Noble has spoken favourably, but of which he does not seem to entertain a similar opinion. This is Mr. Townshend's "Character of Moses established for Veracity as an Historian subsequent to the Deluge," the second volume of which is altogether devoted to Philological speculations and discussions, and which is attacked by the reviewer with a severity that appears fully justified by the extracts which he adduces.

Such are the contents of this daring and well-written volume, which we think on the whole likely to produce a beneficial and lasting effect, as well on those who are at the present moment smarting under the severity of its strictures, as on those who, feeling those awkward sensations which the "proximus ardet" usually communicates, may have some reasons for suspecting that their own turn may possibly come next.

A View of the Past and Present State of the Trade between Great Britain and all parts of the World, in its Imports and Exports, progressively from 1697 to 1822, carefully compiled; the ancient part from the most authentic original Records, printed and manuscript; and the modern part from official Materials (mostly unpublished) extracted from the Records of Parliament, &c. &c. By Cæsar Moreau, Esq. Vice Consul of France, &c. &c.

This View, which is printed in the form of a chart on one sheet of paper of very large dimensions, is replete with information of the highest value and importance to all who are interested in the commercial prosperity of Great Britain. In this age of inquiry, when political economy, at length assuming the rank of a science, is studied by all, and when its principles, hitherto so imperfectly understood, and so needlessly complicated, have been developed by a few leading writers, and reduced to general maxims, now adopted alike by theoretical and practical men, the necessity of possessing accurate data on which to reason and to act, becomes every day more apparent. In this respect the chart before us is well calculated to render the most essential service; but its utility is by no means confined to the statesman and the political economist; the practical merchant may also derive from its columns the surest indications of the value and extent of our commercial transactions with every part of the globe.

It contains, in addition to a statement of the yearly value of the imports and exports of Great Britain to and from each distinct "Kingdom, State, or Colony respectively, (stated at the official rates of valuation established in the year 1696, which imply quantity rather than value,) the net amount of the Customs, the tonnage of vessels cleared outwards from Great Britain, the price of the public funds, and the number of Bankrupts; distinguishing the years of War and Peace, during the last 125 years, year by year." The patience and assiduity which M. Moreau has brought to his laborious task, in collecting materials for which he states that he has been occupied without interruption for eight years, are not the less praiseworthy because they were the only qualifications necessary for its execution; they are qualifications which few men possess in so high a degree, or at least which few men would be willing to exert in the accumulation of such an almost endless series of figures.

Taking for granted the accuracy of these Tables, which appears to us unquestionable, we shall extract from them every fifth year's statement of our East Indian Trade, as that in which the majority of our readers are more particularly interested. It should be observed, that the author has prefixed to the date of each year the letter W. or P., according as Great Britain was, at the period referred to, in a state of War or Peace, and that the odd shillings and pence are omitted in the items of each particular country, although reckoned in the general total for each year. It is also to be remarked that in estimating the value of the exports, the precious metals are altogether omitted, as having of necessity been previously imported; thus the quantity of gold and silver exported by the East India Company alone between the years 1708 and 1811, and not included in the following Table, amounted to 42,807,300*l.* The Table comprehends

the East Indies, China, the Mauritius, Timor, New Holland, and the Islands of the South Sea:

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
	£	£
W. 1697	262,837	67,094
W. 1702	247,014	87,484
W. 1707	355,838	55,974
W. 1712	456,933	142,329
P. 1717	494,861	82,646
P. 1722	764,053	125,477
P. 1727	1,125,829	97,808
P. 1732	981,332	159,099
P. 1737	915,881	378,089
W. 1742	1,213,878	373,797
W. 1747	821,733	345,526
P. 1752	1,068,366	627,688
W. 1757	1,111,908	845,466
W. 1762	972,838	1,063,353
P. 1767	1,981,173	1,272,654
P. 1772	2,473,192	941,361
W. 1777	1,834,221	785,825
W. 1782	626,319	1,467,844
P. 1787	3,430,868	1,551,209
P. 1792	2,671,547	2,437,887
W. 1797	3,942,384	2,288,415
P. 1802	5,794,906	2,929,816
W. 1807	3,401,700	1,884,437
W. 1812	5,602,358	1,779,212
P. 1817	7,687,328	2,794,634
P. 1822	5,122,993	4,100,693

The highest amount of imports in any one year was in 1816, 8,312,591*l.*, and of exports, in 1821, 4,427,331*l.*

We have not sufficient space to enlarge upon the many important considerations that may be deduced from the comparative estimate of our commerce with the East, with which M. Moreau has furnished us. We cannot, however, entirely pass over in silence the remarkable increase in the returns which immediately followed the opening of the East Indian Trade. To this wise and beneficial measure it is obviously owing that the imports of the years 1815 and 1816, more especially, rose to the unprecedented value of eight millions sterling. Such practical illustrations of the advantages of Free Trade, cannot be too often recalled to the attention of the British merchant, although we believe that there scarcely exists an individual of that intelligent and honourable class who still entertains a doubt upon the subject. Such indeed is our confidence in the spirit and energy of the commercial body, and in the enlightened views of liberal policy which are rapidly gaining ground among our statesmen, that we feel perfectly assured their united exertions will ere long rase to the ground the antiquated and tottering fabric of Monopoly, in order to erect upon its ruins the solid edifice of a free and unrestricted intercourse with all parts of the globe.

Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico, containing Remarks on the present state of New Spain, its natural productions, State of Society, Manufactures, Trade, Agriculture and Antiquities, &c. with Plates and Maps. By W. Bullock, F.L.S., Proprietor of the late London Museum. 8vo. pp. 532.

The illiberal and jealous spirit which has constantly characterized the Government of Spain had succeeded in entirely detaching her American possessions from the remainder of the world, so long as she retained her pernicious control over those favoured portions of the earth. Rich in the gifts of nature, picturesque in their scenery, and interesting from the vestiges of their former inhabitants, a race considerable from its number and its approach to civilization; little else than vague reports relating to them had reached Europe, previously to the visit of Baron Humboldt to those important regions. The sagacious and penetrating mind of that active and profound inquirer sufficed to explore a variety of facts of the most important nature, which he subsequently published to the world, in details calculated to enlighten the politician, the geologist, the antiquarian, and the man of science. In his works, however, there existed little of that familiar style of description which is so well adapted to illustrate the minuter features of scenery, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, their domestic economy, their amusements, and their feelings, and those numerous other circumstances trifling in themselves, but which are the first objects that attract the attention of the general traveller, and those which bring most closely home to us the real character of a country. There consequently remained a vagueness in our ideas respecting Mexico which it was highly important to remove, at a period when information relative to that country claims so peculiar an interest, and this Mr. Bullock's book is admirably calculated to effect.

With just sufficient of science to render it pleasing without being tiresome to the general reader, his work will doubtless become popular; and the easy and familiar style in which it conveys the great variety of amusing information it embraces, is well fitted to the nature of its contents. The occasional notices of objects interesting from their connexion with the antiquities, the history, and the superstitions of the former inhabitants of Mexico will also tend to excite attention; several of these are figured in the plates, which are well finished, and present many subjects of the lighter as well as the more imposing description, with which the country abounds.

At a time when Mexico was less known, it had been imagined by several Oriental-

ists of eminence that analogies might be traced in its earlier religion and its antiquities to those of Egypt and of the East. These notions we imagine are likely to disappear as the subject becomes more fully investigated. The hieroglyphics, as they have been termed, of Mexico, unlike those of Egypt, appear not to be the symbols of a written language, but rather a rude attempt at an historical painting of the event which it was purposed to record; the resemblances which have been pointed out between some of the deities of the respective countries are also far from striking; while the sanguinary character of many of those of Mexico agrees well with the bloody and ferocious system of superstition which formerly flourished there, and which is as strongly opposed as possible to the mild religion of the vegetable-eating Egyptians, and of the earlier inhabitants of Hindoostan, before the Brahminical caste had assumed in the latter its present ascendency over the better feelings of mankind. In these, and in many other particulars, the present volume will be found capable of affording much entertaining information.

OPINIONS ENTERTAINED IN FRANCE, ON THE DOMINION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

We have received from France an Historical Essay on the Origin, Progress, and Probable Results of the English Empire in India. It is from the pen of M. Say, and was written for the Revue Encyclopedique. The author commences with remarking that the nations of the continent, generally, are extremely ignorant of the nature of our dominion in the East; thinking, in fact, that India is the principal source of our national wealth. This error is common to the continental governments, as well as to the people; although it would seem that their interests might induce them to acquire more correct information on a point of such considerable importance. The present essay was meant, and is very well calculated, to remove these prejudices from the minds of our neighbours; and as it is always instructive, if not very pleasing, to observe what is thought of us by others, we intend, in a preceeding Number, to present our readers with a translation of M. Say's essay. The materials from which he has drawn his conclusions, are already, it is true, before the public; but it is not every one who has either the patience or ability to come at correct views of so intricate a matter, from cumbrous histories, or more cumbrous memoirs and political surveys. It is of material importance that short pictures of objects of this kind should now and then be placed before the public, that although its attention be distracted by various calls, it may, nevertheless, know where to find at a glance, the different characters of the objects of its thoughts. Indian matters are now grown of importance in Europe; public curiosity is raised; the eyes of thinking persons of all opinions are directed towards our possessions in the East; and the nature of our power in those countries appears to all mankind but ourselves a monstrous and unaccountable anomaly. M. Say suspects that our gains, if fairly calculated, would be found to be small; he, indeed, demonstrates that, as far as the English people are concerned, our Eastern empire is a burden and a curse; and adds to this demonstration his conviction that very considerable changes are on the eve of development in India. We see in his Essay the view taken by sensible people on the continent, of the policy pursued by the East India Company in the East: in his opinion it is so vile as to deserve the epithet *Machiavellian*, which is made use of (though very improperly) to characterize every species of violence and fraud. When wars arise among the Native princes, the English, says he, always throw in the balance of their power in favour of one of the contending parties; they share the spoil of the vanquished, contrive to render even the conqueror tributary, and conclude by stripping him likewise of his dominions. He considers the Native princes, indeed, as mere fiscal agents, who collect tribute from their subjects, and then share it with the Company. Those of them who are not sufficiently submissive, are displaced, and others more docile put in their room. Passing over many things which deserve notice, we shall observe what is his opinion of the dignity of the Directorship. The Company, he remarks, is merely an intermediary between the English Government and its Oriental possessions; it is put forth to take upon it all the odium of obnoxious measures, to pay the troops, oppress the natives, exclude all participations in whatever is thought to be gained in India; while, in reality, it is a mere puppet put in motion by the Board of Control! How mortifying to the dignity of the Directors is this! And to add to the bitterness of it, they are not, according to this politician, at all sensible that they are thus made what the English people

call a *cat's-paw*. What will he say when he reads the speeches made by these "lordly grocers of Leadenhall-street," wherein they talk so proudly of their Indian despotism, and of its being fastened in perpetuity upon the necks of the Hindoos? Something of this kind, however, he has suspected them of; for, he says, in praise of their *toleration*, that the idea of converting the Indians from their religion to ours is now quite given up; because both the professors of Islamism, and the worshippers of Bramah, are much more *docile*; that is, better elements of despotism, than they would be if converted to Christianity. These "Grocers" then cast up the worth of religions, and the souls they may save or damn, in pounds, shillings, and pence; and if they find the balance in favour of the perdition of eighty millions of people, coolly assume the gains, and suffer the spiritual interests of their subjects to be managed by whoever thinks it worth their trouble. We are not of the number of those who think that all the worshippers of Bramah are devoted to eternal punishment; we merely take up the view which is professed to be taken of it in Europe; but it certainly does appear to us that the happiness of the Indians would be very much increased, could they be persuaded to adopt pure Christianity. But of this enough. The Board of Control being the real power that administers the affairs of India, it is but natural to look for the faithful slaves of the Government in all its members; and it is accordingly observed, by this author, that it is composed of the principal minister's *creatures*. The real nomination to all places of eminent trust or honour in India, thus throws into the hands of Government a considerable means of increasing the influence of the crown, and widening all the ways of corruption. This, we suppose, is, in the eyes of the legislators of this *free* country, a sufficient *set off* against the actual *loss*, of which the East India Company is the cause to the country, to vast amounts annually. It is, indeed, clearly demonstrable, that, until the East Indian Trade shall be thrown indiscriminately open to all British subjects, and the free settlement of Englishmen allowed in every part of the East, without the necessity of a license from the Company, nothing but loss can accrue to us from our Indian possessions, be they ever so vast and fertile. The possibility of dislodging us from our position in the East, is certainly the subject of much contemplation on the Continent; and every eye, save those of the sagacious Directors, is open to see that nothing but colonization can long preserve India to this country. M. Say, indeed, believes that the power of the Directors, and their Charter, must expire together in 1834.

RECORDER'S COURT, BOMBAY, APRIL 30, 1823.

CURSETJEE MONACKJEE *v.* THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Judgment of Sir Edward West, Recorder.

THIS action is brought to recover damages for the breach of an agreement, under seal, dated 31st December, 1802. The declaration sets out the agreement, which was, among other things, that the plaintiff should, for the space of one year, from the date thereof, furnish to the defendants such quantities of rice as might be required for their military department at Bombay; and that the said defendants should, during the said space of time, purchase of the plaintiff alone, and of no other person, all such rice as they should want for the said department. The breach assigned is, that the defendants did, during the said space of time, purchase rice of other persons for the use of the said department. To this declaration several pleas have been filed, which it is not necessary to detail.

On the part of the plaintiff, it has been proved that the defendants did purchase very large quantities of rice, during the period of the contract, of other persons.

On the part of the defendants it has been urged,

1st. That the plaintiff has waived his rights under the contract, by acting under Major Moor, (who was the garrison storekeeper) in the supply of such rice.

2dly. That the plaintiff has lost his remedy for this breach of contract, by reason of his negligence, in not bringing forward his claim at an earlier period.

3dly. That a part of the rice so purchased by the defendants of other persons, was appropriated for the use of the troops on the Madras establishment, and therefore did not form any part of those supplies which the defendants, by their contract, were bound to take of the plaintiff.

All these objections were overruled at the trial, and the only question now remaining for the consideration of the Court is, the amount of the damages which the plaintiff is entitled to recover.

I shall proceed to lay down the principles on which the Court thinks the damages should be calculated; the calculation must be afterwards made by the officer of the Court. The measure of the damages which the plaintiff originally sustained by the defendants' breach of contract, in purchasing rice of other persons instead of the plaintiff, is the difference between the cost at which the plaintiff could have furnished that rice, and the price which the defendants by their contract had agreed to pay, for that difference is precisely what the plaintiff would have pocketed had he been employed by the defendants according to their agreement.

This is what the plaintiff was entitled to as damages immediately upon the breach of contract; but there arises the question, whether the plaintiff be entitled to interest upon those damages; and if so entitled, for what period of time, and at what rate. Upon this question of interest, I have had considerable difficulty, arising chiefly from the practice which prevails in the English Courts. It is perfectly clear that, according to such practice, the plaintiff in this case would not be entitled to interest. I do not, however, think that this Court is bound by the practice of the English Courts in this particular, especially as a very different practice has prevailed in the Courts of India. Laying, therefore, the practice of the English Courts out of the question for the present, I shall consider how far the plaintiff's claim for interest is consistent with justice, and with the practice of the Courts in India.

In the first place, it is clear, according to every principle of justice, that a plaintiff is entitled to be indemnified or compensated for every loss which he may have sustained, (or to use the words of ——ier,) all the gain he may have been deprived of, by a defendant's non-performance of his contract, if such loss or privation of gain flow immediately, and be not a remote or unexpected consequence of such breach of contract. Now, it is quite clear, in whatever light this subject is considered, that the interest on the clear profit, which the plaintiff would have pocketed, had the defendants performed their agreement, is a gain which he has been deprived of, or a loss which he has sustained, by the non-performance of the contract; say he would have laid by the money had it been paid to him, he would of course have put it out at interest, as any person of common sense would do; say he would have spent the money,—why then that sum, of which he has been deprived, and which would have been a fund for his expenditure, must have been supplied from some other source, and could not have been obtained without a loss or payment of interest by him. Had the defendants so far performed their contract, as to have taken their supplies of rice from the plaintiff, but afterwards neglected or refused to pay him the amount, it is clear that upon such amount he would have been entitled to interest, according to the practice of the Courts in India; and even according to the principle laid down in some of the cases determined in the English Courts.

What difference then is there between the two cases? what difference is there in principle, whether the defendants break their contract in the one stage or the other? There is indeed a technical difference, but none in principle. In the one case the plaintiff's demand would be for what is called liquidated damages, and in the other for unliquidated. But there is clearly no sense in the distinction, that interest shall be allowed on a liquidated demand, and not upon an unliquidated demand. Observe the consequence of such distinction. If an action be brought for money lent, that is liquidated demand, interest may be recovered; but if an action be brought for not replacing stock, or for not giving a bill of exchange, which had been agreed to be given, or for losing a bond upon which interest was accruing, such action would be for unliquidated damages, and the plaintiff would not, if such distinction were correct, be entitled to interest. I believe that such distinction has originated more in the different forms of action, than in any principle. I have some doubts whether the plaintiff ought not to have laid the loss of interest in this case as especial damage; but this informality, if it really be one, is of no consequence, as the defendants have come prepared to discuss the question of interest, and, according to the rules of this Court, the declaration may be amended, if necessary.

For these reasons, the Court is of opinion, that the plaintiff is entitled to interest; but then come the questions, for what period, and at what rate. With respect to the period, for which interest should be allowed, it appears that the contract was broken and the damage sustained in the year 1803, (twenty years ago.) Now, it may be here stated, as a general rule, that if a plaintiff be guilty of laches or negligence in enforcing a demand, he will in no case be entitled to recover interest on such demand. It would be absurd to award to a plaintiff interest by way of damages, when those damages have been incurred by the plaintiff's own fault. This is a rule which I am particularly desirous should be most distinctly and generally understood: it is a rule adopted by the English Courts, and which is proper to be adopted by every Court, as being most consonant with justice. It is probably on this principle that the English Courts have been

so unwilling to allow interest; but I think that in the English Courts the rule has been carried further than the principle warrants, as in every case some time must necessarily elapse without any fault on the part of a claimant, before his claim can be enforced. In every case some time must elapse between the institution of a claim in a court of a justice, and the execution of the judgment of that Court, during which period the claimant is losing without any fault of his own, the interest which would accrue on his demand.

Has then the plaintiff been guilty of delay in bringing forward and enforcing his claim in this instance? The breach of the contract was in the year 1803, and a claim for compensation in consequence was made by the plaintiff in July 1804; here then there was no delay; the claim was made at as early a period as could have been expected. To this claim the Government, on the 31st of August 1804, sent an answer that the prayer of the plaintiff's memorial cannot be admitted. On the 4th of October 1804, the plaintiff again applies to Government, and on the 22d December 1804 they offer him what was certainly a most inadequate compensation, namely, the sum of rupees 3,472. 1. 70. On the 6th January 1805, the plaintiff again applies to the Government. It does not appear in evidence whether he received any answer to that application. But on the 16th February 1807, the plaintiff again writes to the Government, and states that he had some months before received an offer of 12,500 rupees, which he declines, and offers to submit his claim to arbitration. To this letter it does not appear that the plaintiff received any answer. On the 13th February 1809, the plaintiff receives a letter from the Secretary to the Military Board, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from him of the 19th January 1809. On the 4th October 1809, the plaintiff again calls on Government for a settlement of his claim; what answer the plaintiff received to this application does not appear; nor is there any letter or document put in evidence which accounts for the lapse of time from October 1809, to the receipt of the letter from the Court of Directors, dated 6th June 1814.

Here then is a lapse of nearly five years, and though it appears that a reference was made by the Government here to the Court of Directors in England, which would necessarily occupy a considerable portion of time, yet that fact does not appear to me to account for the lapse of so long a period. At what time the application by the plaintiff was made, which induced this step on the part of the Government, does not appear in evidence. The delay may have been caused by the plaintiff, or may have been caused by the defendants. It rests, however, on the plaintiff to show that he has exerted due diligence, and he ought to have shown that the delay was not imputable to him. Up to October 1809, I think it appears that a negotiation with Government was constantly going on, and no improper delay can be imputed to the plaintiff up to that period, therefore I think he is entitled to interest, but I think that interest should cease to run at that date. My colleagues, however, are, upon this latter point, of a different opinion; they consider that the plaintiff is entitled to interest up to the date of the communication made by the defendants to the plaintiff, of the decision of the Court of Directors, which appears by the documents put in evidence to have been in the month of September 1815.

Though I feel that I am bound by what I conceive to be the rules of law to declare my opinion that the plaintiff's title to interest ceases at that date of his application in October 1809, I confess I am not sorry that I am overruled by the rest of the Bench in this particular, as I think the plaintiff has been treated throughout the whole of the business most unjustly. Those who composed the Government during the whole of these transactions, are passed away, and I am confident that no one would meet with such treatment from the present Government as this plaintiff has experienced. I am unwilling to speak harshly of those who are gone; but reviewing the whole transaction, I cannot but say that this individual has been treated most shamefully. It is acknowledged by Major Moor, and admitted by all, that the plaintiff was a most faithful and zealous servant, and see how he has been paid for his fidelity and his zeal. I will mention the single fact which appears in evidence, that the defendants at different times made the plaintiff three distinct offers of compensation. The first, in 1804, of 3,472 rupees; the second, in 1806, of 12,000 rupees; and, the third, in June 1814, of 43,000 rupees.

With respect to the plaintiff's delay in enforcing his claim, I can easily, as an individual, understand that a native of this country, in whose ideas government and despot are synonymous, would be most unwilling to enter the lists against the Government, I can readily believe, that nothing but the severest distress, or the grossest injustice, would drive him to hostile measures against a body such as the East India Company. As an individual, I can on this ground make allowances for the delay in bringing forward his claim. But sitting in this seat, and bound as I am to decide according to law, I cannot permit such considerations to weigh with me. I cannot allow it to be supposed for a moment that in this Court, the King's Court, instituted as it has been

by the Crown and Legislature of Great Britain, mainly for the very purpose of giving the natives of this country redress against the Company and the Company's servants, I say I cannot allow it to be surmised that the meanest or poorest native would not at any period of the existence of this Court obtain a full measure of justice against the Government.

I make these observations, because the plaintiff's delay in prosecuting his suit was attempted to be accounted for by his Counsel, in part by his having sought redress in Great Britain. There was, however, no occasion for such step, as this Court was always open to him.

Interest therefore will cease to run in September 1815. It will of course begin to run again on the commencement of the action; and as it does not appear that the proceedings in the action have been delayed by the plaintiff, it must be calculated from the commencement of the action up to the day of final judgment.

The next question is respecting the *rate* at which interest ought to be calculated. This is not like a case of interest due by contract either express or implied. If a person deal with a house of agency, and (knowing that they usually charge nine per cent. interest) allow the debit side of his account to exceed the credit side, there is an implied contract, that he shall pay therein interest at the rate of nine per cent., and in such case it is quite immaterial what interest can be made of money elsewhere. But in this case interest is not claimed upon any express or implied contract, it is claimed as damages resulting from the breach of an agreement; and the damages are the interest which the plaintiff could in fact have made upon good security. The fair mode of making this calculation appears to be to adopt the same rate of interest which Government has allowed upon public securities, during the period in question, at which rate the officer of the Court will calculate it. It will of course be calculated on the principle of compound interest, with annual receipts, as is always the practice in the Courts of India.

LETTER OF CURSETJEE MONACKJEE.

To the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, President and Governor in Council, &c. Bombay.

Honourable Sir,

The justice and benevolence that have so particularly characterized all the acts of your administration, encourage me to make a last effort to obtain at your hands, some relief, from the hardships and mortifications it has been my lot to experience in my transactions with the Government of Bombay for the last twenty years; those distresses which press most severely on me at the present moment, arise principally from losses by my contract for the supply of rice to the military department in 1803.

2. The proceedings on that case have come so often lately before your Honourable Board, that it is unnecessary now to enter into a statement of all the circumstances, I therefore only submit the following transactions connected with the contract in question, and respectfully solicit your attention thereto.

3. In February and March of that year, I find Captain Moor, the then garrison storekeeper, making large purchases of rice, in direct violation of my agreement with Government. I instantly requested he would take the rice from me, in virtue of my contract; in reply to which he observed that the purpose for which he was procuring the article, was unconnected with my contract; and if I was disposed to sell him rice at the market rates, he would purchase it from me as from any other merchant. Under a firm impression that he might have required it for a private concern, I therefore, without hesitation, furnished him with 38,000 bags of the rice at the market price, which was then two rupees per bag lower than the rate I was to receive for my supplies as contractor.

4. On being informed that all the rice procured by Captain Moor was supplied to the Honourable Company's Military Department, and not indented on me as contractor for that article, I wrote to the Honourable the Governor in Council, reporting the breach of my contract, and requested that the difference between the contract price and that paid by the Company for the said rice might be made good to me.

5. The above letter was referred to Capt. Moor, who acknowledged in reply that I had applied to him to supply the rice in question, but stated that he did not (from motives of policy) communicate the purpose for which it was wanted; he also stated he had informed me that

the purchase in question was not connected with my contract; and that what I had advanced in my said letter was correct.

6. My letter (with Captain Moor's report) was then referred to the Military Board, and most of the members were of opinion that I was entitled to the difference upon the whole of the rice supplied by the garrison storekeeper during my contract; but the Commander-in-Chief considered that the rice purchased by Captain Moor, was for General Wellesley's army, and therefore had nothing to do with my contract. Upon this report from the Military Board my petition of the 16th of July, 1804, was rejected by Government.

7. I then addressed a second letter to Government, stating, I was informed that the majority of the Military Board was in my favour; which letter, with other proceedings, were sent to Mr. Threipland, the then Company's Counsel, for his opinion; but Mr. Threipland at that time was not aware of what I now state to your Honourable Board, and therefore thought my claim to difference on account of the rice supplied by Capt. Moor to the Bombay troops, well founded, but not for the rice supplied to the army of General Wellesley, because such a supply could never have been contemplated at the time the contract was entered into. This report was forwarded to the Military Board for further consideration; but the Board recommended that I should only be paid for the rice supplied to the Bombay troops, which was calculated at 3,472 rupees; whereas it ought to be 60,000 rupees. Upon this report Government offered me the former sum of 3,472 rupees in full of my rice claims.

8. I declined the above offer; and in a third letter desired to know upon what calculation such a sum could have been offered. This letter was referred to the Military Board, and by them to the garrison storekeeper, who, in his statement allows that, had he indented on me for all the rice he required in the year 1803, according to the terms of my contract, I should have gained more than 110,000 rupees; instead of which, the Board only recommended 12,500 rupees to be paid me, which was accordingly offered to me by the Government in full of my rice claims: I declined the above offer of 12,500 rupees; and in a fourth letter requested that my claims might be decided by arbitration, but received no answer.

9. I was then directed by the Military Board, to bring forward, separately and distinctly, all my claims against Government, which I accordingly did; and thereupon the Military Board only recommended that I should be paid 43,500 rupees for the rice supplied to the Bombay troops, but I am sorry to say that Government were only pleased to tender me again 12,500 rupees.

10. In consequence of the above I addressed a Memorial to the Honourable the Court of Directors, not doubting but that they would have ordered the full amount of my claims to be paid with interest; but the Honourable Court of Directors only sanctioned 43,500 rupees, as recommended by the Military Board; and for the interest thereon they offered me a pension of 200 rupees per mensem, to be paid to me if I relinquished all demands against Government, otherwise I might look for redress in a court of law: these were the terms then offered me by Government.

11. Considering that my claims on Government for the rice contract alone, with interest, amounted to 450,000 rupees at that time, I declined the above offer made me, and stated in a letter to the Government my willingness to receive the above sum, in part of my claims, or otherwise to place it in the Honourable Company's treasury, to run at interest until I again applied to the Honourable the Court of Directors. I was answered, that unless I passed a general release of all my claims, no money could be paid me on account.

12. On receipt of this information I wrote to my friends in England, with all proceedings, authorized them to draw up a new Memorial to the Honourable Court of Directors, or to sue them in a court of law, as counsel might advise. However, they thought proper to put my papers into the hands of Mr. Threipland, who was formerly Company's counsel here; he has since stated his opinion in a letter to my friends in England, that I was unjustly dealt with, and that I should proceed in the Recorder's Court of Bombay, where I could prove my case better than my agents could do in England.

13. Conformably to this advice, I retained Mr. Woodhouse, as my counsel; but he fell sick, and went to Penang; the Recorder, Sir Alexander Anstruther, went to the Mauritius, and died; I was therefore prevented from filing my plaint in the Recorder's Court, until 1820, when the Recorders, Sir George Cooper and Sir William Evans, severally came to Bombay; the Company's solicitor and my counsel, were putting off the cause from term to term, on account of several other legal matters; and after the affair of Mr. Hockley, my counsel, Mr. Woodhouse, died; which accounts for the delay in bringing forward the cause. Sir Anthony Buller arrived, but before any decision was passed by the Recorder, the Company's counsel, in their answer, offered to pay the sum of 43,500 rupees,

as desired by the Honourable the Court of Directors, with additional six per cent. compound interest, from the date of their letter. This I again declined, by advice of my counsel; and the cause was tried by the Recorder, Sir Anthony Buller, who allowed me only for the rice supplied to the Bombay troops, 47,000 rupees, with six per cent. simple interest from 1803 to 1823, being twenty years; which I again declined, on account of my principal claim, without any interest, amounting to 148,000 rupees, in the year 1803.

14. I then, under legal advice, applied to the said Recorder, Sir Anthony Buller, for a new trial, because his decision had only awarded me 47,000 rupees, with six per cent. simple interest for twenty years; when I had every right to expect the full amount of my principal, 148,000 rupees, with nine per cent. compound interest for the said period. Upon showing the different grounds for the same, Sir Anthony Buller accordingly granted me a new trial; but Sir Edward West having arrived from England, Sir Anthony Buller returned to Bengal, or otherwise I have no doubt he would have altered his decision, as he stated, in open court, that, had the Aldermen coincided in his opinion, he would have allowed me more, with what is, and has been customary, viz. nine per cent. compound interest.

15. The present Recorder then tried the said cause, in the month of June last; and according to the terms and tenor of my contract, allowed me the full amount of my demands, upon 24,000 bags of rice, supplied by Captain Moor, to the Military Department, in the year 1803, the principal difference at two rupees per bag, amounting to 148,000 rupees, with the Company's rate of interest for fourteen years: therefore the judgment of Sir Edward West amounted to 527,400 rupees, by which I still sustain a loss of about four lacs of rupees. If the Recorder had allowed me nine per cent. compound interest for twenty years, the amount of the judgment would have been upwards of nine lacs of rupees. The Recorder's motive for striking off five years' interest, was, that I had not filed my plaint since 1815 till the year 1820; my reasons for delaying to do so, were founded in a desire to be submissive with Government, and to accommodate matters, without resorting to a court of law. My forbearance has occasioned a loss to me, and a saving to the Hon. Company, of upwards of four lacs of rupees; the difference of interest allowed by the Recorder between the merchant's and Company's rates being included in that calculation; and under these circumstances, I cannot but think it very hard indeed that the Government still wish to appeal against the Recorder's decision. I may even be allowed to say, that the Recorder's objection to grant me the additional five years' interest may be overruled, because Government have had the use of my principal for so many years; therefore I was entitled to the interest for the period it was withheld; the amount of the judgment has been deposited in the hands of the Accountant General, who will only allow me *four per cent.* until a reply be received from the Court of Appeal; my creditors who are going to be my securities, will take from me in the mean time the merchant's rate of interest, until I release them from their securities, and thereby I shall experience a further loss, without benefit to the Honourable Company.

16. It is to secure me from this heavy loss that I now supplicate the interference of your Honourable Board;—for many years I have been struggling to obtain my just due, till my body is worn down by unremitting toil and fatigue. I am old now, and cannot hope to reap personally the reward of my labours. It is in justice to my pressing creditors, to my large family of children, that I now make efforts to which my constitution is by no means equal; I apprehend nothing from the result of your Honourable Board's appeal to his Majesty in Council; but solely contemplate sustaining a ruinous loss by the time occupied in this appeal. It is this which urges me to entreat, once more, that your Honourable Board will be pleased to direct the Accountant General to pay me the sum lodged in his hands, without any security. Far from anticipating a decision of the Court of Appeal unfavourable to my claim, I am sanguine in my belief that they will confirm the judgment, with the additional five years' interest, which has been struck off by his Lordship, for the following reasons, which in a great measure prove that the supply of rice to General Wellesley's army came within my contract.

17. When Government makes an appointment, it is usually done by some public order; why, I most respectfully submit, was this not done in the case of Captain Moor? may I not ask whether the nomination of Major Moor to this duty, in preference to other officers, perhaps equally qualified, does not imply that the transaction was public, and connected with the usual duties of a garrison storekeeper?

18. When I first applied to Captain Moor for the supply of the rice in question, as the contractor, he ought not to have had any objection to tell me that he required it for General Wellesley.

19. When Government appointed Capt. Moor to be General Wellesley's agent,

did not Government correspond with Capt. Moor, as garrison storekeeper? and with the Military Board as the Military Department of this presidency? thereby contradicting the privacy of the transaction.

20. If Captain Moor had purchased the rice, as agent for General Wellesley, why should the said rice have been brought in his books as garrison storekeeper?

21. If the rice was the property of General Wellesley, I respectfully submit it should not (as was the case) have been supplied to the Bombay troops. The contract existing between Government and me, provides for the rice to the troops to be furnished by me.

22. If rice was required for General Wellesley only, the garrison storekeeper should have candidly told me such was the case, and that whenever he required it for the Bombay army, he ought to receive it from me as contractor.

23. If the rice was purchased for General Wellesley's army, why did Captain Moor bring the said rice on his return, and send it to the Military Board, and include the amount of the said rice in his disbursements, as garrison storekeeper, thereby corroborating the publicity of the transaction? This fact was proved from the garrison storekeeper's books when produced in the Recorder's Court.

24. If Captain Moor was really an agent for General Wellesley, why did he send his bill for the rice to the Military Auditor General for examination, and subsequently to the Military Board, to be passed, and then receive payment for the rice in public money from the Military Paymaster of this presidency?

25. If the amount for that rice had been paid for General Wellesley's army alone, there was no reason for its being debited in the Cash-book of the Paymaster as "Military Charges" of this presidency, and subsequently charged under that head by the Accountant-General for the expenditure of this presidency.

26. It was notorious that all the persons engaged in weighing and measuring the rice, &c. were public servants, and paid from the Commissariat Department of this presidency, which is another proof that the transaction was a public one.

27. If an agency for General Wellesley really existed, it may be fairly asked why were the biscuit, spirits, and other military stores for the same service, obtained from the different contractors, similar to mine, in the military department, who reaped the benefit of their agreement, whilst I, the rice contractor, was deprived of all profit, though possessing an equal right to it?

28. Supposing the supply of rice to be really a separate concern; for what reasons were the military, marine, and civil stores drawn from the public department, and supplied for the same service, as that on which the rice was wanted, and brought to the accounts of this presidency in his department, as the garrison storekeeper; and the amount thereof charged to this presidency?

29. If Government received a commission from General Wellesley to obtain rice, and that such had been considered a separate concern, why then, some person, independent of the Company's servants, should, I presume, have been appointed to execute such commission; or, if a Company's servant was empowered to make that supply, it was his duty to keep a distinct account for the same; but the Government or the Military Board considered this transaction belonging to the Honourable Company's public service; and therefore allowed Captain Moor to enter the account in the public books of the garrison storekeeper.

30. If General Wellesley called on this Government to supply him with provisions and stores, it was because this was the nearest place to his army; and it is the known practice of the Government of one presidency to apply to the Government of another, when they see that supplies can be sooner procured from such other; therefore, whatever rice General Wellesley required from Bombay, was for the troops of the Honourable Company, and not for his private account; and as my contract with the Honourable Company was then existing in Bombay, I had a right to supply the rice in question.

31. If General Wellesley wanted rice for his own use, he would possibly have applied to some merchant, and not to Government; but as it was for the public service, he applied naturally to Government. He must have thought that, as all the presidencies belonged to the Honourable Company, the charges for the articles supplied to him from Bombay would be debited to Madras, or to this presidency, being all the same.

32. Finally, Mr. Threipland, the Company's counsel, stated to Government in 1804, that the supply of rice to General Wellesley was not in contemplation, upon framing the contract. In regard to this I have only to observe that I was guided entirely by the wording of my contract, which does away with whatever that gentleman may have said regarding contemplation.

33. Having now stated all I conceive

to be necessary to establish a conviction in the minds of your Honourable Board, that my claims are just and well-founded, it only remains for me to entreat an acquiescence in the respectful solicitation I have preferred in the fifteenth paragraph of this letter. The whole of the above circumstances may be simply resolved into this, viz. that my contract was violated by the supply of rice having been separately vested in Captain Moor, on the plea of its being a separate transaction. Of the publicity and official character of this transaction there cannot remain, I should suppose, the slightest doubt on the minds of your Honourable Board.

1st. Again, after rejecting my first application, Government offered me 3,472 rupees.

2d. Major Moor expressed his opinion that if he had indented upon me for the whole of the rice, I should have been entitled to 1[illegible],000 rupees.

3d. On this report of Major Moor, the Military Board only recommended 43,500 rupees.

4th. From this Report of the Military Board, the Government only offered 12,500 rupees.

5th. The Court of Directors recommended 43,500 rupees, with a pension of 200 rupees per month.

6th. Government offered as directed by the Court of Directors, 43,500 rupees, with a pension as above mentioned.

7th. Government tendered me again, in the Recorder's Court, the above sum of 43,500 rupees, with six per cent. compound interest, from the date of the Court of Directors' letter, making 87,000 rupees.

8th. The Recorder, Sir Anthony Buller, adjudged 47,000 rupees, with six per cent. simple interest, for twenty years, making 107,000 rupees.

9th. And lastly, Sir Edward West awarded my principal, 148,000 rupees only, with fourteen years' interest, making 527,400 rupees.

34. All the above circumstances prove a breach of the specific wording of my contract, which rendered it incumbent on the Government to require of me, and on me to supply, whatever rice might be wanted for the troops of the Honourable Company, of whatever presidency; none having been particularized. The contract being thus broken, much to my injury, to whom was I to look for reparation but to Government? It was refused me. I referred it to the Honourable Court of Directors. The award of the Court of Directors was to the extent recommended by the Military Board, with a pension of 200 rupees, if I relinquished all my demands, leaving me, in case I refused, to proceed in a court of law. I therefore avail myself of the alternative suggested by the Court of Directors; and at last obtained a judgment for 527,445 rupees.

35. It may not be irrelevant here to state that in consequence of the notion entertained by Government, that the rice supplied to General Wellesley's army had nothing to do with my contract, their Advocate General, Mr. Norton, was desired to move for a new trial; stating, as a reason, that the supply to General Wellesley's army was a separate concern; on which point I am happy to say that the Honourable Court clearly exhibited to the Advocate General, that by the tenor of the contract, whenever Government required rice in the military department for the use of the Honourable Company, it should have been supplied by the contractor; no matter for what purpose, or for what army, or for what presidency, as long as rice was supplied from the military department of Bombay; because no particular army was mentioned in the contract. This, I hope, clearly satisfies Government that the question as to the right of supply is placed at rest; and that any further efforts to alter it, would only tend to distress me.

36. The object of the Honourable Court, in giving me the option of going to law, was clearly to satisfy themselves, by such reference to legal authorities, of the justice of my claim, on account of the rice supplied to the Madras army; and if the Advocate General had been acquainted with all the circumstances I have herein stated, he would perhaps have recommended your Honourable Board to abandon your intention to appeal; since the object of the Honourable Court in referring me to a court of law has been attained.

37. I rely upon your well-known liberality to abide by its present decision; and not to protract the payment of the sum awarded, by a further appeal to the King in Council.

38. Would your Honourable Board now wish to deprive me of that which has been granted me by a tribunal, to which I appealed at the suggestion of the Honourable Court? Let me entreat your Honourable Board to revoke your intention to appeal; and thus put an end to a harassing, mortifying, long-pending transaction, which ultimately will yield no benefit to the Honourable Company; but may much injure one whose life would otherwise have been willingly sacrificed to do them service.

And I remain, with respect,

Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

CURSETJEE MONACKJEE.

Bombay, March, 1824.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND BOARD OF CONTROL.

[THE subjoined Correspondence, including Mr. Buckingham's last Appeal to the East India Company and Board of Control for redress, and the replies of both these bodies, neither of which have been yet made public, exhibits, in so unequivocal a light, the principles on which they encourage the East India Company's servants to conduct their governments abroad, that it is earnestly hoped the Press of England generally, will do all parties the justice to publish the letters as they stand: those who are friendly to the present system, for the sake of justifying the Directors and Ministers in their course; those who are adverse to it, for the sake of showing its defects; and those even who are neutral or indifferent, for the sake of giving the information to their peculiar circle of readers; so that all men may judge for themselves whether the Monopoly now vested in the East India Company, and the mockery of a Board of Control, are favourable to the great ends of human happiness or not; and whether the existing laws, which place British subjects in India far below the level of Foreigners of every nation, and even of Slaves, who may each enjoy security of property, as well as that protection of Trial by Jury, from which Englishmen alone are cut off, by Banishment at the mere will of the Government, ought not to call forth the voice of every man in Britain, to pray for their revision.]

LETTER I.—*To the Honble. the Court of Directors of the East India Company.*

London, Aug. 1, 1824.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

It having been publicly intimated to the Proprietors of East India Stock, by the Chairman of your Honble. Court, that frequently repeated discussions are productive of great inconvenience to the public business of the Company, which such discussions tend to interrupt; and having myself also observed, with some regret, that the specific questions brought before the Court on such occasions are frequently lost sight of, by speakers who either do not perceive, or will not confine themselves to, the essence of the matter in debate, I have come to the resolution of addressing myself once more to your Honble. Court, by letter, partly to avoid the inconveniences above alluded to, but more particularly to lay before you, without exaggeration or disguise, a faithful statement of my present condition, and to state the grounds of my claim for redress, in so distinct and unincumbered a manner as may enable your Honble. Court to come to a speedy and final decision thereon.

The facts of my case, as stated in the Petition presented to the House of Commons on my behalf, by Mr. Lambton, in the last session of Parliament (a printed copy of which is enclosed), being acknowledged to be correct; and the production of the papers moved for, by the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, in the Court of Proprietors, on the 9th ultimo, being opposed, on the plea that even those who were hostile to the motion admitted the facts on which it was grounded; it must be quite unnecessary for me to recapitulate them here. I shall content myself, therefore, with adverting to the striking changes which have taken place since I had the honour of addressing you, by letter, on the 3d of September, 1823.

At that period, the only injury of which I had to complain, was the being transported, without trial, from my friends, connexions, and lawful pursuits in India; without having broken any of the laws of England; without having infringed any local regulation having the force of law, in the territories subject to the jurisdiction of the Hon. East India Company; and without even a breach of those private rules, issued for the guidance of the press in India, which all parties now admit not to have been law, and which were accordingly made law, after I had been punished for an alleged infringement of them. My only demand then was, to be permitted to return to that property and those pursuits from which I had been so suddenly and unexpectedly banished, in order that I might repair, as well as I could, the losses and injuries I had sustained.

At the period of my removal from India, the Calcutta Journal produced, under my superintendence, a profit of about 600*l.* sterling per month, besides allowing to me, as editor, a salary of more than 100*l.* per month, and a house, worth 50*l.* per month, as a residence. Three-fourths of the property of that paper was my own, the other fourth having been disposed of, in shares, to gentlemen in the civil and military service of the Honble. Company, merchants, bankers, &c., for which fourth I actually received the sum of 100,000 rupees, or 10,000*l.* sterling, at the then rate of exchange, the whole property being estimated to be justly worth four lakhs of rupees, or 40,000*l.* sterling; yielding even then a large interest, and being capable of still further improvement. The half of the sum for which this fourth of my paper was sold, namely 5,000*l.*, I brought with me to England, for such uses as I might require to make of it here, leaving the remaining 5,000*l.* in India, in the full and confident hope that I should be permitted to return. The sum brought

home with me has been entirely consumed, in expenses arising purely out of my banishment from India, leaving me only the 5,000*l*. since drawn from that country, which I can now call my own. Still, however, as the Calcutta Journal, even after my departure from Bengal, continued to yield a profit of 400*l*. per month, and could never, as long as it continued to exist, have fallen below 300*l*., I considered the necessary expenditure, and I may say total loss, of the sum brought with me from India, as of less importance than I now do, since I then thought that I might safely count on the permanent receipt of 2,000*l*. a year, at least, from my property there:—property, which I, and all else who held shares in it, regarded as secure as land, houses, or the government funds; subject only to those fluctuations in value which are common to all other kinds of property, but as safe as any of these from entire and total demolition; no power to effect this being in existence when we embarked in its purchase, nor until some time after I had been removed from its superintendence.

I shall say nothing of what ought to have been the duty of Mr. Adam, when he succeeded to the temporary exercise of supreme rule, on the resignation of Lord Hastings; as all parties, both in England and in India, admit that it would have been more just, as well as more humane, if he had issued some orders, or intimated his determination, as to the course which *he* intended to pursue towards the press, before he ventured, without warning, admonition, or advice, to strike a death-blow on an individual who had laboured as hard, and meant as well, as he himself could have done, in the conduct which he had hitherto pursued. It is sufficient to recall to your recollection the simple fact, that Mr. Adam issued a decree to deprive me of my license, and commanded me to depart from India, for venturing to remark on the impropriety of an appointment which 99 men out of every 100 in India thought a highly improper one, which *all* men in England, not excepting, I believe, a single member of your Honble. Court, or its warmest advocates, have condemned, and of which you have shown your entire disapprobation by sending out immediate orders to cancel it without delay.

I shall not dwell on the great pecuniary loss which must be sustained by the sudden breaking-up of a large private establishment, like that which I had formed in India for the reception of my family, nor of the still greater loss which must have accrued from the cessation of a superintendence over my public business, which could not be replaced in that country. These are sufficiently obvious. The latter evil was in some degree lessened, by the capacity and trustworthiness of Mr. Arnot, in whom I was enabled to vest the actual stewardship of the property. As if, however, I had not been already sufficiently injured by what had been done to myself, Mr. Arnot was also banished, not for an act of his own, but for the deed of another, because the actual offender, Mr. Sandys, could not be so summarily dealt with; the Chief Secretary even admitting this under his own hand and seal. Mr. Arnot's banishment was attended with the most serious consequences to the proper management of my pecuniary affairs, which he alone had hitherto conducted; but in addition to this, his embarrassed circumstances obliged him to draw from my funds in India a sufficient sum to pay his passage and other expenses of the outfit and voyage to England; and the unhappy sequel of his being burnt out of the *Fame*, and thrown again, wretched and pennyless on the unhealthy shores of Bencoolen, complete the picture of his misery. He will, no doubt, tell his own tale when he arrives. I therefore confine myself in this place to the statement of my losses arising from the measures pursued towards him.

Still, however, the great bulk of the property invested in the Calcutta Journal was considered to be secure from destruction. The Chief Justice, Sir Francis Macnaghten, on registering the licensing Regulation in the Supreme Court of Bengal, admitted the importance of securing the stability of the property, by saying, "if any one entertained an apprehension that his property in the Calcutta Journal would be destroyed by the Government refusing it a license, he would assure him that it should be granted, nor would he register the Regulation if he thought it would affect the security of that property.*"

On the occasion of Mr. Arnot being banished, because Mr. Sandys could not be so dealt with, the sacredness of the property was again admitted, by the Chief Secretary, who said, "Mr. Sandys cannot be subjected to any direct mark of the displeasure of Government, suitable to the occasion and to the nature of the offence, which would not equally injure the interests of the sharers in the property;"†—this being an evident acknowledgment that it was the duty as well as the wish of the Government to hold that property sacred, whatever measures might be necessary to punish those who made an improper use of it.

What was the result? Mr. Sandys republished, in the Calcutta Journal, an English pamphlet, written by Col. Stanhope, containing a Sketch of the History and Influence of the Indian Press. The contents of this work were issued section by

* Judgment of Sir F. Macnaghten in the Supreme Court of Bengal, delivered March 31, 1823.

† Letter of W. B. Bayley, Esq. to J. Palmer and G. Ballard, Esqrs. dated Sept. 3, 1823.

section, the Government looking quietly on during its progressive publication, and thereby tacitly encouraging its completion; the John Bull newspaper entered warmly into the discussion of the merits and defects of the pamphlet; and if a discussion of this subject were really a breach of the Regulations (which, however, does not appear) it would have been at least as much a breach when made by one paper as by another. The Government, however, some time after the last section of the republished pamphlet had appeared, and when the discussions of the rival papers were nearly at an end, suppressed the Calcutta Journal entirely, and permitted the John Bull still to continue unmolested, and even unreproved.

It must be quite unnecessary for me to point out to the Court the obvious fact, that *literary* property ought to be, and indeed is in every country except India, as sacred and secure as property of any *other* description. In the instance above detailed, however, the violation of this property, reduced me, from the certain receipt for many years, and probable receipt for life, of 2,000*l.* sterling per annum, to absolutely nothing.

Supposing Mr. Sandys to have done wrong in republishing Col. Stanhope's pamphlet, (which I am far from admitting)—can it be just that I, in England, should be utterly ruined, and my co-proprietors in India be also subjected to a total loss of their portion of the concern, because of this? If the principal proprietor of any English newspaper were to quit England for France, and its editor to be absent from illness, while some indiscreet individuals were left in charge of the paper till their return, what would be said of the total breaking up of a productive property, and the utter ruin of its proprietors, for the mere indiscretions of one of their temporary agents? Could not the acting Editor of the Calcutta Journal, whoever he was, have been tried, fined, imprisoned, or even removed from his post, if necessary, and the property still suffered to be used, under a censor, or any other preventive checks that might have still permitted it to be productive and harmless, if it could no longer be useful and free? The absent proprietors were in no degree parties to Mr. Sandys's act, and though fairly responsible for all legally adjudged damages for convicted libels, they could not be considered deserving of ruin for an act neither against law nor justice, an act which neither received their concurrence nor their aid. It may be said, therefore, that my banishment from India for remarks since proved to be just, and Mr. Arnot's banishment for the writings of another, unreasonable and inconsistent as both these were, are nothing in cruelty and enormity to the complete ruin of myself in England, and the injury of 100 co-proprietors in India, for an act with which neither of us had the least to do, in any sense or shape whatever.

The first consequence of this suppression was, that the subscribers to the Calcutta Journal, which it had taken five years of hard labour to collect, were in a moment dispersed, and thrown, without the slightest consideration for the transfer, on other Papers, one of which, the Bengal Hurkaru, (a copy of which accompanies this) boasted, in its own columns, shortly afterwards, that in consequence of the suppression of the Calcutta Journal, its subscribers had been quadrupled: or, in other words, that the clear profit of 4,000*l.* a year which rightfully belonged to the Proprietors of one Paper, had been, by a stroke of the pen, transferred to the Proprietors of another, without the slightest consideration for the change thus effected. The Indian Government even appeared so sensible of this injury, after it had been inflicted, and was past remedy, that it consented, soon after, to renew the license for reviving the Journal, on a pledge being given that its future editor should be an officer in their own service, an arrangement which might have saved the ruin of the property at least, if it had been made before. Even this promised renewal, however, though great additional expense was incurred to prepare for it, never took place; and after a series of broken pledges, and disappointed hopes, with the recital of which I shall not here trouble your Honourable Court, it was at last determined by the Government of Bengal, that so long as I had any property whatever in the Calcutta Journal, or was likely to derive any profit or benefit from its continuance, it should never be permitted to be revived or carried on! Much as I had suffered from the cruelty of men in power in the East, I was certainly sceptical as to this point, when the appalling information first reached me in England: but the fact, unhappily for me, is placed beyond all question, having been formally communicated to me by my agents, Messrs. Alexander and Co. of Calcutta, by my friend, Mr. John Palmer, and by a number of other respectable correspondents in India, all concurring in the same statement, and leaving no doubt of its accuracy to the letter.

I might ask your Honourable Court to pause here, and review for a moment the scene of ruin and devastation laid before you. I might ask you, not as men merely, but as the Legislators of a great country, whether my censure of an appointment which you yourselves have since pronounced to be improper, almost indeed at the first moment of your hearing it named, and which you have subsequently annulled because of its impropriety, could possibly warrant this determined ruin of all my hopes—this destruction of what

I had created for the subsistence of my family, by the labour of the past—this blighting of all my well-founded prospects of repose and competence for my future days?—whether, in short, it can be in me a crime, deserving impoverishment and degradation, merely to censure that improper union of spiritual and mercenary views, which you have felt it your duty not only to reprove but to unlink and destroy?

But I must proceed.—My property, and that of my co-partners in this establishment, being thus placed under the ban of authority, it became necessary for my agents to think of some mode by which the wreck of it might be saved from utter destruction; and it has accordingly been hired out, at a very trifling sum per month, sufficient perhaps to cover the rent of the premises, to Doctor Muston, the very individual whom the Government in India would not allow to carry on the Calcutta Journal on a renewed license, for the benefit of its lawful and undisputed proprietors, because the profits, if any, would come principally into *my* hands; but whom, nevertheless, they have since permitted to carry on a paper printed with our materials, and containing the same sentiments from the same pen, on his *own* account, because the profits of such an undertaking will come principally into *his* possession. The cruelty and vindictiveness of such a proceeding as this is apparent on the very face of it, and will strike every one as without a parallel: but its partiality and injustice will be still more manifest, when it is stated, that this new paper is already put forth, under the title of "The Scotsman in the East," as an avowed imitation of the late Calcutta Journal; the reason assigned for the choice of this name, being the great similarity which existed between the last-named paper and "The Scotsman," published in Edinburgh. In its prospectus (a copy of which I enclose) the Calcutta Journal is praised as superior to all its contemporaries—the "splendid success" of its original editor, who is said to have "raised the Calcutta Journal as it were at once to the highest standard of perfection," is adverted to with every appearance of sincerity; and on this fame, so hardly, and I hope justly won, by my long and arduous labours,—on these materials, the collection and arrangement of which cost five years in time, and an expenditure of more than 20,000*l.* sterling in money, an Officer in the service of your Honble. Court is permitted, by the favour of your servants abroad, to build up a fortune for himself; while I, who am the rightful owner both of the literary reputation and the collected materials of this very establishment which he is thus licensed to use, am trampled to the dust, and reduced, if not to absolute beggary, at least to the necessity of giving up my present residence, where I had settled myself as soon as I was denied permission to return to India, in the belief that my property abroad would have been as much respected as at home,—of descending into a humbler sphere than that in which I have for years been accustomed to move,—and of beginning the world, under the greatest disadvantages, for a third time, in order to provide for my young and helpless children. I persuade myself that such a series of injuries and indignities combined, as those which I shall now briefly recapitulate, cannot go unredressed.

By the conduct of Sir Evan Nepean, your late Governor of Bombay, who removed me from the command of a China ship at the very moment that he confessed he had no fault whatever to find with me, beyond my not having a license, but that on the contrary he honoured my character, and thought favourably of my pursuits, I lost an opportunity of making at least 10,000*l.* in the voyages which this same ship subsequently performed.—By the loss of time, maintenance of my family at home, shipwreck in the Red Sea, expenses in India, and other events connected with my endeavours to bring about a commercial intercourse between Bombay and Suez, in which I employed myself till my license was procured, I became nearly 10,000*l.* in debt.—By my declining to go on a slave voyage to Madagascar, from Bengal, and consequently resigning the command of the same ship from which Sir Evan Nepean had removed me, but which the owners reserved for my subsequent command when my license was obtained, I was thrown on the stream, about 5,000*l.* in debt, and actually without the means of subsistence.—By the kind suggestions and kinder aid of Mr. John Palmer, and other friends in Bengal, who thought highly of my qualifications for the task, I was furnished with the loan of 30,000 rupees for the establishment of the Calcutta Journal; out of the profits of which I gradually relieved myself from these distresses, paid all my debts in England and in India, put from 3,000*l.* to 4,000*l.* a year into the Company's Treasury, by payments of postage on my paper, created wholly by its extensive circulation, besides employing advantageously upwards of a hundred persons on its establishment, and supporting many industrious families in Bengal.—By the unjust construction of a contract with the Postmaster General in India, I was an actual loser of money to the amount of 1,000*l.*, and was cut off from a prospective gain of 10,000*l.* at least, from the mere operation of that contract alone.—By the various prosecutions instituted against me by the Government and Secretaries in Bengal, I was a loser of more than 2,000*l.* in costs and charges of various descriptions,

though never once convicted of libel or other offence.—By my sudden banishment from India, the breaking up of my private establishment, which I had just completed for the reception of my family, the costs of our passage home, the forfeited passage money of my children, whom, on our arrival in England, we found just ready to embark for sea, and saved only by three days, I was a loser to the amount of 2,000*l.* more.—By the banishment of Mr. Arnot, and my necessary payment of all his expenses, for he was unable to do this himself, I was a loser of 1,000*l.* at least.—And lastly, by the suppression of the Calcutta Journal, and the refusal of a license to renew it on account of its lawful proprietors, I have been deprived of a certain income of from 2,000*l.* to 3,000*l.* a year, probably for life: or, reckoning the capital at what it would fairly have brought if sold into other hands before it was suppressed, I have been in a moment stripped of 30,000*l.* sterling in actual value, the fruit of lawful, unwearied, and I hope I may say, useful exertions, for the good of others as well as of myself, to the accumulation of which no man contributed the smallest portion, without his full, entire, and even unasked consent.

Putting the matter, therefore, on a mere footing of money actually taken from me by the conduct of the Indian Governments, from 1816 to 1823, I should have, in strict equity, a better claim for a grant of 60,000*l.* from the public treasury, than many who have received that sum, not because any portion had been taken from them, but because they assisted, when required, to take it from others. I am not weak enough to indulge any such chimerical expectation, as that *strict* justice will ever be done to an individual suffering under the undue exercise of power. Still, however, there is a limit even to injustice, and a sufficient sense of right and wrong still left, it is to be hoped, to perceive the policy of giving some slight redress for very flagrant wrongs. That mine are of this description, no impartial man in England, who has ever yet heard their recital, now entertains a doubt, however much the parties interested in making light of every grievance, may affect to treat these as unimportant. I ask, therefore, of your Honourable Court, composed as it is of Legislators professing a desire to administer pure and unbought justice to all, and of men not wholly dead to those feelings which enable us to place ourselves in the situation of others, that we may do unto them as we would they should do unto us—to grant me either of the three modes of redress here proposed, leaving the choice entirely to yourselves, with a pledge, on my part, to receive, as a final adjustment of all my personal injuries, whichever mode of compensation you may decide on offering to my acceptance.

First—To grant me permission to return with my family to Bengal, in some one of the Company's ships, and at the Company's expense, with the orders of your Honble. Court, directing the Government of that Presidency to issue a license for the renewal or revival of the Calcutta Journal, with authority to claim from the treasury of Bengal the sum of 30,000 rupees, the mere amount embarked in its first establishment, on my consenting to conduct it on its original plan, subject to whatever laws may by your Honble. Court be thought best suited for the press in India, whether fixed prohibitory restrictions, a censorship, subsequent responsibility, or any other restraint which you may here determine to be necessary, provided such restraint be equally imposed upon all, and that my person be free from liability to banishment, and my property from violation, at the mere will and caprice of the Government, and without the legal sentence of a court of law. By this mode of redress, if permitted to me, though I shall again descend to the very bottom of the ladder, I shall at least have a chance of working my way to some higher step, and may by this means recover a portion, however small, of what I have so unjustly lost.

Secondly—If my revival of the Calcutta Journal in India, be deemed wholly inadmissible, and this mode of retrieving my ruined fortunes be denied to me, I still solicit your permission to return to Bengal, furnished by your Honble. Court with a claim on the treasury of that Presidency, on behalf of myself and my fellow-proprietors there, for a fair and equitable restitution of our property, as far as the actual value of it at the period of my removal from its superintendence, can be proved; with authority to remain in India for such short period as your Honble. Court may deem sufficient, for the purpose of winding up the accounts of my late concern, of receiving the sums due to me, paying my just debts, and making a final settlement with my co-proprietors in that country. By these means I may be enabled to do justice to others, and gather up the scattered remains of our wrecked and ruined property, for an equitable division among those to whom it rightfully belongs.

Thirdly—In the event of its being considered dangerous to admit of my revisiting India at all, for any purpose whatever, I ask your Honble. Court to grant an order, on the Company's public treasury in England, for the payment to all the proprietors of the late Calcutta Journal, collectively or individually, as may be deemed best, of such fair and just compensation as a committee of your own proprietary body may, on evidence produced, conceive it equitable to award; not for the total destruction of all their prospective gains, in itself a severe and irreme-

diable evil, but for such positive pecuniary loss as can be proved to have been sustained by them, in consequence of the sudden suppression and subsequent refusal of a license to revive that paper, after they had embarked their capital in it, under a full and confident assurance that whatever new restraints might have been placed on the freedom of discussion, the security of every man's property would at least have been respected and guarded from all arbitrary violation by the protection of the law.

Either the one or the other of the courses indicated above, will be equally acceptable to me: each of them forming only a nucleus on which to collect my scattered hopes, and each involving the necessity of much future labour on my part to regain the prospects of fortune which have been so suddenly and so cruelly annihilated, for a mere trifling censure, which the decision of your Honble. Court has since shown to be in perfect accordance with its own deliberate views. Some such means of redress as these here pointed out, seem also to be no less essential to the honour and character of the East India Company, than to the maintenance of that impartial justice which all profess a desire to uphold. They will be, at the same time, in strict accordance with the repeated declarations of the Government in India, and the avowed conviction of your Honourable Court in England, that no personal injury was intended by the suppression of any one particular paper,—while another, legally convicted of libels, pronounced by the judge as not to be thought of without horror, as well as breaches of rules and regulations without number, is permitted to continue undisturbed;—and that no feelings of personal hostility were entertained towards me or my property after my removal from the country. If it be true, that the Governing Authorities of India, at home and abroad, are really anxious to avoid as much as possible the infliction of individual suffering, in discharging what they conceive to be their duties for the public good, never could there be a more favourable opportunity than this for proving to the world the sincerity of these professions; since it is perfectly practicable, in the present instance, to relieve abundantly the private distress unnecessarily created, at the same time that the public measures, from which the distress has sprung, may be rigidly and inflexibly maintained.

I beg your Honble. Court to believe, however, that I do not solicit this redress as a favour or a boon. I claim it as a fair and equitable discharge of what my honour, my conscience, and my reason alike assure me is a just and honest debt. Neither would I have it to be understood as a compromise for the abandonment of those higher rights and duties which are inseparable from a devotion to the great interests of mankind. I can only say, that I shall be content to receive either of the three grants proposed as a discharge in full of all the private and personal injuries and losses that I have sustained; though it will be seen, upon the face of them, that all combined would fall far short of the real extent of those evils, which they could only furnish me the *means* of remedying hereafter for myself. If I can attain but this from your Honble. Court, my personal wrongs will be appeased; and I shall endeavour to pursue my public duties, wherever I may be called upon to discharge them, in England or in India, without reference to the past. But, as my expectations are moderate, so is my determination firm; and not to be swayed by every breath that blows. I shall persevere, as long as I have power to do so, in reiterating my demand of justice: for I ask no more. It therefore remains with your Honble. Court, if this mode of appeal, by direct Memorial to your Body, be more agreeable, to give my written statement the early and prompt decision which its importance (to me and to my family at least) would seem to deserve: or, if public discussions be more welcome, to be prepared to meet the subject, again and again, in every shape in which it can be presented to the public mind, till all England, supported by all India, become deeply interested,—as mankind never fail to do, in that which is made, by time and repetition, familiar to their view—and until the world at large shall be impanelled as the jury which, sooner or later, will pass sentence on the private as well as public considerations involved in the great questions that will shortly be at issue between the people of Great Britain of every class, and yourselves, as the stewards of that vast empire in the East, which the Legislature of your country has committed, for other ends than unredressed injustice and oppression, to your temporary care. I remain, Honourable Sirs, your most obedient servant, J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

LETTER II.—*To James Silk Buckingham.*

East India House, Aug. 12, 1824.

SIR,

I am commanded, by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, in which, after various remarks, you submit for the adoption of the Court one of the three following modes of compensation for the injuries which you state you have suffered: viz.:

First—That you be granted permission to return with your family to Bengal, in some one of the Company's ships, and at the Company's expense, and that the government of that Presidency be directed to issue a license for the renewal or revival of the Calcutta Journal, and to pay to you the sum of 30,000 rupees, the amount alleged to have been embarked in the first establishment of the Journal.

Secondly—If your revival of the Calcutta Journal in India be deemed wholly inadmissible, that the Court grant you permission to return to Bengal, furnished with a claim on the treasury of that Presidency, on behalf of yourself and your fellow proprietors there, for a restitution of your property, as far as the actual value of it at the period of your removal from its superintendence can be proved; and with authority to remain in India, for such period as the Court may deem sufficient, for the purpose of enabling you to wind up your affairs: or,

Thirdly—That in the event of the Court declining to permit you to revisit India at all, they will direct payment in England to all the proprietors of the late Calcutta Journal, collectively or individually, as may be deemed best, of such compensation as a committee of Proprietors of East India Stock, may, on evidence produced, conceive it equitable to award.

The Court instruct me to acquaint you, with reference to your request for permission to return to India, that they see no reason to depart from their decision, which was communicated to you on the 17th of September, 1823, when you preferred an application for that purpose.

With regard to the other points alluded to in the propositions before mentioned, I am to state, that the pecuniary loss and personal inconvenience you represent to have sustained, are attributable solely to the line of conduct pursued by you, which induced the Bengal Government to withdraw the permission under which you resided in India.

The Court of Directors have already expressed their decided approbation of the course adopted by their Government on that occasion, and the Court of Proprietors have fully concurred therein; and I am to add, that under a review of all the circumstances of the case, the Court do not consider that either you or the other parties on whose behalf you have appealed, have any just claim whatever on the East India Company. I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

J. Dart, Sec.

Letter III.—*To the Honble. the Court of Directors of the East India Company.*

Honourable Sirs,

London, August 14, 1824.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of a letter, signed by your Secretary, dated the 12th, informing me of your refusal to accede to either of the three propositions contained in my letter of the 1st instant.

With regard to the first proposition—asking leave to return to India,—as you are pleased to meet it with a simple refusal of my request, I can, of course, say nothing; except, perhaps, that it does not appear clear to me how the grounds which led to such refusal in September 1823, should be deemed sufficient to justify the same course in August 1824; the circumstances of the case having, in the interval, undergone such great and essential changes, as to make them no longer the same either in nature or degree.

With regard to the second proposition, a claim of compensation for losses actually sustained,—you have been pleased to instruct your Secretary to state, that the pecuniary loss, and personal inconvenience complained of, were attributable *solely* to the conduct pursued by me while in India, and that therefore neither I nor any of my fellow-sufferers, on whose behalf I appeal, can have any just claim whatever on the East India Company.

I beg respectfully to submit, that in so far as I have been made a sufferer, by being banished from the country for acts done by myself, I am content to waive all claim for remuneration, either for the personal inconvenience or pecuniary loss sustained thereby, however just and equitable I may have deemed my *right* of claiming such remuneration, had I been disposed to press it on the attention of the Legislature. But, if your Honourable Court will again refer to my letter of the 1st instant (a printed copy of which I enclose for more convenient perusal), I feel convinced that you will see the misapprehension which either in the original framing of your instructions, or in the interpretation of them by your Secretary, must have prevailed on this subject.

The pecuniary loss occasioned by my removal from India, the only punishment that has been inflicted or personal inconvenience that has arisen *solely* from the line of conduct pursued by me in that country, was in itself sufficiently severe—reducing my income from nearly 8,000*l.* per annum, to about 4,000*l.* from the mere deprivation of that personal superintendence which I had hitherto exercised over the establishment from which I was then *suddenly* removed. But, every member of your Honourable Court is, no doubt, fully aware, that since my quitting India there has been a total destruction of this, even then still valuable property, and that after the income arising from it had been reduced from 8,000*l.* to 4,000*l.* per annum, for alleged indiscretions committed by *me;* it has since been reduced from 4,000*l.* per annum to absolutely nothing, for the alleged indiscretions of *others;* for conduct, in short, which, instead of being *solely* mine, as your Secretary has, perhaps, inadvertently been instructed to state, is in no degree whatever mine, not even receiving the most remote

participation or countenance from me; and happening indeed not only without my consent or approbation, but absolutely without my knowledge, or even my suspicion.

The republication of Colonel Stanhope's pamphlet in India, which happened long after my leaving that country, but before any communication could possibly have reached me from England, and for which the Calcutta Journal was for the first time suppressed, was *solely* an act of Mr. Sandys. By this suppression I was made a loser of about 4,000*l.* per annum, though the act alleged for its suppression was not in the slightest degree an act of mine, but solely the act of another.

The second suppression of the Calcutta Journal, after an expensive establishment had been kept up, on the faith of the Governor General's pledge that its license should be renewed,—notwithstanding which, the first impression of the revived paper was prohibited from being issued after it was printed, and the whole edition consequently destroyed,—arose *solely* from some alleged indiscretion on the part of Mr. Wm. P. Muston, an editor sanctioned by the Governor General himself, and an officer in your own medical service—his offence being understood to have arisen from his venturing to make an allusion to the unfavourable influence of the late laws for restraining the Indian press; and attributing to them the increased difficulty of making a public journal as interesting as when the press was free. By this second suppression of the Calcutta Journal, at the moment of its revival, I lost a certainty of securing at least 2,000*l.* per annum of the 4,000*l.* cut off by the first suppression, though the act which occasioned this was not in the slightest degree an act of mine, but solely the act of another.

By the subsequent promise of the Bengal Government to grant a license for a paper to be published at the same press, under a new name; the keeping up of a large establishment by my agent to meet this; and the final refusal of the same Government to grant a license to any paper in which I might have a pecuniary interest; or from which I might derive any benefit—while they have actually granted to Mr. W. P. Muston a license to print a paper at my press, with my materials, and at my risk of great pecuniary loss, with a certainty of *his* sharing largely in whatever profit may eventually arise;—I am reduced to worse than nothing. And after having lost all hope of regaining any portion of even the 2,000*l.* a year, which that paper might have produced if renewed, not on Dr. Muston's, but on my own account, I am involved in the risk of being called on for a participation, at least, in whatever debts this precarious undertaking may accumulate: though, so far from this state of things arising *solely* from any conduct of *mine*, it is the result of certain determinations of the Indian Government, on acts and events with which I neither have, nor could have had, any thing whatever to do.

I venture to hope, therefore, that your Honourable Court will not fail to perceive the inaccuracy, or inadvertence, of attributing solely to *my* conduct, losses which have arisen solely from the conduct of others. Willing as I am to admit the principle of responsibility for my own deeds, and therefore to abide the loss of 4,000*l.* per annum by the reduction of my yearly income from 8,000*l.* to 4,000*l.*, in consequence of my banishment for acts of *my own*—enormous and unprecedented as that punishment must be allowed by every one to be, particularly when inflicted for zealously serving the true interests of your Government abroad, in pointing out abuses which your Honourable Court have since felt it your duty to reprove and correct,—I must still indulge the persuasion that you cannot intend to reject entirely my claim of remuneration for pecuniary losses sustained by me, as a victim suffering solely for the acts of others, in which I could not, by any possibility, have had the least participation; and that your Honourable Court will accordingly re-consider the subject of my appeal, and instruct your Secretary to give me an early intimation of your decision thereon. I remain, Honble. Sirs, your most obedient Servant,

J. S. Buckingham.

Letter IV.—*To James Silk Buckingham.*

Sir,

East India House, 25th Aug. 1824.

Having laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company, your letter, remarking on the terms of the reply which I was instructed to transmit to your application on the 1st instant, and requesting that the Court will reconsider the subject; I am commanded to acquaint you that it was on a view of all the circumstances of the case, as well since, as up to the period of your quitting India, that the decision communicated to you in that reply was adopted by the Court; and that they see no reason whatever to depart therefrom. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

J. Dart, Sec.

Letter V.—*To the Right Honourable the President, and the Honourable the Members of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.*

Sirs, London, Sept. 3, 1824.

Since I had last the honour of addressing you, in September, 1823, so many and such important changes have taken place, with respect to the measures pursued against my property in India, that I have felt myself compelled to appeal once more to the justice of the Court of Directors of the East India Company for redress. I regret to state, however, that my application has been without success. Under these circumstances, I venture again to avail myself of the privilege allowed by the Legislature, to lay before your Honourable Board the enclosed copies of my correspondence with the Directors of the East India Company. I feel persuaded that there never has arisen a case in which the powers vested by law in the Board of Control for the Affairs of India could be exercised with greater justice than in the present instance; and I therefore venture to hope, that, after a perusal of the correspondence in question, your Honourable Board will order a restitution of our property to be made to myself and my copartners in the Calcutta Journal, by the Directors of the East India Company; and that you will also furnish me with a license to return to India, there to resume and continue my lawful pursuits, in such manner as the state of my affairs on my reaching that country may admit, subject to whatever laws may be then or hereafter in force, on all other persons residing in the Presidency of Bengal, to which, if permitted, it is my wish to return.

I beg to add, that I shall be most happy to accept of either of the three modes of remuneration pointed out in my letter to the India Directors; and shall feel grateful for whichever mode you may recommend or direct them to adopt towards me. I cannot persuade myself, however, that all will be rejected.

Soliciting the favour of an early reply, through the usual channels, I have the honour to remain, Sirs, your most obedient humble servant,

J. S. Buckingham.

Letter VI.—*To J. S. Buckingham.*

Sir, India Board, Sept. 14, 1824.

Having laid before the Commissioners for the Affairs of India your letter of the 3d inst., enclosing copies of your correspondence with the Directors of the East India Company, on several points connected with your removal from India, and your property there, I am directed by the Board to acquaint you that they do not see any ground for interfering with the Court upon any of the points stated in your letters.—I am, Sir, your humble servant,

Thos. Per. Courtenay.

RESIGNATION OF JAMES CUMMING, ESQ. OF THE INDIA BOARD OFFICE.

(*From a Correspondent.*)

The retirement of Mr. Cumming, who had served in this office upwards of thirty years, and who for upwards of sixteen filled the situation of head of the judicial and revenue departments, took place in the middle of last year. We learn that he was compelled to adopt this step on account of ill health, occasioned by a too devoted attention to the discharge of his official duties. On his resignation, he was granted the usual retiring allowance to officers at the India Board, under the Act of the 53d Geo. 3, c. 154, s. 91, being two thirds of his salary, in reference to his length of service; but in consideration of his great merits, his Majesty, on the recommendation of the present Board, has recently fixed a pension on his maiden sister, payable from the civil list, of 200*l.* per annum. The Court of Directors have also since, in manifestation of the high sense they entertain of his services, and as " a special mark of their approbation and regard," by a resolution passed unanimously, voted to himself an annual pension of the same amount as that granted by the King to Miss Cumming, such pension to commence from the day of his retirement.

Those of our readers who take a particular interest in Indian concerns, will not easily have forgotten the honourable mention that was made of this Gentleman's services by Mr. Thomas Courtenay, the Secretary of the Board, and by Mr. Canning, in the discussions in Parlia-

ment of the 12th June 1822, respecting the proposition of Mr. Creevey to reduce the number of paid Commissioners of that Board, and the equally distinguished notice that was taken of them by Lord Binning, in the Debate of the 12th of June last, on the Superannuation Bill, who, in his speech, particularly adverted to the Minutes that were made by the Board, and individual members of it, at the time of Mr. Cumming's resignation, and especially to a Postscript which Mr. Canning subjoined to the Board's Minute,* and which Lord Binning read to the House. It was as follows:—"Having perused this copy of Minute of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, I cannot refrain from adding my individual testimony to that which is herein borne, by the present Board, to the extraordinary merits and invaluable services of Mr. Cumming. If any discretion be left by the Act of Parliament regulating retirements, to proportion amount to desert, or to add recompense to what is mere earning, there never was a case in which the amplest extent of remuneration could be more justly bestowed. If there be no such discretion, I should greatly rejoice to hear that there are other sources, from which such additional mark of approbation could be derived by Mr. Cumming."

Mr. Cumming is succeeded by Hugh Stark, Esq., who was the principal Assistant in the Revenue and Judicial Departments.

* The Minute of the Board was signed by Mr. Williams Wynn, the President; Mr. Freemantle, and Dr. Phillimore; and the separate Minutes by Mr. Sullivan and Lord Teignmouth.

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM MR. ARNOT.

(*Dated at Bencoolen, Feb.* 21, 1824.)

The interest excited in the fate of this cruelly treated individual is such as to induce us to give a portion of the last letter received from him, omitting such particulars respecting the destruction of the Fame as have been previously given.

'If my last letter, dated about the 12th ult., by the ship Borneo, has reached you in safety, you may well be surprised that I again write you from this melancholy place, after such an interval of time; and you will be still more astonished when made acquainted with the strange necessities of my fate, by which I am fixed upon this island, for how long a period it is impossible to say. To take up my adventures from the part at which my last communication terminated:* in consequence of the representations made by me to the Hon. Sir Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant Governor of Bencoolen, on the arrival of the Fame at this place, about six weeks ago, stating that I had for some time previously been labouring under a violent attack of jaundice and fever, he most readily granted me permission to come on shore, in order to recruit my health and strength.

'Being thus thrown back upon this coast, by the burning of the Fame, destitute of a single particle of property, and having no letters of credit on a place where I had never wished to come, I represented my situation to the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, requesting to be sent back again to Bengal; he very handsomely consented to relieve my immediate necessities; but as he had not been furnished with any official instructions respecting me from the Supreme Government of Bengal, he abstained from further interference in the matter, then merely agreeing to afford me a continuation of my passage to England should an opportunity offer; by which it appeared that he had no desire to compel me to proceed further in my voyage of transportation, unless it should be my own wish to do so. As he offered also to become the channel of a respectful representation of my case to the Bengal Government, I have availed myself of the opportunity, and am advised strongly by my friends here to wait an answer to this application.

'It is more probable, however, that I shall get tired of this dismal place, and in the course of a month or two after my representation has been sent off, that I shall myself proceed to Calcutta, and anticipate the decision of my destinies, by there placing myself at Lord Amherst's disposal. My next letter to you will, therefore, most probably be addressed to you from thence, should my transmission involve me in no new and unforeseen calamities; for on the destruction of my floating prison, my captain jailor left me to go where I pleased, and to shift for myself as I could. Happily for me, I was not cast on a barren rock, or

* This letter has been inserted in a preceding Number.

he might have pushed off his boat (as he has since done) for Batavia, without taking the least concern about me, and left me to starve.

'By Lord Amherst's warrant, indeed, the Captain was especially enjoined not to let me leave the vessel *on any account*, till she arrived in England; but as I did not remain quietly to be burnt alive, it remains to be seen whether the crime of my escaping from prison will be charged to my keeper or myself. It is true I leaped over the ship's side without his advice or consent, notwithstanding Lord Amherst's imperial order, forbidding my leaving her: and therefore the utmost of the blame that can be attributed to the Captain, will be for not having kept a stricter watch over my movements; and when he found me in the boat, having broken my confinement, and endeavouring to escape with the rest, that he did not endeavour to secure me, and throw me back again into the flames. If an Act of Parliament be supposed to justify the cruelty of transporting an innocent man, it will no doubt also justify that of burning him alive; at least, if not, the strict tenor of Lord Amherst's warrant would.

'By a short notice in a paper brought from Calcutta in the Wellington, I see Mr. Hume has asked Mr. Wynn a question respecting your banishment. If he should further agitate the question in Parliament, may success attend his patriotic exertions. The calamities that I have suffered will, when detailed to the world, help at least to exhibit, in its odious colours, the monstrous power of transportation without trial. My last representation to Lord Amherst, whether successful or not, will at least make the Directors of the East India Company blush at the unmerited hardships which their system has inflicted on me; tearing me, without any but the most frivolous cause, from the scene of all my hopes and happiness, forcing me into their floating prison, going about the world to gather pepper; and now, after escaping from the flames, in which by the strict tenor of Lord Amherst's warrant I should have perished, leaving me to linger on these dismal shores, without the means of subsistence, or occupation by which they could be obtained, spending the best of my days in hopeless inactivity, and in a most pernicious climate, where I can only hope to find a grave.

'So little communication is there between this horrid coast and the rest of the world, that I do not know when I may be able to leave; but, wherever the waves of fortune may toss me, I shall remain, ever yours faithfully.

'SANDFORD ARNOT.

'P. S.—I grieve to say, that, by the destruction of every scrap of paper, and every article belonging to me in that ill-fated vessel, I have lost many documents that would have been useful and interesting to you, which I had carefully collected.'

LETTER OF COMPLAINT AND ADVICE.

WE are sufficiently experienced in the duty of editing a Public Journal to know that it is quite impossible to suit every taste;—and to be aware also, that the more popular a periodical becomes, the more it is likely to be honoured with the advice of well-meaning friends, as to the line of conduct which its Editor should pursue in its management. This is easily explained:—few persons trouble themselves about the direction of a work in which society at large take no interest: while that which is a common topic of conversation and remark, perpetually tempts them to display their superiority, in tendering their gratuitous advice for its improvement. It is this which has made so many projectors attempt to enlighten the Admiralty, by advising them as to the best method of determining the longitude at sea; and so many offer their schemes to Ministers, for the best mode of managing the sinking fund and the national debt. We regard the receipt of such advice, therefore, as a sure symptom of increasing interest in our labours: as we remember well, that when the Calcutta Journal was at the height of its circulation, its friendly advisers, as well as its abusers, were infinitely more numerous than when it was less known, and less cared about by the people of India generally. To show, however, the slight grounds on which such advice and remonstrance generally rest, and to embrace, once for all, an opportunity of explaining the nature of objections taken by well-meaning but apparently unreflecting persons, to points on which they cannot have bestowed any serious attention, we shall print a letter that has been addressed to our Publisher, and append to it the comment that we deem necessary, not intending again to revert to a subject which we should be the last to force on the attention of our readers; for whose sakes, as well as our own, we shall dispose of it as briefly as we can. The letter is as follows:

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, London, Sept. 4, 1824.

As a constant reader of your Journal, I take the liberty of giving you a hint, relative to the arrangement thereof. The truth is, I am an Englishman not at all interested in Indian affairs, excepting so far as it regards the general extension of literature and liberty throughout that vast country; and, therefore, I do exceedingly dislike continual dissertations about Calcutta Journals, and ex-editors, and Sir John Malcolms, and Days at the India House, printed in large type to swell out the pages. Really, Sir, if the Oriental is indeed intended for the public at large, you may be assured that such long stories as those above referred to, can never be endured here. Mind! I don't say you should not write about, and expose, all sorts of abuses, be they Indian or not, but I do very respectfully opine to the expediency of so many doses on the same subject. It is desirable for us to have some account of them; but "once and away" seems to me almost if not altogether sufficient. There are, in the present day, so many subjects to be written upon,—Political Economy, Morals, Taste, Science, Fine Arts, Reviews of first-rate Books, and of eminent Public Characters, Biography, and so forth, *ad infinitum*, that would, I am sure, be exceedingly interesting, if written with the same talent as your Journal I may say always is. It is in great haste, but I assure you, with the sincerest desire that your work may rapidly increase and be a very valuable property to you, that I have sketched these few hints, and hope I shall see some alteration in the next Number; the one for August is desperately heavy, and uninteresting to a Metropolitan, unconnected with India; and as I suppose you wish us to be customers, do be kind enough to give something of general interest, as well as partial and local disquisitions. The reports of the debates are very desirable for persons abroad, I have no doubt; and I would submit that your remarks attached to them are much better than separate essays, occupying a space which might be devoted to more valuable communications.

With every sentiment of respect, I beg to subscribe myself,

Sir, yours very sincerely,

NEMO.

P.S. Would it not be wise to avoid personality as much as possible?

We must first thank the writer for his good wishes; and having discharged this duty, we beg to say, that if he be an Englishman really interested in the general extension of literature and liberty throughout the vast country of India, he ought not to be indifferent to the measures pursued towards public writers and the press: since these are the only means by which the benefits that he desires can be diffused: and to destroy these, whether by persecution, banishment, or death, is to lay at once the axe to the root of the tree, and blast for ever all hopes of future life in its branches. If the Indian Government had been guilty of only *one* act of aggression towards the Press, and those concerned in its direction, it might have been but once mentioned, and then followed by some other topic; but every successive arrival from India, has brought intelligence of new acts of tyranny, new violations of personal liberty, new invasions of property; and all that we have done has been successively to record them. The oppressions of years are not to be told in a day; and if new cruelties are added to those that are past, ought they not to be as faithfully recorded?

The apparently repeated "discussions about Calcutta Journals, and ex-editors," have been in reality no more than this, a successive development of new facts that arose; or new illustrations of old events before but imperfectly known. The banishment of Mr. Buckingham was but one step, and the entire suppression of his Journal another, in the career of iniquity of which these formed a part. The banishment of Mr. Arnot was a third step; the refusal to revive the Journal as long as Mr. Buckingham was to be benefited by it, a fourth; and so on. All deserved to be, at least, put on record; and if this had not been done in these pages, the indifference of the public writers of England generally, to oppressions that happen at a distance, would have effectually prevented their full exposure in any other public journal of the country.

The "continual discussions on Sir John Malcolm and his opinions" may be explained in the same manner. Sir John was the first to throw down the gauntlet, in his letter to Mr. Lambton: we were surely not to decline taking it up. The Asiatic Journal next undertook his defence; were we to avoid the conflict then? Next came Sir John himself into the India House Court, and there proclaimed publicly his opinions on the points previously discussed in writing. It would have been, indeed, a base desertion of our duty if we had shrunk from the contest at such a moment as this.

Of the "Days at the India House," two only have been printed: and in contrast to this letter of complaint at their repetition (if that, indeed, can be called repetition, which presents an en-

tirely new series of subjects, as well as persons) we might produce at least fifty, giving great praise to these articles, and expressing a hope of seeing one, at least, of a similar kind in every succeeding Number.

It is by no means correct to say that these, or any other articles were "printed in large type to swell out the pages." The slightest observation would have shown the writer, that the Oriental Herald was commenced with the larger type used in the principal Reviews; but that, at a great increase of expense, these sizes have been changed for smaller ones, beginning with No. VII., and have ever since been continued. We might add, on this head, that there is no periodical journal in England, from the largest Review to the cheapest Monthly publication, that has given so much paper and print for the price; hitherto, indeed, to our very serious loss; but we have been willing to make much larger sacrifices than we have ever called on others to make, for the sake of laying before the English public the most ample details of Indian affairs generally; and in every Number of our Work yet issued, we have been much more studious to give, at whatever increase of expense, the greatest quantity of information in the fewest number of pages, than to swell out those pages by large type. The change from the larger to the smaller sizes has, indeed, been complained of by some, who are obliged to lose many parts of the work, as too small for them to read without pain and injury to the sight.

The Oriental Herald is certainly intended for the public at large, as our friendly adviser supposes: but when he says, that "such long stories will not be endured by them," we are at a loss to know on what grounds these epithets can be fairly used. The ordinary length of the articles in the principal Reviews varies from thirty to fifty pages; and sometimes even exceeds the latter. Now, since the first Number of the Oriental Herald, in which Mr. Adam's pamphlet was examined, no one article, excepting only the Letter addressed to Sir Charles Forbes, has equalled in length the very lowest limit allowed for one in a Review. Their average length has been indeed from eight to sixteen pages only, though not often passing beyond ten or twelve: not more, therefore, than a fourth of the extent of those articles in other Periodicals, which the British public *do* endure; and apparently even approve. We are no advocates for unnecessarily "long stories," and aim at compression in almost all we write: but, if a Periodical, like that of the "Common Sense Book," for instance, can give up its *entire* space of one hundred and sixty pages to one article *against* the freedom of the Indian Press: and find persons to purchase a number that does not contain half as much either in labour, quantity, or variety, as any single number of the Oriental Herald, at even a larger price than is paid for this publication: it seems not unreasonable that a *portion* of our space, at least, should be occupied by articles *in favour* of that calumniated Press, and illustrative of the injustice which characterizes all the proceedings of the Indian Government for putting it down.

The writer says, "I do not say you should not write about, and expose, all sorts of abuses, be they Indian or not." The professed object of the Oriental Herald, is, however, to confine itself to Indian and Colonial abuses, which no other publication notices; the Asiatic Journal never venturing even to admit their existence; and the English periodicals being all occupied with other topics. He continues, however, to say that his objection is to "repeated doses on the same subject;" and he thinks that "once and away" would be sufficient. In this we beg leave respectfully to differ from him entirely. When the abolition of the Slave Trade was effected, it was only by repeated discussions on the same subject, continued for upwards of twenty years, that the end was at length attained. The extension of the Trade to India, granted by the last modification of the Charter, was only procured by the same perseverance. Catholic Emancipation—the Freedom of the Negroes—Reform in Parliament—have all had discussion after discussion applied to them; but the "doses" must be stronger, or more frequent still, before these will be carried. It is this perpetual and incessant recurrence to the same point, which can alone produce a deep or general impression on any subject in England; and if "once and away" had been the motto adopted by our patriots and philanthropists, no good that they ever yet obtained by perseverance would have been effected to this day. It is this perpetual succession of blow after blow, that will alone establish a general conviction of the importance of a Free Press to India, or the advantages to all parties of unrestricted Colonization in that country: and although we shall certainly endeavour to avoid all unnecessary repetitions, either of facts or arguments; yet, we must continue, on all fit occasions, to advert to and illustrate, by every possible means, the evils of the existing system of Indian government, and the benefits to be anticipated from reform.

With regard to the last hint given by our friendly guide, the desirableness of avoiding "personality," it is difficult to obtain any definition of this term, in the propriety of which all parties can agree. If by personality be meant a prying into

the personal foibles and private characters of individuals, we hope and believe that we have always steered clear of this. If it be meant that we should avoid speaking of persons by name, we can only say that we have rarely or ever introduced the names of persons into our pages, without their first coming before the world under their proper designation. If Mr. Adam was not ashamed to sign the law for licensing the Indian Press with his own name,* and Sir Francis Macnaghten to defend it from the bench in his, there could surely be no invidious personality in coupling their names with this law whenever it was spoken of. If Lord Amherst could sign the warrant for Mr. Arnot's arrest and imprisonment, and Mr. Secretary Bayley sign the order for suppressing the Calcutta Journal, there could be no undue personality in indicating them by name, when speaking of these two acts. Again, when Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Impey, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Trant, put forth their peculiar views and doctrines on the subjects recently debated at the India House, it might, to some persons, perhaps, seem better that they should be characterized by gentle and flattering epithets, such as—the gallant general—the learned proprietor within the bar—the learned gentleman without the bar—the honourable candidate for the direction, &c.; but we prefer the more open and unambiguous course of naming the individuals directly, that each may bear his own burden, and no one be made, even by misconception, responsible for the conduct or opinions of others. But while, in doing this, we confine ourselves to the public conduct of those men, who are the first to give their own names to the world as writers or speakers on Indian questions, and avoid all allusion to their private lives, we do not see how personality can in any respect or degree be charged to our account.

If what related to the suppression of the Calcutta Journal, and the measures pursued generally towards the Indian Press, were really matters that affected ourselves and our property only, we should no more think of addressing ourselves to the public on such topics, than on losses sustained by fire, shipwreck, or any other unavoidable calamity. But these "private affairs," as they have been most unreflectingly called, are great public questions, which ought to interest every man in Britain. When a discussion arises as to the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies, the burning of widows in the East, compensation to American loyalists, or assistance to distressed settlers at the Cape, are not these matters of great public interest, notwithstanding that considerations of property are intimately connected with them all? And shall the most important of all questions that *can* be agitated—"Whether a people shall be oppressed without the power of complaint, or not;" and "Whether there shall be no redress or remedy against the passing of laws for fettering all expression of opinion, or, the banishment of some, and the total ruin of others, for endeavouring to withstand the general torrent;"—shall these be considered "private affairs," because they involve considerations of property, as inseparably interwoven with their details? The idea is so unreasonable, that we cannot but wonder how it was ever entertained. If, indeed, our own case had been the *only* one, in which we had taken the pains to lay the facts before the public, there might be some ground for supposing us more swayed by private interest than by a care for the public weal. But this has not been the line of conduct pursued by us. The oppression of the Mohammedan Prince, Fyaz Ali Khan; the extortions of English lawyers at Bombay; the breaking up of Mr. Greig's Press at the Cape; the fraud committed on the Parsee Merchant; have all been dwelt upon with as much earnestness as the injuries inflicted upon ourselves; and so, indeed, will every well authenticated case of oppression draw from us a ready co-operation in the duty of giving it publicity and censure.

What would have been said by either of the parties, in the cases just cited, if, instead of advocating their rights, as public questions, we had said to them, "Gentlemen, this is a mere dispute of property, and you must not trouble the world with your private affairs." They would, no doubt, have treated such advice with scorn; and yet this would seem to be the construction unthinkingly put by some on the repeated disclosures made by us of the measures pursued towards the Indian Press. Nothing, however, can be more erroneous than to consider such a great question, as the liberty or slavery of a hundred millions of people, a "private affair;" or to imagine that the discussions arising out of it have been prompted by self-interest, rather than an intense desire to serve a cause inseparably connected with the public good.

If it be said that it was egotistical to bring forward at all such transactions of the Indian Government as related to ourselves, and our own disputes, we can only express our conviction, that if they had not been so brought forward by us, they would not have been heard of in England but as a matter of history, years after they had happened, and when all remedy would have been useless. The English Papers, notwithstanding the pains taken to excite their attention to oppressions in India, have been almost

dumb upon the subject, saving only a very few exceptions, to which we shall render due justice hereafter; and even these would have remained in ignorance of the facts, but for the pains taken by us to lay them before the world in these pages. But if it be indecorous for any one to speak of his own case, however flagrant the outrage committed on his person and property, *because* it is his; there would then be little hope of our hearing or knowing any thing about half the cruelties and oppressions that exist in the world: for who are they that first bring them to notice?—necessarily, the sufferers themselves. It would seem, however, according to this new mode of limitation, that the victims of power are not to cry out *because* they are the victims; and though all the world might remain in ignorance of the evil, but for their exposures, yet they are not to open their lips in any matter which concerns themselves or their own affairs, notwithstanding that they are the very oppressions which they can most accurately describe, from having seen and felt their effects.

If such a rule as this were generally adopted, no tortured heretic should speak of the cruelties of the inquisition: no ruined farmer talk of the pressure of the poor laws; no kidnapped sailor inveigh against impressment; and no public writer complain of the abuses of packed juries and an undefined law of libel. These might all have reference to "private affairs," but would they on that account cease to be public also?—or can there be *any* invasion of the rights of person and property, especially as connected with the destruction of the press—the last refuge of the injured, and the most powerful bulwark against oppression—that ought not to interest all the world? at least that part of them, who, like the writer of the letter which has drawn from us these remarks, professes to be interested in the extension of literature and liberty through every region of the earth?

But we hope we have said enough on this subject to render any further observations on it quite unnecessary.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS IN INDIA.

During the past month, a collection of printed papers, under the title given above, has been issued from the India House, for the use of the Proprietors of East India Stock. The collection embraces five distinct topics, namely, 1st. Papers respecting the Nepaul war. 2dly. Papers respecting the Pindarry and Mahratta wars. 3dly. Collection of treaties. 4thly. Papers in the financial department; and 5thly. Papers relative to pecuniary transactions of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. with the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad. It will give some idea of the extent of this compilation to say that it extends on the whole to near three thousand folio pages; and that the mere catalogue or general list of the papers, published with them as a table of contents, extends over fifty-eight pages of the same size. Any accurate analysis of so voluminous a collection as this, cannot of course be given in a short space of time. We must content ourselves, therefore, for the present, with announcing their publication, and promising attention to their contents, of which we shall give the results in a future Number.

We should not omit to state that Mr. Henry Russell, the Resident at Hyderabad, during the greater part of the transactions alluded to in the papers printed by the East India Company, has published, at a private press, and at his own expense—but in the same form as the papers issued from the India House, for more convenient incorporation with them—a Letter to the Court of Directors, bearing date the 21st of September, 1824, commenting on many portions of the papers laid before the Court, and exculpating himself from certain charges which these papers contain. We have read this letter with attention, and the impression which it has produced on our minds is, that the Directors have in many particulars taken a distorted view of facts capable of a much more satisfactory explanation than they themselves appear to be aware. There is much in this letter also, of a highly interesting nature, as containing the strongest arguments in favour of the Colonization of India by Englishmen, which we hope to be able to republish. At present neither time nor space will admit of our doing more than thus adverting to the documents in question, and promising to give them our future consideration.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EAST INDIES, CHINA, AND NEW HOLLAND.

Bengal.—Since the publication of our last Number, which contained advices from India to the middle of March, no ship has arrived from Calcutta with much later intelligence. From the circumstance of all the ships in Bengal being taken up for the conveyance of troops to Rangoon, we learn that at the date of the last advices there was only one vessel loading at Calcutta for England, named the *Victory*. We may be, therefore, for some weeks yet to come, without advices by sea from that quarter. A rumour has prevailed, during the past month, of certain overland despatches having reached the India House, containing disastrous accounts of the expedition sent against the Burmese; but we have not been able to trace this rumour to any authentic source:—although nothing is more probable than that, if such intelligence has actually arrived, it would be kept secret as long as might be practicable:—we do not, however, attach much credit to the report. In addition to the authentic information which we gave from private letters in our last, may be added the following, the first from an officer in the civil service of the Bengal Government, dated Calcutta, March 9, and the second from Madras, dated April 2, 1824.

'The *Bengal* excepted, every disengaged ship in the port has been taken up for the service of Government. Since I last wrote, however, the destination of the expedition has been changed, from the minor object of Chedoba to that of Rangoon, and, ultimately Amarapoora, the capital of the Burman Empire, in consequence of the very large force which the Madras Government has placed at the disposal of this for foreign service. The expedition will consist of 11,000 men, 8,000 from the Madras, and 3,000 from this Presidency, and will proceed, about the middle of next month, to Rangoon, and thence on to Amarapoora, as soon as the periodical rains have filled the rivers sufficiently to admit of water carriage for the heavy ordnance and equipage, &c. of the detachment. The 13th, 38th, 41st, and another King's regiment, will form part of the force, with which there will be at least 3,000 Europeans. Some think the force unnecessarily large; but this, I am persuaded, is not the case. Besides here, where the loss of men is not easily applied, it is erring (if at all) on the safe side.'

'You will be hearing about the time this letter reaches you of the formidable preparations in progress for the invasion of the Burman Empire. The causes of the war, as detailed in the accompanying copy of the Governor-General's Manifesto, are the long repeated and insolent aggressions of these barbarians upon our Sylhet, or North-eastern Frontier. This Manifesto, the *golden mouth* is said to have answered by a message of scorn and defiance, slight regard, contempt, and any thing that may not misbecome the mighty sender. Elated with the success which has attended their wars with their equally barbarous neighbours, and mistaking our patience for pusillanimity, the golden mouth (for this part of his person is never mentioned by one of his subjects, but in connexion with the most precious of metals), has declared his intention of adding Bengal to his dominions! But he will most probably be taught to lower his note. It is, however, expected that they will make a stout resistance, for they are a bold, warlike people, good marksmen, and very skilful in the creation of wooden stockades, like the Nepaulese, who with the additional advantage of an almost inaccessible country, were completely subdued in the second campaign. Our sepoys long to be at them. An officer belonging to one of the regiments appointed for the expedition, told us the other day, that when the General Orders of Government were read to the corps for inviting volunteers (the sepoys cannot be compelled to go on foreign service), and saying that any men, who from prejudice of caste or family connexions, were averse to cross the seas, should be excused—the whole corps set up a shout, and said that no caste or family should prevent any man of them from placing his services at the disposal of Government, &c. &c.'

There are many and powerful objections to be raised to this war, as to its policy, necessity, season of operations, probable consequences, &c. all too important to be discussed in a few short paragraphs. These we intend to make the subject of a separate article in an

ensuing Number of our Publication, and, therefore, we do not enter on them here; this department of our pages being principally intended for the record of facts, and the accumulation of materials for present information and future reference.

A private letter from Calcutta, dated the 2d of February, mentions the following curious circumstance:—'A Rajah, whose name is not given, had applied to the Government for assistance in order to place himself on the throne of his ancestors, which his brother had usurped; and, accordingly, about 1,400 men were ordered off for the purpose of reinstating him in his rights; but the Rajah, giving way to the natural bent of his sanguinary disposition, slew his wife, while in the British camp, by severing her head from her body with his sabre. For this crime, he was immured in the Citadel of Bellary, and so strictly watched, that the officer of the guard was obliged to see him twice a day, in order to report his safe custody. This brutal act, together with a subsequent knowledge that such was his general conduct, is stated to have led the Government to give up its intention of establishing this Legitimate on his throne.'

On the subject of the proceedings towards the Press in Bengal, we have still much to communicate; but we purposely abstain, for the present, in order that we may embody the information in a more perfect and connected manner; and give another article on the question, when the opportunity may suit. The following striking and characteristic anecdote, appended to other matters of public interest relating to the Burmese war, communicated in the latest letter from Madras, has, however, already obtained some publicity through the London newspapers, from one of which, the Globe and Traveller, we transcribe the following:

Madras—Letters from Madras, dated the 3d of April, the day on which the ship Lady Amherst left that port, state that there were about 5000 men intended to be embarked from thence; for which purpose twenty ships of from 400 to 600 tons burden had been taken up. They were to sail on the 12th of April for the rendezvous at Port Cornwallis, in the Andaman Islands, which lie about midway between the coast of Coromandel and the coast of Ava, and at the entrance of the Bay of Bengal. At this port the ships from Madras and Calcutta were to unite their forces, and proceed together to Rangoon, under convoy of his Majesty's ship, Liffey, Commodore Grant, and under the military command of Sir Alexander Campbell, the Military Commander-in-Chief at Madras. No serious resistance was apprehended at Rangoon, though it was thought not improbable but that an attempt might be made there to destroy the ships on their anchoring, by means of fire rafts sent off at night under the influence of the land breeze, a mode of defence which, it appears, has before been used by them with success.

It is believed by well-informed men in India, that the present war with the Burmese was altogether unnecessary. Besides the love of patronage and promotions, which constantly impels the Indian Government to war, the present occasion for commencing hostilities is thought to have been eagerly embraced by the Authorities there, in order to divert the public attention in England, and that of Parliament in particular, from the late arbitrary proceedings of the Indian Government towards British subjects residing in the East. This contest with the Burmese is not likely, however, to be the only one in which the Indian troops will be engaged, as it is confidently said that the Goorkahs are already in motion; and serious apprehensions are entertained that, when our forces are engaged in the Burmese dominions, the flame of war will spread over the whole continent of India.

It cannot be denied that the Indian Government are placed, by this war, in a very difficult situation. If they do *not* send an overwhelming force against the Burmese, and put them down without delay, they will gather strength and confidence themselves, and inspire it in other Indian Powers, so as to encourage them to co-operate. If they *do* send an overpowering force to effect this object, the spirit of discontent (which, we have the authority of Sir John Malcolm, in his recent speech at the India House, for stating, always exists among the richest and best informed natives of India) may so openly manifest itself as to lead to such a general insurrection, as we should find it difficult, in the dispersed state of our forces, to quell. The brilliant termination of Lord Hastings's career, and the flourishing state in which he left the finances of the country, would thus be counteracted by the weak and ruinous policy of his successor.

Lord Hastings undoubtedly made conquests, but he narrowed the line of

defenceless frontier, and made our territories more compact as well as more productive. On the side where Lord Amherst or Mr. Adam, if he be the real mover, has commenced his military career, our territory cannot be extended without increasing in a most disadvantageous manner our line of frontier.

The following fact, which is communicated in one of the letters from Madras, of the date before given, is so unparalleled, we apprehend, in the history of any country, however despotic its government, that we give it in the writer's own words :—

'I have seen here,' says he, 'the prospectus of an intended work, the Oriental Herald. They are actually afraid here to sell the Quarterly Review, in which the prospectus is.* It is kept locked up in a secret place. I learnt from the agent of the Journal here that the book was to be sold at a particular shop, and I went with him there to procure it. They could not deny that they had it, and so it was brought out from its hiding place. The man, however, observed that he could not *sell* me the book, but would *lend* it to me, as every copy was bespoke.'

Few of our readers have perhaps ever imagined that the Quarterly Review would be placed under the same circumstances as Paine's Age of Reason; or that in any part of the British empire, more particularly in a well-educated community, like that of the British in India, a work especially devoted to the support of Church and State should be virtually suppressed, because of its announcing the intended publication of some other work, which could not appear until some months afterwards! This is a refinement of censorship quite worthy of an Oriental region. We trust the Quarterly will take up the matter in its next number, if only for the sake of its own reputation. The Parliament of England cannot permit such a state of things as this to exist in a British Settlement a moment longer than they can prevent it; and we hope that their attention will be drawn to it early in the ensuing Session.

Bombay.—The latest letters from Bombay do not extend beyond the period to which we gave intelligence in our last. The most important part of this is given in the article on the Parsee Merchant's Rice Contract, in another part of our publication. We hope soon to be in the regular receipt of advices from this Presidency, as well as from Madras and Bengal; although the same causes have recently prevented the arrival of ships from either—all of them that could be taken up for that purpose, being engaged by the Indian Government in the conveyance of troops, stores, and provisions for the Burmese expedition. The abundance of money, beyond the means of employing it, was so great in Bombay, that the principal house of agency in that island, had been compelled to announce their intended reduction of interest from four per cent., the present rate allowed, to three per cent., from the 1st of August next; and to restrict the amount of balance to be held in their hands, by any one individual, to 10,000 rupees, or less than 1,000*l.* sterling. This is one of the many evils of the British Government sanctioning the absurd objections of the East India Company as to Colonization. Nothing is wanted, in order to raise the interest of money, and give activity to commerce of every description in India itself, as well as between India and this country,—but the removal of all unjust restrictions, as to the importation of certain commodities, which must be had as returns, and those which prevent the free settlement of Englishmen in the country, and the investment of their capital in land, or in whatever other way may yield them most benefit. Annuitants, therefore, who live in England on the interest of money left in India, ought, with one voice, to join the merchants, as well as the friends of the press, for their interests are the same, in demanding the removal of these restrictions, and hastening the Colonization of India, by which alone these evils can be removed.

Java.—By the last arrivals from Java, we learn that Mr. Thornton, the British merchant, was still in custody of the pirates, by whom he had been conveyed to Borneo, in expectation of a larger ransom. As no direct communication had been made by that gentleman, his friends and relations were ignorant of the treatment he received.

Bencoolen.—The latest letters from Bencoolen, were those brought by the Mariner, in which ship Sir Stamford Raffles came home a passenger. A letter from Mr. Arnot, received by this occasion, will be found in another part

* It is included among the advertisements of the 57th No. of the Quarterly.

of our publication, in a separate form; and, except the facts stated in this, we have heard nothing of public interest from that quarter.

Singapore.—There are few of our Eastern possessions that have attracted a larger share of the public interest than that recently founded by Sir Stamford Raffles, at Singapore; and if no other argument could be adduced in favour of the Colonization of India, and the benefits of free trade over monopoly, the progress of this infant yet flourishing settlement would be sufficient. The history of its foundation must be known to most of our readers; and it will be gratifying to them to learn that the early promises held out by its intelligent founder, of a rapid rise to opulence and consideration, have been fully borne out by succeeding events. We subjoin, as the latest accounts from that island which have reached England, an account of its state and condition at the close of the year 1823:—

'The merchants of Singapore begin at length to surmount all difficulties—and, as it were, the foundation-stone of the "Emporium" is already laid. Godowns (warehouses) and dwelling-houses are rising fast on all sides, and marking, by their daily progress, the general spirit of the settlement. The south-eastern side of the river, which was, previous to the arrival of Sir S. Raffles, a mere marsh of the worst description, and when taken possession of by the English, covered with jungle, and overflowed in some places four feet by the high tides daily, has been converted into the most valuable spot upon the whole island. It will form the centre of the commercial establishments. Roads of the most desirable construction have been made in various directions over the same marsh, and every encouragement given to individual industry. A bridge is erecting across the river, which was a most desired improvement. It is of a great length, with a double-draw in the centre to allow the largest vessels to pass up the river at any time—there being almost all the way from nine to fifteen feet at low water.

'The Chinese have manifested a spirit of colonization far exceeding what could have been expected from existing circumstances; new streets, &c. have been lined out for them, intersecting each other at right angles; and the order and regularity which have been preserved in each distinct compong, defy description. By a seasonable regulation, every house has a verandah of six feet, facing every street, which in the worst weather allows business of all kinds to be carried on, from one end of the town to the other, without the chance of damage.

'The difficulties which Sir S. Raffles had to surmount in the first place were of no ordinary nature, but to a ready and comprehensive mind like his, obstacles only drew forth his extensive knowledge, and his capability of turning every thing to the best account. Houses were removed and rebuilt on other sites, and the places formerly possessed by a herd of petty dealers, Chinese and others, occupied by noble godowns, in the short space of a few months, and to the satisfaction of all parties. The fish-market, which in a place, where the population chiefly exist upon fish, and where I may say hundreds of pounds are brought in daily, became a great nuisance, (from the parts which were thrown away becoming putrified,) has been removed over the sea, upon a framework, well planned for this purpose.

'A road has been executed across the island to the Rangoon River, which is from 200 to 500 feet broad. By this a passage is opened overland with all the native states on the east coast of the Malayan Peninsula, and even to Siam itself. Since the mission of Mr. Crawfurd, we have had an increase of our Siam and Cochin Chinese imports, and every prospect of a still further intercourse, as we were visited lately by two war junks belonging to the King of Cochin China, which proceeded onwards to Prince of Wales' Island, in furtherance of their mission. They were received kindly by Sir S. Raffles. The Siamese also some time ago obtained a grant of ground at Singapore, and it is supposed we shall soon have a large company of that nation residing here.'

Let us hope that Sir Stamford Raffles will now devote his time and talents in England to impress the importance of free trade and colonization to India generally on the minds of the present Ministers, that our British and Indian fellow-subjects may alike reap the benefits of a more liberal policy in the intercourse between their respective countries.

New South Wales.—We have received, since the publication of our last Number, Sydney Gazettes to the 20th of April, and private letters to the 24th. The new charter for the more efficient administration of justice in the Colony had arrived, with Chief

Justice Pedder; and the Attorney General, J. Tice Gellibrand, Esq. The Chief Justice was to enter on the duties of his office, according to the full powers given him by the new charter, on the 10th of May. Captain Wight, of the Medway (which vessel had been off and on the coasts of Peru and Chili for nearly twenty months), discovered, on the 5th of March, an island, which from its non-appearance in any books or charts, he very fairly supposed to be a new discovery. Its length from east to west is about twenty miles; but its breadth could not be so accurately ascertained, from the want of time for examination. The land was high, and it was six hours before it disappeared from the view. The latitude is 21 deg. 36 min. S., and the longitude 159 deg. 40 min. west of Greenwich. Its distance is about one hundred miles west and by north from Mangeea Island; and Captain Wight named it Roxburgh Island. His Majesty's ship Tees, Captain Coe, was expected to sail for New Zealand on the 15th of April. She was to proceed to the assistance of his Majesty's colonial brig Elizabeth Henrietta, which had got on shore on Goulburn Island, to the south of New Zealand. While at anchor in Roobooka Bay on the night of the 25th of February, she parted from her chain cable, and lost two anchors in a violent gale. It seems that the culture of the vine in New South Wales has begun to attract more attention in that colony, since the Society of Arts awarded the large silver medal to Mr. Blaxland for wine, the production of New South Wales. These papers say that the natives continue their mischievous conduct. In March last, they destroyed a hut belonging to a Mrs. Collins, at the Blue Hills, and killed James Doile, one of her stock-keepers. Mr. Dawson, the commander of the trading vessel, Samuel, had brought back with him a black native woman, and a child two years old. She had been taken away from Kangaroo Island by the American ship, General Gates, and left on the South Cape of New Zealand, with a party of sealers. After they had been there for some time, a horde of savages came upon them, and massacred nearly the whole party. The poor woman, with her little one, took shelter under a rock till the New Zealanders had quitted the spot. The mother and child lived for eight months on birds and seal's flesh, without any fire by which to cook their wretched provisions, but were found in good health. The private letters speak favourably of the state of the Colony in regard to its increasing importance: from these letters we make the following extracts.

Extract of a letter from Sydney, dated April 14.—'The Government in England have lately done something to promote the interests of the Colony, by removing some of the shackles by which it was formerly fettered, viz. part of the duties on oil, on wool, and on some descriptions of woods. To render us really a flourishing Colony, and a source of commercial prosperity to the mother country, it is necessary to do a good deal more. They ought to pass a sweeping Act, admitting all our produce (spirits excepted) duty free, for ten years; and I shall specify a few articles which might become exports within that period, viz. flax and hemp, and their seeds; tobacco, barks, woods, roots, useful in pharmacy or in dying; gums, barks for tanning, extracts for the same purpose; vegetable oils, potash, soda, or any thing of which these are the only valuable ingredients. There are extensive tracts admirably adapted for the cultivation of the vine, so much so, that if this ever becomes an object of attention, I hazard nothing in asserting that this Colony will become celebrated for its wines; still vineyards, of any particular moment, could hardly be planted and brought into full bearing in the course of ten years. This, therefore, cannot now be taken into consideration. Last year the timber trade amounted to 6 or 8,000*l.*, the freight of which is already of greater value to the shipping than the wool, and particularly, if the duty on cedar is rescinded, the whole value of it, as an export, will soon exceed the value of the wool. Our fisheries, even now, are superior to the value of the wool.'

Extract from another letter of the 13th February: 'I have just been looking over the Gazette of yesterday, and have been amused with the attempt to cry up the improving morals of the Colonists, when I find ten capital convictions are recorded in the same page with the congratulations of the editor on the "maiden session," as he is pleased to term it. In another part of the same paper you find a reward for the apprehension of the murderers of a constable in the streets of Sydney, and serious complaints of the constant attacks made by robbers on the high roads upon persons' property.'

Extract of a letter from New South Wales, dated 21st February, 1824:

'The Native Institution for the Civilization of the Aborigines is broken up. Mr. Cartwright takes the boys, and Mr. Walker the girls, that were in the school. Government allows 20*l.* per annum for the support and clothing of each child but no salary; and has promised 5*l.* per annum (!!!) for any other native youth the Rev. Mr. Cartwright may take under his care. For the 5*l.* each he is to victual and clothe them; so there is an end of that institution. What will be done with the orphans I do not know.'

AFRICA AND ITS ISLANDS.

Cape of Good Hope.—We have no intelligence from the Cape of a later date than the copious reports which we gave in our last Number. The papers and private letters since received merely state that trade was in a very depressed state, but give nothing of a political nature.

Sierra Leone.—The accounts from this ill-fated Colony, mention the deplorable state of the inhabitants and garrison of Cape Coast Castle, although the Ashantees, up to the date of these advices, had made no attack on the place. They were, however, within a short distance of the Castle, encamped in the gardens, and an attack was daily looked for; this had induced the commander, Major Chisholm, to order the destruction of the houses of the town, lest the enemy should cover themselves with them. The Europeans were suffering most dreadfully from the climate, the rainy season having set in, and from a want of provisions, the supplies having been almost consumed. A great many deaths had occurred; and it was stated that unless speedy relief was sent, the attack of the Ashantees would be irresistible by the feeble force opposed to them. The Active, recently arrived at Plymouth, from Cape Coast, had on board three ladies, the widows of officers killed in action with the Ashantees. The enemy had not, at the time of her departure, approached nearer to the Castle than the distance of seven miles, but their advance was expected every hour. It is said that only seven or eight of the civilians on the Government establishment survived the effects of the climate, and the fatigues of the military duties they had undergone as volunteers. Provisions were so scarce that, though the Active was engaged at a premium of 140*l.* per month, to procure food, &c., she was compelled to leave, and make her way to England in the greatest distress.

New Zealand.—The following account given by Mr. J. Price, an American, who was taken prisoner with the crew of the General Gates, by the natives of New Zealand, presents a frightful picture of cannibalism. The ship General Gates sailed from Boston, in 1821, on a sealing voyage, and on the 10th of August following, Price was landed with five others on the coast of New Zealand, to catch seals. After remaining there six weeks, having procured 3,563 skins, they were taken by a party of natives of New Zealand, at ten or eleven o'clock at night. The natives set fire to their huts, burnt their skins, and destroyed their provisions, not knowing the use of them. They then tied their hands behind them, marched them to Looking Glass Bay, a distance of more than a hundred and fifty miles. They had nothing to eat but roasted fish. They were then marched two hundred miles to Sandy Bay, where they found a collection of savages, who carried them before their King and Queen. As soon as they arrived, one of their number, John Rawter, of London, was ordered to be killed. He was tied to a tree and struck on the head by two savages, armed with clubs. His head was cut off and buried, and the rest of the body they roasted in a kind of oven under ground, and offered to the survivors to eat; and having nothing else, they were forced, by hunger, to partake of it. They tied the remaining five to a tree, with 50 men to guard them. The next day, James Webster was killed and roasted; the day after, William Rawson, of New London, and the day following, William Smith, of New York, shared the same fate. The next day, from what they could learn from the chief, James West, of New York, was to die; but the night previous, a heavy squall arose from the east, with thunder and rain, which so frightened the natives, that they all ran away to the west, with a hideous noise, leaving the men tied under the tree. They succeeded in untying themselves, escaped to the shore, and found their boat, in which they put to sea without provisions. They were not thirty yards from the shore when they saw several hundred savages coming in search of them. They had been three days in the boat, when they were picked up by the brig Margery, Captain White, of Sydney, New South Wales, at which place they were landed on the 10th of November.

Pelew Islands.—The Syren, South Sea Whaler, arrived at Deptford, after a voyage of twenty-five months, on the 9th of September. She was originally built as a pleasure yacht, by the command of Buonaparte, and has met with great success, having returned with three hundred and twenty tons of oil. During the passage out, on Easter Monday, March 31, 1823, while off the southernmost of the Pelew Islands, under a lively breeze, several large sailing canoes appeared in sight, which increased in number to nearly thirty, each having from 6 to 10 men on board, upon which the Syren slackened sail, and, on approaching, many of the natives cried out, as through motives of inquiry 'English? English?' and being answered in the affirmative, they came alongside, and with tolerably correct pronunciation, repeated 'Give us a rope.' This was complied with. From the generally reported mild and pacific demeanour of these people, who, to the number of about one hundred, quickly crowded the deck, civilities were exchanged in apparently the most friendly manner, and as they brought few provisions with them and no articles of curiosity, the crew commenced bartering for their spears, with which they were armed, and with which they seemed to part reluctantly. At this time the vessel continued under easy sail, the canoes closely accompanying them, to their companions in which, those on board seemed in no degree anxious to return. The mate, who felt a little distrust from their superiority in number, the crew being only thirty-seven, communicated his opinion to the captain, who instantly coincided, and gave orders to crowd more sail, thinking it would induce them to depart. This appeared to occasion some little dislike, and in a few minutes after, while Captain Coffin was in a boat lashed to the side, giving orders to that effect, two of the natives, at a preconcerted signal, it is supposed, suddenly seized him, and endeavoured to throw him into the sea, while a general attack was commenced on the rest of the crew. The Captain disengaged himself, succeeded in gaining the deck, and calling aloud that their lives and the safety of the ship depended on desperate fighting, a fierce engagement ensued. Those of the natives who in traffic had parted with their spears, were assisted with others from the canoes, or availing themselves of the harpoons, which with great dexterity they broke to a suitable length, while others gaining the whaling-spades, used in digging into the fish when caught, continued a most furious attack; notwithstanding the disparity, the crew succeeded in driving them to the stem of the vessel, where they leaped overboard and regained their canoes. It is worthy of remark, that when any of the natives were wounded, or stunned by being knocked down, they were instantly thrown by their comrades into the sea, where they either swam, or were picked up by their companions, who frequently attempted to accompany them to return, but were always repulsed in endeavouring to get up the sides, and throughout encouraged them by loud cheering. On their quitting the Syren, the crew commenced firing, and though greatly exhausted, having a ready supply of ammunition, it was kept up while within musket-shot, but with what effect is not known, as several they supposed killed, from their falling into the water, were seen to rise and regain their canoes; nearly the whole of the ship's company were wounded severely in this attack; the effects of which, notwithstanding the unremitting exertions and skill of the surgeon, several will never, it is feared, entirely recover from; and it is to be regretted that the carpenter, named Jos. Caulfield, who fought most courageously, lost his life by a blow from a whale-spade, which nearly severed his head from his body, as did Wm. Warrer, boat steerer to the second mate, who was speared most dreadfully through the body; the latter has left an aged mother, and the former a wife and ten children, living in London, totally unprovided for. The retreat of the savages was as sudden as the attack; from their mode of which, their pronunciation of certain words, their jealousy in parting from their weapons, the seizure of peculiar implements, and converting them into weapons, the attack and seizure of the Captain, and its commencing when there were fewest on the deck, the crew continue in opinion, that the whole was concerted and organized by Europeans or Americans, resident in the island. What deterred them from entertaining the least suspicion was, the Syren having a short time previous spoke to a vessel, which stated she had been aground near the Pelew Islands, and the prompt assistance that had been rendered by the natives.'

Dreadful Shipwreck.—We mentioned, in our last, the destruction by fire of the American Indiaman, Edward

Newton. We are now enabled to furnish the full particulars of this melancholy occurrence, conveyed in a letter from Captain Bertody to his owners at Boston, dated St. Phillip de Benguela, March 12th, 1824, of which the following are extracts:

'I have the painful task to perform of giving you an account of the destruction of the Edward Newton by fire. The impression forces itself upon me, and I cannot help remarking the great mercy of God in our preservation through the perils of a boisterous ocean in open boats; and finally, when our case seemed helpless, and death (either by sword or famine) appeared inevitable, by our sudden and unexpected deliverance into the hands of civilized and hospitable people.

'I will endeavour, as well as the bewildered state of my faculties will admit, to give you some particulars of this distressing affair. I left Calcutta on the 15th December; Madras and Pondicherry on the 28th of the same month; had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and was making the most of a fair wind, with the prospect of a short passage, when, on the 20th of February, in lat. 29. S. long. 10½ E. this dreadful calamity befell us. On the day above-mentioned, at half-past five o'clock in the evening, smoke was discovered issuing from beneath the cabin deck, through the apertures of the run-scuttle, which being instantly removed, discovered the ship to be on fire. Every exertion was made to smother the flames, but all to no purpose, as by opening the hatch it took vent, and fanned the flames, which rushing furiously up, filled the cabin, and obliged us to retreat, or perish where we were. The fire followed us so closely, and spread so rapidly under deck, and the thick sulphureous smoke produced by burning saltpetre, having penetrated every part of the hull, we gave up all hope of saving the ship, and turned our attention to the preservation of our lives; and it was by the greatest exertions only that the boats were got out, and that we escaped sharing the fate of our ship. It does appear almost incredible, but it is no less true, that in fifty minutes from the time the discovery was made, we were all in the boats, and the ship in one general blaze, even to the royal-mast heads. The flames from aft rushed along the main deck with such impetuosity, that the instant the launch struck the water, a lady passenger, with three children (one an infant), were actually caught up and thrown into her. There was no possibility of getting below after our first retreat from the cabin; consequently not an article could be saved, either of wearing apparel, papers, or any thing which could serve us as food. Every thing of the stock kind was also devoured by the fire during this scene of distress and confusion. We may surely account it a providential circumstance, that we saved the only cask, containing twelve gallons of water, all the others being under deck; with which, and a bag containing fifteen pounds of bread, with a basket of potatoes, we pushed off from the ship, being at the time so entirely enveloped in smoke, as not to be able to discern each other in the same boat. After pulling off, we remained at a short distance to the windward, with all eyes fixed on the shocking scene before us. The flames had now got possession of every part of the hull, and had ascended the masts, as before stated, to the royal-mast heads, the whole presenting one solid body of fire, the dense columns of smoke shooting up and mixing with the clouds, a scene sufficient to appal the stoutest heart.

'At half-six o'clock, our goodly ship being dismasted, and burnt to the lower deck, which had previously blown up, disappeared and sunk, and nothing remained of her except a few floating fragments of burnt spars. Night closed the scene, and left us to realize the misery of our situation. There remained no hope of obtaining any thing that might float from the wreck. All the provisions, being below, were destroyed with the ship, and our small stock threatened us with starvation. We had, therefore, no time to lose, but to make every possible exertion to reach the coast of Africa, and with the help of two pieces of burnt sails and a compass, without charts, or covering of any description, except what we stood in, we shaped our course (as we supposed) for the nearest point of the continent, in boats; myself, Mrs. Nixon and children, and ten men in the launch, the officers and three men in the other. Strong southerly winds and a northerly current greatly protracted our passage, and prevented our making the coast until the 29th. We saw the land, coast of Caffraria, in lat. 19 S., a dreary, sterile coast, inhabited by negroes and wild beasts, and presenting to us nothing but mountains of burning sands; and, on the sea-coast, affording no fresh water. To have landed here, would doubtless have been

fatal to us all; and notwithstanding we were reduced by thirst to a state bordering on desperation, our reason still prevailed, and we had the fortitude to keep the sea with the land in sight After suffering all that human nature could endure during twenty days, in the boats, we arrived on the 10th instant, at this settlement, and were received by the Governor in a most kind and hospitable manner, whose generous and unremitted exertions to supply our wants, and render our situation comfortable, do honour to himself, and entitle him to our lasting gratitude.

'Mrs. Nixon, the lady passenger before mentioned, is the widow of an officer of the King's 44th regiment, now in Bengal, a native of Halifax, for whom our friend, Mr. Newton, at Calcutta, interested himself to procure a passage to America.

MEDITERRANEAN.

Constantinople.—The latest letters from the Turkish Capital, state that Lord Strangford had resumed his efforts to induce the Divan to give at length positive orders for the evacuation of the principalities. He has to this end transmitted to the Reis Effendi a very urgent note, in which he manifests the dissatisfaction of the Russian Cabinet at seeing that the Ottoman Government has not yet taken any steps to fulfil its promises relative to Wallachia. He shows how weak the reasons are which the Porte alleges for delaying indefinitely the evacution of Moldavia. The Reis Effendi, it seems, not having been authorized to answer this note, the British Ambassador has demanded and obtained audiences of that minister and of the Grand Vizier. We can only conjecture what passed at these conferences; but it is known that the opinion of a diplomatic character in Pera is, that Lord Strangford was made sensible that the Grand Vizier and the Reis Effendi were sincere, but that their hands were tied on account of the intrigues of a numerous party, which aims at their overthrow. This party, which has gained ground in the Divan, has succeeded in causing the departure of the Turkish troops from the principalities to be considered as contrary to the interests of the Porte. This is the cause of the continual tergiversations of the Turkish ministers in the negotiations so long carried on by the ministers of England and Austria, acting as mediators in the differences between Turkey and Russia.

The official advices from Constantinople announce the arrival there of five hundred heads and two thousand ears! trophies of the Turkish capture of Ipsara. These brutal spoils were exhibited over the gate of the Seraglio. The following notice was also appended to the gate a few days previous to this barbarous exhibition.

'The Greek rebels inhabiting some of the islands of the Archipelago, not having up to the present time encountered the formidable forces of Islamism, have fortified themselves in their islands, and have employed the influence of their infidel religion to procure all sorts of means of exercising every kind of atrocious cruelty on the Musulmans. Our intention in consequence being very just and very frank, we resolved, with the assistance of a protecting God, to begin by punishing the audacity and ingratitude of these rebels in the island of Ipsara, which has been well fortified by these islanders. For this purpose the Imperial fleet, commanded by our Head-Admiral, Cousrer Mehemet-Pasha, having assaulted the island, began by firing on all the batteries under the command of the rebels, who were surprised on the other side by a large number of troops landed from the ships, composed of Janissaries and Seimens. These valiant soldiers having surrounded the enemy sword in hand, and stopping them by their collars, displayed the greatest intrepidity and courage in the attack. Finally, by the favour and assistance of God, the army of the Islams covered themselves with glory, and the infidels suffered their just punishment. Surprised by the valour of our courageous soldiers, the Islanders, as well as the infidel Albanians, who had been induced to aid them, were all sabred in thirty-six hours, and the radiant glory of Islamism was in an instant fully avenged for the audacious enterprise of its enemies. Ten of their principal captains and five hundred infidels are taken prisoners, and more than one hundred pieces of cannon have fallen into our power. In this manner the island of Ipsara having been conquered, our valiant Captain Pasha has sent us five hundred heads of these infidels, more than two thousand ears, and thirty-three flags, which will be exposed here, on the ground before the great gate of the Seraglio.'

Smyrna.—The following is an extract of a letter from Smyrna, dated July 17:

'Whilst I am writing, numbers of vessels and boats are arriving from

Ipsara, loaded with troops and their plunder, for every man has a right to all he secures. I have seen landed some little children, who are made slaves, and a few women, one very handsomely dressed in satin, all in possession of the brutal soldiers, and will soon be offered to the highest bidder. This is a heart-rending scene, and one which makes an Englishman shudder. Some of the children are pretty little creatures of two and three years old, and are totally unconscious of their misfortunes. Sacks of clothes, and furniture, and jewels, and money, are also being unloaded. One man showed 500 dollars, another produced 130 doubloons; to-day a Turk brought a large bag full of ladies' silk and satin gowns belonging to the Ipsariots, and asked me to purchase them. Another man brought me two antique rings, which I might have bought for a trifling sum. There is one thing consoling, however, with regard to the captives which the Turks take in their warfare. It is, that they are generally very kind to them, especially to the children; and it is very common to see a great attachment between the Turk and his little slave, who often is treated like his own child. However, subscriptions will most likely be raised amongst the Franks here, and the greater part of those taken at Ipsara will be purchased and set at liberty. Astonishing deeds of heroism are related of the women of Ipsara in the late affair; many of them defended themselves sword in hand, and, in some instances, after having slain two or three of the enemy, have deliberately stabbed themselves, exclaiming, "We are not Sciots, patiently to give up our lives and liberty." In other instances, they sacrificed their children, and afterwards themselves; on this account, it is said, that there are so few captives, compared with the number slain. Any prisoner that the Turks take, capable of bearing arms, is immediately killed, to prevent expense and trouble. I passed between Ipsara and Mytelene three days before the late affair; at the former place, I saw the whole Turkish fleet, consisting of about two hundred sail of various sizes. It is difficult to ascertain the numbers killed during the whole conflict.'

Egypt.—By accounts from Alexandria, we learn that the plague had ceased at Cairo; but some cases still occurred at Alexandria, which created much alarm. This city presented the appearance of a town in time of war, owing to the troops about to march against the Greeks being then there. These troops are spoken of in the highest terms for equipment and discipline. A revolt had taken place among the lower classes of the people in the neighbourhood of Thebes, which extended upwards as far as Esneh, and downwards to Ghenné. It was suppressed by the arrival of 1500 Turkish Cavalry and 4000 Arabs. Messrs. Catherwood, Scoles, Westcar, and H. Parke, the architect, who had been into Egypt on a scientific excursion, were all well at the end of April. It was reported that the Pasha of Egypt would this year raise fifty thousand bales of cotton, the greater part of which will probably be sent to England.

Greece.—In our last we stated the capture of Ipsara by the Turks, and the disastrous effect it would probably have on the Greek cause. We have now however to speak of an action worthy of the best days of ancient Greece; an action which shows that the modern Greeks have not degenerated from the spirit of their ancestors, and which claims for them the sympathy of every man. It appears that some of the Ipsariot vessels, having escaped by flight the catastrophe of the 3d July, did their utmost, when they reached Hydra, to obtain assistance, from which they might expect some advantage, because, when they left Ipsara, two of the strongest forts yet resisted the Turks. The Hydriots in fact put to sea with all expedition, with thirty armed vessels, landed at Samos, took on board Albanian and other troops, and appeared on the 16th before Ipsara, when the fate of that unfortunate island had been long decided. The Captain Pasha had left behind only six or 700 men, some boats for removing the booty, and a couple of gun-boats. The Hydriots landed suddenly, cut all the Turks to pieces, retook the booty, destroyed the boats, and having effected this heroic design, retired before the Turkish squadron could get in order either to prevent the slaughter or revenge it. The Consul of a secondary Italian state, residing at Scio, who has been accused of having compromised his honour and diplomatic character at the time of the massacre at that island, has perished in the most tragical manner at Ipsara. As soon as the news of the Captain Pasha's success arrived, he instantly repaired, with a score of his assistants, all Franks, to the scene of carnage. His object was to purchase, at a cheap rate, the spoils of the

unfortunate Ipsariots from the Asiatic troops. A similar speculation had succeeded very well at Scio, and he had already filled several vessels at Ipsara with booty, when the Ipsariots so unexpectedly returned, and fell with fury on these mercenary despoilers. The Consul and his twenty assistants suffered the most severe torments before they expired. The Ipsariot women encouraged their husbands to the work of vengeance, and they themselves mutilated the Consul in a cruel manner before putting him to death.

The latest advices from the Turkish fleet state that it was at Mitylene previous to its attack on Samos, for which it was making preparation. The Egyptian fleet was off Rhodes, and was destined for the Morea.

The Turkish Government, it is insinuated, has a horrible project in contemplation, namely, to carry away, from the Morea, the whole of the Christian population, and settle them in Egypt, and to bring Egyptians to inhabit that beautiful Peninsula. Will it be believed that many unworthy Christians in Pera have expressed the most inhuman joy at this shocking report?

The following is the Greek account of the re-capture of Ipsara, which it will be seen differs materially from the first:—

'It was on July 7, three days after the affair at Ipsara, that the squadron of Admiral Miaulis Vocos arrived at the anchorage of that island, where 9000 Turks were disputing for the ruins of the half-destroyed city which they occupied. The Captain Pasha had left the vicinity 24 hours before. On seeing the labarum, the barbarians uttered fearful cries. They regarded themselves as betrayed, and offered no resistance, and 2000 Schypetars, Mohammedans, were the only persons who resisted. Their efforts were vain. Two Turkish frigates and ten brigs being set on fire, carried terror among the infidels, who threw themselves into the sea; and on the 10th, in the evening, more than seven thousand infidels had perished. The shore was covered with ruins, the hills stained with blood, and the Greek squadron, having chased about sixty vessels, forced forty of them ashore at Scio, where a great number of Turks lost their lives and property.'

The following summary, from the Globe and Traveller of September 22, contains the latest and most authentic information from this interesting quarter:—

We have received several numbers of the Greek Telegraph, published at Missolonghi in the months of June and July, by which we are made acquainted with some events which, though not very recent, have not been before known in England. The war in Greece, in fact, at present (as it was of old, and as, from the nature of the country, it must continue to be till the enemy is thrown entirely upon the defensive), is carried on simultaneously, and often with various success in many distinct and distant points. Persons in this country who have not made themselves acquainted with this fact, and with the state of the Greek affairs in general, consider the news from Greece as more contradictory than it really is, and attribute to the conflicting intelligence the uncertainty which arises from their own inattention. The more narrowly the contest in Greece is looked into, the more reason there is to admire the energy of the people. The war may be considered as divided into several distinct districts, where with more or less interruption it is carried on, the operations in one having little immediate influence over those in the others.

In Peloponnesus, which is entirely in the hands of the Greeks, with the exception of Coron and Modon on the south-west, and Patras and the Castle of the Morea on the north-west of the Peninsula, the war is confined to the blockade of those places, with the exception of the intestine hostilities which, when there is no danger from the Turks, the Capitani occasionally carry on among themselves.

In Epirus and Etolia, and generally Western Greece, the war is rendered complicated by the changeable disposition of the half-Mohammedan Scypetars of Albania, who are at times willing to fight for the Turks, at others equally well inclined to fight against them; but always disinclined to fight at all except for present pay, or sanguine hopes of plunder. The Epirote or Albanian Mohammedans are indeed the only troops of whom the Greeks of the Continent have any dread; for they are the only ones possessed by the Turks who are at all fit for warfare in a mountainous country. '*I Osmanli dell' Asia*,' says a writer at Missolonghi, '*accostumati a vivere al uso Orientale, non potranno far il minimo danno allo stato della Grecia*;' and this expression will not appear exaggerated to those who have watched the fate of the large and tumultuous armies which Drama Ali, Khourchid Pasha, and

other Generals, have directed against the Morea. At present it seems that great dissensions reign among the Albanians, with a more than usual indifference to the commands of the Sultan. One of the Pashas of Albania, Omer Pasha, has been declared Fermanli (or outlawed) by the Porte; and under his orders the Turkish Governors have been refused admittance into Arta and Prevesa by Bechir Aga, who commanded those places, the most important in the south of Albania. Taking advantage of this disunion, Zonga, Stornaris, Rango, and other Greek Capitani of Etolia and Epirus, united their forces and marched against Arta at the end of June; but it is not probable that they can do more than blockade it. Meanwhile there is no Turkish force to interfere with the west of Greece south of the Aspropotamo, though there is still a small Turkish garrison in Lepanto, ready to surrender when they are either bribed or beaten.

In Eastern Greece Odysseus has still the guard of the passage of Thermopylæ, where he has so often done good service by keeping out the Turks, as well in the case of the host of Drama Ali, by letting them pass, and afterwards cutting off their communications with Larissa. Odysseus has the military command of the whole of the ancient Attica and Bœotia. Gouras, one of his friends and companions, commands the citadel of Athens, and it was by him (Gouras) that a force under Dervisch Pasha was recently defeated.

In Eubœa also a part of the troops of Odysseus carried on the war during the last spring, and pressed Carysto and Negropont as vigorously as their means of attack allowed. These places have been since supplied and victualled, and a considerable body of Turks landed in the isle, from which we believe Dervisch Pasha's body was detached into Attica. The Turks, however, are not formidable enough to do any thing against the Greeks in the mountainous parts of Eubœa, and will be probably soon shut up again in the fortresses.

Crete or Candia is in nearly the same state as Eubœa, but no very recent accounts of the war there have been received. The Turks hold the fortresses of Canea, Suda, Retymo, and Candia; and occasionally, when they receive reinforcements from the Pasha of Egypt, or from Constantinople, venture into the open country; but they have never assailed the Greeks in the mountains without suffering severe loss. Occasionally the Candiots have received aid from the Morea, and an expedition of 4000 men was said to be preparing to be sent there so long ago as the middle of June.

The events of the naval war, the attack on Ipsara, and the meditated expedition against Samos, are well known; but the exclusive interest in the fate of Ipsara has prevented the notice of another event in one of the islands, highly creditable to the Greeks. To the southward of the Gulf of Salonica runs a chain of islands called Demononisi, or Devil's Islands. Previously to the attack on Ipsara, the Turkish fleet disembarked on one of these islands (Scopelo) 2000 of the rabble of Constantinople, dignified by the name of Janissaries. In this island was Caratasso, a chief, who had previously distinguished himself on the Continent. He made no opposition to the landing of the Turks, but (according to the Greek Telegraph of July 1st) afterwards, as soon probably as the main body of the Turkish fleet had removed to a distance, he attacked them, killed nearly half of these disorderly troops, drove some into the sea, and obliged the rest to take shelter in their barks.

Ionian Islands.—The last accounts from Corfu state that the following proclamation of Sir Frederick Adam had been issued there:—

'His Excellency the Lord High Commissioner, having to-day received an official note from the Consul-General of his Majesty in Albania, that the plague has manifested itself in that country, and has penetrated to Arta and the places in the neighbourhood; reflecting on the troubles existing in the environs of this country which have taken place very recently in that part of Albania, and the state of war in which it is, considering that the frequent communications and the continual commerce between this island and the countries infected expose it to contagion, has ordered the execution of the proclamation dated 23d July, 1822, the object of which is to hinder all communication with Epirus, Albania, and Acarnania, where the infection has manifested itself, in order that every person may conform to it.'

Hayti.—By the last arrival from St. Domingo we have received the following

PROCLAMATION.

JOHN PETER BOYER, President of Hayti.

'HAYTIANS—Twenty years have elapsed since the memorable epoch, when after having, at the price of your blood, repossessed yourselves of your

rights, you proclaimed your national independence.

'During this period, notwithstanding your desire to live in peace, you were still, for a length of time, under the obligation of continuing hostilities. But at length, thanks be to Providence, your courage and perseverance were crowned with the most happy success.

'The Government, penetrated with its duties, whilst it persisted in its efforts to secure the triumph of liberty, never discontinued, even during the greatest political storms, to direct your minds towards order and civilization. This was the study of my illustrious predecessor; the measures which emanated from his genius, in order to attain this object, are known to the whole world; and it would be superfluous here to enumerate them.

'Animated with his spirit from the moment of my being called to succeed him, I have made it my anxious endeavour to march in his footsteps. My solicitude was, among other objects of public interest, constantly occupied upon the means of effecting direct and official relations with the Governments of those states which carry on trade with Hayti. The advantages which they derive therefrom are universally known.

'It was natural to think, in this state of things, that intentions so laudable would have a favourable result. Justice, philanthropy, the interests of a wise policy, which should tend to consolidate the prosperity of commerce, all concurred in sanctioning the conclusion of this great object. Who, indeed, could reasonably oppose it? For a long time we have been completely emancipated. Tranquil in our own country, faithful to our constitutional duties, we remain absolutely strangers to the colonial system which now exists, or may continue to exist, in the islands of this Archipelago. No well-founded reproach can consequently be made to us.

'Nevertheless how have our upright dispositions been appreciated? What return have they met with from the different Governments? From some a humiliating silence, which as much wounds the magnanimity of the nation, as it is contrary to the rules prescribed by sound reason,—from others the manifestation of pretensions, the injustice of which is revolting, and which national honour, in accordance with our feelings and our duties, allows us not, under any consideration, to admit.

'It is evident that the outrage offered to the Haytian character is a deplorable effect of the absurd prejudice resulting from the difference of colour. Yes, it must be authoritatively declared, upon this disgraceful motive alone is grounded the unjust policy of which we complain. Is any fresh proof of this truth requisite? We shall find it—O! infamy!—in the proscription now enforced more than ever, in certain countries against men of the *tint* of Haytians. We shall find it in the avowed recognition which some powers, whilst they decline an acknowledgment of our rights, have made of the Republican States recently established in South America.—These strange proceedings, horrible as they are, would have appeared less surprising at a less advanced period. But now, when Divine Justice has signalized its determination by putting, in this part of the world, its seal to changes which have disconcerted all human foresight; now, when such is the empire of light, that even those, who, blinded by chimerical pretensions, believed themselves the masters *elected* to rule over us, are only ridiculous in the eyes of the new Haytian generation, which knows only by tradition, both their past crimes and the folly of their vain presumption—how can we conceive the real existence of such a delirium as that manifested by our enemies?

'Haytians!—After this series of facts, the evidence of which is incontestible, who can doubt that our true guarantee exists only in our own determination? Who can feel otherwise than that we ought to be ready to combat? Yes! you are convinced of it. Our union is, accordingly, for ever indestructible, and the Haytian people, under whatever circumstances, will prove to the world, in defending their cause, to what a pitch of heroism they can soar, and what is their fidelity to their oath—*to live free or perish.*

'To conclude.—We are enlightened by experience; we ought to rely only on our own energy. But in complaining of the injustice exercised towards us, in taking precautions for the future, we shall ever persevere in our principles of probity. Let our enemies, setting at nought, so far as regards us, both religion and morality, persist in acknowledging only the prejudices of pride, the Haytians will ever give proofs of those generous sentiments which characterize a free nation. Our cause is sacred: it is under the protection of the Omnipotent. Thus firm at our post, and confident in the heroic and unshaken resolution of our fellow countrymen, we will defend until our last gasp the liberty and independence of our country.'

EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE.

India Directors.—Among the latest and most current rumours afloat respecting anticipated changes in the East India Direction, it is said that Mr. Edmonstone intends shortly to retire: from the state of his health not permitting him to attend the laborious duties of his office. If this or any other circumstance should occasion a vacancy, it his hoped and believed that some candidate will start on the popular or liberal side of Indian politics—some friend of Colonization and a Free Press, if only to make the first step towards the advocacy of these great questions among the Directors themselves. At present there is only one of the twenty-four who is understood to be even moderately favourable to the introduction of these benefits into India; and another who might co-operate with him, is now absent from England. But, both of these are only Directors of yesterday, so to speak, in comparison at least with the older veterans who have been twenty and thirty years working their way up through shipping committees, warehouse committees, and other inferior *grades*, to their present eminence; and we should no more expect to see reform of any kind originate with the East India Directors than with the pretended representatives of the people in Parliament. Both must be first moved from without; though, upon the same principle as we feel pleasure in witnessing the addition of even *one* honest member to the list of the "Honourable House," so should we hail with satisfaction the addition of *one* liberal Director to the two and twenty supporters of the old system of Indian misrule that now occupy the seats of profit, power, and patronage, in Leadenhall-street.

Indian Governors.—A series of amusing incidents—such, indeed, as might be well worked up into a popular farce, under the title of 'The Rival Rulers, or Trials of Strength between an Honourable Board in Cannon-row, and an Honourable Court near Fish-street Hill,'—have lately occurred, arising out of certain efforts to obtain an Indian Governorship for a worthy and gallant officer, who has not yet learnt the value of the maxim attributed to Swift,—'Blessed is he that expects nothing; for he shall not be disappointed.'—Most of our readers will remember that at the period of the late Debate on the Indian Press, in the House of Commons, Mr. Lambton mentioned the name of Sir John Malcolm as one generally associated with the advocacy of a Free Press in India. They will also remember the 'breathless haste' with which the gallant officer endeavoured to escape this well-meant, well-founded, and highly complimentary imputation. Sir John was then upon the very brink of expectation, and every day expected to be invested with an Indian Governorship. Succeeding events threw doubts on the final fulfilment of these expectations; and new efforts required to be made. Accordingly, the pages of the Asiatic Journal were put in requisition, and the Court of Proprietors was chosen as an arena—for repeating again, so that no one should be ignorant of the true state of the case, that the present opinions of Sir John Malcolm were as hostile as they had formerly been favourable to the freedom of discussion in India:—the cause of this change we cannot of course presume to say. Every one believed, however, that hidden as its *cause* might appear, its *consequence* was sure to be Sir John's appointment as Governor, which accordingly followed.

It was first, we hear, intended that he should have the Governorship of Madras; and it is even said that he was actually appointed. His Majesty's ministers, however, had determined that Mr. Lushington should fill the first vacancy; and he, being an old Madras servant, as well as a zealous supporter of power at home, was thought to be quite as eligible as Sir John Malcolm. He was accordingly suggested by them; but the Court of Directors would not name the individual whom Ministers had signified their readiness to confirm, nor would Ministers confirm the individual whom the Court had actually appointed. It does not appear that either party had the virtue to object to this appointment on the strong ground that they might have urged, namely this—that the Commander in Chief at Madras, Sir Alexander Campbell, being the father-in-law of Sir John Malcolm, the intended Governor, it was consonant with human nature and the best affections of the heart to suppose, that so far from being a check on each other, as these

separate holders of power ought always to be, there are few measures which the one might propose that the other would not be likely to accede to; and their joint influence in the council would thus form a league which no opposing force could withstand.

Mr. Lushington, it is said, prefers Bombay; and it was intended, principally for his accommodation, to prevail on Mr. Elphinstone to accept the Presidency of Madras, as a step above that of Bombay, and yield up the latter to Mr. Lushington. It has been ascertained, however, that Mr. Elphinstone's attachment to Bombay is too strong to admit of a hope of his leaving that Presidency for Madras, where, though the rank is one degree higher, the emoluments of office are only the same, and the society entirely different.

Another effort was to be made for Sir John Malcolm, after the refusal of Ministers to confirm his appointment to Madras, and accordingly the Court of Directors are said to have proposed the actual removal of Mr. Elphinstone from Bombay to Madras, under the plea of promotion, in order to make room for Sir John Malcolm there; and to have followed up this measure by the positive appointment of the latter to the Governorship of that Island. The Ministers, however, are still unmoved, and have refused to confirm Sir John in his office. Lord Liverpool, indeed, has been known to say that his objection to the appointment of any Company's servant as a Governor in India is such as few considerations would remove; and it is upon this ground that the appointment of Lord Strathallen (formerly Mr. Drummond, who was a Company's servant in China), who had been also proposed for Madras, was objected to, and has not accordingly taken place. It is said that the expected vacancy was offered to Sir William A'Court, but that he declined to accept it; and it is just as doubtful as ever whether Mr. Lushington will go out or not.

It must be clear from all this, that the Board of Control and the Court of Directors do not always agree. But, to the discredit of both be it spoken, their differences are almost wholly confined to questions of patronage, and matters affecting the interests of expectants looking out for the emoluments of office. They can agree cordially enough when any private individual, who has neither friends in the Board nor in the Direction, is to be crushed and ruined; and they can coolly consign to oblivion (as far as their neglect can effect it) a great question, like that of the Press, involving the fate of millions, rather than disturb each other by the slightest difference of opinion: at the same time that they can maintain a struggle for months about a governorship, and put forth all their strength in the battle; although whether the place be given to A. or B. must be a matter of little or no importance to the great mass of the Native community, who under the present system of irresponsible rule, are sure to be ill-governed, whoever may be sent out to feed upon them for his season, till he be relieved by some other needy aspirant after fortune like himself.

Steam Navigation to India.—On Wednesday, the 23d of September, a meeting of the Committee for commencing a Steam Navigation to India took place in the City of London. Several scientific gentlemen in the service of the East India Company were present. They had been appointed to investigate the plan, and had reported favourably of the undertaking. It was finally determined to carry it into immediate execution. The route is proposed to be round the Cape of Good Hope, and not by the Red Sea, as was formerly intended. We feel as sincere and strong a desire as any parties can do, to see the intercourse between Great Britain and her Eastern possessions rendered more speedy than at present: and shall, therefore, rejoice at the success of the present undertaking. We have still, however, strong doubts of its being brought to supersede the use of sailing ships by that route: which we shall find a future opportunity to express more at large. We hear that the Dutch are actually constructing a steam vessel at the Hague, for the purpose of going to Batavia; and between both these nations it is likely that the fullest trial of its utility will be made. Of its practicability we entertain no doubt whatever: it must be as easy to take a steam vessel to India as to America. But the supply of fuel at the different stations, the want of capacity for cargo, and the numerous objections which present themselves to passengers, particularly on a long voyage, are considerations of the greatest importance; and such as will operate, far more powerfully than any physical obstacles, to prevent them, for many years at least, from being very generally adopted.

Editor of the Suppressed Journal at the Cape.—It is said that Mr. Greig, the editor of the South African Advertiser, has arrived at St. Helena, on his way to England, for the purpose of seeking redress of the Government, or by law, of Lord Charles Somerset, for the late suppression of that journal at the Cape of Good Hope. We earnestly and heartily wish him success, and shall be ready to lend our aid towards its attainment. But the history of recent transactions, as it regards the countenance given in England, to the suppression of all public discussion in India, lead us to fear that Mr. Greig will meet with no compensation from Parliament, for his undeserved losses. In a court of law he may, perhaps, have better hopes of success; since the same protection does not appear to be given by law to acts of oppression in the Colonies, that is extended to similar acts under the East India Company's government. If the case can be fairly brought before a British jury, some good may be done; and public attention at least be roused to the evils of irresponsible power in the hands of distant and tyrannical rulers.

Sale of Slaves in England.—Many of our readers were greatly shocked, and well they might be, indeed, at reading an account of the sale of emasculated negroes in Calcutta, for the purpose of serving as eunuch guards to the harems of the rich Mohammedans in India. Their surprise, however, will be no doubt as great, and their indignation will perhaps be greater, at hearing that slaves can be, and have been also sold in England. In confirmation of this fact, we need only insert the following paragraph, which has appeared in most of the London papers.

'Fifty-four negroes were sold yesterday (Aug. 27,) at the Auction Mart. They were declared to be worth 3,000*l.*, but with the buildings and works of a sugar estate, including one hundred acres, they produced only 830*l.* This is the second instance of this same description of traffic at the same place within eighteen months.'

The English editors who have joined in the ridicule of the Americans for their permitting slaves to be bought and sold in a country of free men, who have been pleased with the satire of Mr. Mathews, in the farce of Jonathan in England, when he expresses his astonishment that in so free a country, a man cannot be allowed to flog his own negro—have been generally silent upon this disgraceful transaction taking place under their own eyes. The selling of slaves in America excites their utmost indignation; the same act done in the Auction Mart of London, raises no emotion whatever within their breasts. But, in truth, the real advocates of slavery are much more numerous in England than the friends of negro emancipation; and added to this, the slaveholders, poor as they may be, are known to distribute large sums annually, among that part of the press which is to be bought up, for the advocacy of their views, while the virtue of the remaining portion of the press is not strong enough to induce them to make the same exertions for a good cause, on its own merits, that others do for a well-paying one, the chief attraction of which, in their eyes, is the gold that rewards their labours.

Benefits of Transmission.—Among the Police Reports of the past month, the following paragraph appears:

'On the 8th instant (September), Murdoch O'Brian, a native of India, but of Irish parents, was brought up before the Lord Mayor, for begging in the streets. It appeared that this Indian-born British subject came to England in 1810, and returned to his native country, India, in 1812; where he worked for ten years in an indigo manufactory. After that time he was deprived of his employ, and without having time to make an appeal, was shipped for this country, and landed without a halfpenny in his pocket. The Lord Mayor said the case was one of great hardship, and recommended the Indian to apply to the Directors, who would see that justice was done.'

It has been generally understood that the being born in India is a sufficient protection against the arbitrary power of sending an individual out of the country without trial. Here is a case, however, which shows that it is not. The forcible banishment of this Indian-born individual has not even the colour of law to justify it; since, for such a man, no license of residence was necessary. He was already in his native country; and could not be lawfully banished from it without the sentence of a Court of Law—a privilege reserved for those whose birth in the free soil of Britain, places them on the footing of slaves in her Eastern dependencies. The English Press has taken no notice whatever of this case either, unlawful, cruel, and tyrannical as it seems. That the Lord Mayor should

have so little knowledge of the Court of Directors, as to suppose that they would see justice done between their Governors abroad, and a poor man banished from their dominions, and reduced to begging in the streets, may be wondered at. Even those who have friends to assist, and money to spare, must at last sink under the weight of corrupt influence, by which a monopoly, like that of the East India Company, is sure to be surrounded and supported. What then is a friendless and unhappy beggar to do? The Courts of Law are equally open to him and the rich. But so, it has been justly said, is the London Tavern also, to those who can pay. But, without this, there is no hope whatever of admission to either; and even with it, whoever can pay most, will, in the end, generally succeed best in both.

Lord William Bentinck.—It is asserted that Lord Charles Somerset will be recalled from the Cape; and it is added that Lord William Bentinck will succeed him in his Government. We should not think either the one or the other of these rumours well founded. The Duke of Beaufort's interest, which has kept a Somerset so long in office, will no doubt still maintain him there: for, if misgovernment could have removed him from his post, he would have been obliged to quit it long ago. We should be glad to see Lord William Bentinck made Governor General of India, in lieu of Lord Amherst: as personal character and liberal principles in so high a personage as the Supreme Ruler of the East, have, no doubt, their influence in lessening the abuses of power among their underlings at least. We should be still more pleased, however, to see the system altered, than any change of men take place; the great evils are inherent in that, and until it be thoroughly reformed, new men, and even new measures, will effect but trifling and temporary benefit.

Courts of Proprietors.—The same obstacle to the convening a full Court of Proprietors, which was stated in our last, still exists, the absence of the principal members from town. On their return, however, we hope to see the questions intended for discussion in that Court renewed; and both there, and in the approaching Parliament, much greater interest excited on Indian affairs than has been hitherto witnessed in England, since the renewal of the charter.

Obelisk of Cleopatra.—We have heard that a Lieutenant of his Majesty's Navy, whose name we withhold for the present, has matured a plan for bringing to England one of the two obelisks at Alexandria, generally known by the name of Cleopatra's Needles. The plan is under the consideration of the Lords of the Admiralty; and has received, we hear, the decided approbation of Mr. Croker, which is, therefore, likely to obtain for it also the sanction of his superiors. From the details of the plan, as we have heard them, we should think it quite practicable; but as nothing has yet transpired as to the official determination of the Admiralty on the subject, we think it due to the officer named to content ourselves for the present with this allusion to his project, reserving the disclosure of the particulars for some future opportunity.

English Travellers in Africa.—It is probable that we shall soon receive some new and interesting details from the English travellers in the centre of Africa. A trunk was lately sent from Tripoli, in Barbary, full of manuscripts and papers, which is not to be opened till it arrives in London. Dr. Oudney, after reaching Soudan, died of a disease of the climate, and Mr. Toole also died of a fever at Kouka, in the kingdom of Bornou. Major Denham and Mr. Tyrwhitt were both there last May, while Lieut. Clapperton was proceeding alone through Soudan, beyond the Nile of the Negroes. These details are contained in a letter written by M. Graserg de Hemse, Consular General of Sweden and Norway, and Correspondent of the French Institute. His letter is dated Tripoli in the West, August 20, 1824.

Destinations of King's Regiments.—The following arrangements having been submitted to his Majesty for his approbation, his Majesty has been pleased to grant his assent for the destination of the following Regiments of the Line, and the embarkation will positively take place the beginning of the month, on board the first vessels belonging to the Hon. East India Company:—The 2d, or Queen's Regiment, from England to Bombay, to relieve the 67th, at Bombay; the 6th, from the Cape of Good Hope to Bombay, to relieve the 47th, at Bombay; the 31st, from England to Bengal, to relieve the 59th, at Bengal; the 45th, from Ceylon to proceed to Madras, to relieve the 30th, at Madras; the 97th, from Eng-

land to Ceylon, to replace the 45th, going from Ceylon to Madras; the 98th, from England to the Cape of Good Hope, to replace the 6th, going from the Cape of Good Hope to Bombay; the 30th, 47th, 59th, and 67th to return to Europe.

Army Circular.—The following Circular, addressed to Colonels of Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry, has been issued at the War Office, dated July 30, 1824.

Sir,—I have the honour to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that every Regimental Paymaster, now serving, or who may hereafter serve, in the East Indies, will be expected, if required by the Local Government, to deposit with such Government his own separate security in the sum of five thousand rupees, and that of another person in the same amount.—I am, &c.

Palmerston.

Launch of an East Indiaman.—A new East Indiaman, about 600 tons burden, was launched on the 30th of August last, from the Dock-yard of Messrs. Brindley and Co. at Rochester, built for Messrs. Macqueen and Palmer. She had not proceeded far on the slip, when part of the cradle gave way, and she stopped on the sliding banks, but she was fortunately got off on the return of the tide. She is named The City of Rochester, in compliment to the city, and as she is built on a construction at once novel and economical, she bids fair to extend the fame of the city in naval architecture. Her bottom and sides consist of separate thicknesses of planks, worked fore and aft, lapping over the joints or seams of each other alternately, and under the last coating or outside planking, there are iron hoop ribs, worked at proper distances, crossing at right angles the planking of the bottom, sides, and deck, and firmly secured, within side the ship, with screw-nuts made for the purpose, the whole forming a combination of strength, which, upon calculation, is estimated to resist a pressure of 80,000 tons.

Dutch East India Company.—We have been favoured with the official details of the new Commercial Society of the Netherlands; the regulations were finally confirmed by his Majesty the King of Holland, by a decree dated the 18th of September. The Company are to have factories in Batavia and at Canton; to pay particular attention to the East India trade, the South Sea fishery, the trade to the Americas and the Levant; to advance the half of the value of any East or West India produce lodged in their warehouses; and are not to speculate in any description of stock or in exchanges.—A call of 10 per cent. on the subscriptions is ordered in six weeks from the 18th of August; transferable scrip certificates will then be issued; another call of 15 per cent. is ordered in three months from the 18th, and the entire capital to be paid up on or before the 1st of July, 1825. The capital, 37,000,000 florins. An annual interest of 4½ per cent. is guaranteed by the King; if there is any surplus profit, one-third is to be kept in reserve for contingencies; the other two-thirds divided as a bonus among the holders of the stock.

Sir C. M'Carthy's Will.—The will of the late unfortunate Sir Charles M'Carthy was registered in the Prerogative-office, in Doctors' Commons, on the 28th of August. Probate was granted to his sister, Adelaide Gueroult, Countess de Merve, wife of Charles Francois, Count de Merve, as sole heiress and executrix, the property being stated (within the province of the Canterbury jurisdiction) to be under the sum of 20,000*l.* It is contained in a series of papers, marked Nos. 1, 2, and 3—the last being merely an envelope with a superscription, and the first a letter declaratory of the purport of No. 2, which is written throughout in French, and contains all his testamentary dispositions. It consists of three letters addressed to his sister and her husband: the first of them is dated, like the paper writing No. 1, the 27th of Oct. 1821. The tenor of the whole is expressive of the utmost affection and confidence in the Countess and his brother-in-law, to whom he gives the bulk of his property, with certain provisions, at their entire discretion, for his natural children: of these there are four; he mentions them with much solicitude, and laments his never having formed a lawful connexion; two of them are by the same mother. The second letter in the testamentary paper, No. 2, is dated the 14th of November, 1822, and begins in this manner:—"Thinking it was my duty to repair to the Gold Coast on account of a hostile aggression from the Chief of the Ashantees, a barbarian to whom they give the title of King, and who in the bosom of peace has seized and made prisoner a Serjeant, whom he may murder under pretence of his having spoken ill of him, I think pro-

per to inform you,' &c. &c. The last of the letters, dated the 29th of October, 1823, at Sierra Leone, consists chiefly of an enumeration of property, and notices the probability of his shortly having another child, for whom he entreats his sister's kindness and protection. The testator has left annuities of 500 francs and 300 francs to two aunts. The other bequests are very trifling. All the documents are in Sir Charles's own hand-writing.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, Sept. 22d, a General Quarterly Court was held, for the purpose of laying before the Proprietors of East India Stock, for their approbation, a resolution of the Court of Directors of the 7th of July last, granting a pension of three hundred pounds per annum to Mrs. Francklyn, formerly the widow of Major General Stevenson, of the Madras Establishment; also a resolution of the Court of Directors of the 14th of July, granting to Mr. James Marjoribanks of the Bengal Civil Service, the sum of 69,026 rupees, upon the grounds stated in these resolutions. The Court was made further special, for the purpose of laying before the Proprietors, for their approbation, in conformity with the 17th section of the 6th chap. of the Bye Laws, a resolution of the Court of Directors of the 21st of July last, appointing Mr. Robert Martin Leede, Purveyor at the Military Seminary, and Steward of the Company's Estate at Addiscombe, with a salary of four hundred pounds per ann.

The Minutes of the last Court having been gone through, the Chairman directed the list of superannuations to be read, which contained, among others, the names of Messrs. Powel, Edwards, Gibson, and Bartholomew.

Mr. Hume recommended that in future the ages of persons superannuated, as well as their periods of service, should be specified.

Mr. Lowndes thought it would be best to abolish this kind of remunerations on retirement, and advised the adoption of a plan for taking a per centage off each person's salary, and letting the amount go to a fund for superannuating public servants.

The Motion was agreed to.

HAILEYBURY AND ADDISCOMBE COLLEGES.

The Chairman stated that the returns of the expenditure of the Colleges at Haileybury and Addiscombe were laid before the Court, and remarked that a considerable diminution had taken place in the expense of those establishments. There were last year at the College of Haileybury 172 pupils, and the general expense was 18,012*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* out of which 10,698*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* had been paid by private contributors. The Company had therefore only expended 7,313*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* At Addiscombe, last year, there were 60 appointments, and the total number of scholars and cadets 374. The expense to the Company of educating each student, was 89*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* besides what they paid themselves.

Mr. Hume commented on the insufficiency of British officers in the army, in the West and North-west parts of India. He understood that in general there were not more than five or six officers to a corps of one thousand men; the drain from the regiments being occasioned by the number of staff appointments to which the officers were called away at the Presidencies.

The Chairman assured the hon. Proprietor that this matter had been known as far back as November or December last, and that every attention had been paid to it by the Court of Directors.

THE BOMBAY MINT.

The Chairman stated to the Court that two ships, the *England* of 426 tons, and the *Florentia* of 452 tons, had been taken up, by the Court of Directors, without the customary advertisement, in consequence of the urgency of the service.

Mr. Hume thought the Act of Parliament had been clearly violated, by omitting to advertise for the contract, and considered it would form a very bad precedent, if passed over without notice.

The Chairman replied, that these ships were taken up because no others would cut up their hatchways to receive the machinery on board. The machinery was for the erection of a Mint at Bombay. The charge of freightage was, besides, very low, being only 3*l.* 6*s.* and 3*l.* 10*s.* per ton.

PENSION TO MRS. FRANCKLYN.

The Chairman stated that the Court was made special for the consideration of the recommendation of the Court of Directors, for granting an annuity of three hundred pounds to Mrs. Francklyn, the widow of one of the most distin-

guished officers who had served in India—the late General Stevenson, of the Madras army. He died in the year 1804 or 1805, and an annuity of three hundred pounds was granted to his widow. That lady enjoyed the pension only one year, having, at the expiration of that time married Mr. Francklyn. After the death of Mr. Francklyn the property he left had been so much cut up by the depreciation of West India produce, that his widow was left pennyless. Under these circumstances, the Court of Directors had been induced to recommend the revival of her pension.

Mr. LOWNDES thought that the Lady should have been more provident in her second marriage. In the course of a short speech he touched upon a variety of topics. The Missionaries in the West Indies, and the London Brewers, in turn came in for a share of his animadversion. Of the latter he said they kept the public in a more abject state of slavery than the Planters did the Negroes. He was favourable to the grant.

Mr. S. DIXON and Mr. HUME approved of the pension. The latter Gentleman spoke in terms of the highest approbation of the services of General Stevenson, and thought Mrs. Francklyn entitled to the arrears due since the death of her last husband.

The CHAIRMAN replied that the grant of 1804 was only to continue while she remained a widow. The Court of Directors had considered the point, and decided on the mere revival of the pension.

The Vote was then unanimously confirmed.

GRANT TO MR. MARJORIBANKS.

The CHAIRMAN said it was proposed to make an allowance to Mr. James Marjoribanks of 69,026 rupees, for arrears due to him on the Bengal Civil Establishment. The case was this—Mr. Marjoribanks and two other gentlemen had obtained leave of absence for two years, and set out in the *Orient*, for the Cape of Good Hope, for the recovery of their health. While they were on the voyage, the smallpox broke out in the vessel; and on arriving at the Cape they were not permitted to land. The ship being obliged to continue the voyage to England, they proceeded to St. Helena, where the same treatment was experienced. Mr. Marjoribanks thus was necessitated to come to England. The object of the allowance was to place Mr. Marjoribanks in the same condition as if he had never left Bengal; as it would be unjust, because he was forced to come to England, to deprive him of the allowances he would have been otherwise entitled to.

Mr. HUME asked if any of the other gentlemen who came home in the same ship also claimed their allowances; and also if there were any precedent for the measure.

[On an observation from Mr. LOWNDES respecting the presence of relatives during the discussion, Mr. Marjoribanks, the Director, withdrew from Court.]

The CHAIRMAN said that he knew of no precedent for such a motion. Mr. Perry, one of the gentlemen who had accompanied Mr. Marjoribanks to England, had not applied for any allowance, because, in consequence of urgent private business he had requested leave to remain in England for five years. Mr. Marjoribanks had, on the contrary, returned immediately to India. Captain Saunders, the other gentleman alluded to, had made no application of the kind.

Mr. HUME opposed the grant. He thought it would be stretching liberality too far to grant an absentee allowance of seven thousand pounds for sixteen months. There was no necessity for the return of Mr. Marjoribanks to England. The Governor of the Cape had allowed him and his two friends permission to transship themselves on board any other vessel lying in Table Bay, but they did not think fit to do that. They might easily have done this, and been permitted to land after the usual time required by the quarantine laws. But because Captain Wallace of the *Orient* could not grant the time necessary to perform quarantine in his own ship, while the parties declined to transship themselves, as they might have easily done, into any other vessel, they came to England, where they easily adjusted matters, and obtained leave from the Court of Directors to go back by the first ships of the season. If the motion were agreed to, it would, in his opinion, establish a precedent of a most injurious tendency. Mr. Marjoribanks, in his opinion, had no claim whatever to the grant.

Mr. TRANT contended that Mr. Marjoribanks could not have done otherwise than return to this country. It would have been extremely dangerous, in his state of health, to have remained in Table Bay, liable to be tossed about by the storms which are so frequent there. He trusted that the Court would take the case of Mr. Marjoribanks into their candid consideration, and deal liberally towards him. By his short residence in this country, Mr. Marjoribanks's health had been restored, and the Company had again obtained the advantage of his valuable services. If he had stopped at the Cape, there was every reason to believe that he would have relapsed into bad health, and the duties of his office would have been inefficiently performed in his absence. The hon. Proprietor then adverted to the reductions which were made in the salaries of officers who were absent on account of bad health, which he considered as cal-

culated to check the zeal of officers for the service of the Company. In conclusion, he contended that there was not the slightest ground for charging Mr. Marjoribanks with having come home under false pretences, or with having shirked his duty.

Mr. S. Dixon said that unless it could be shown that there was an absolute necessity for Mr. Marjoribanks to come to England, he would not agree with the recommendation of the Court of Directors.

Mr. Lowndes, in a most desultory speech, and in his usual manner, partly condemned and partly supported the grant, as far as the drift of his arguments could be understood.

Mr. Rigby said there was nothing which he deprecated more than the introduction of any thing like personal feeling into public discussion. But at the same time it was necessary to preserve the freedom of debate and the integrity of truth. In his opinion, one Gentleman who had come forward as the eulogist of Mr. Marjoribanks, had suffered his zeal to outstrip his prudence, for he had put such a construction upon the words of an hon. Proprietor as might have involved his friend in a quarrel. He was sure that no offence was intended to Mr. Marjoribanks by the hon. Proprietor on his right (Mr. Hume). His chief object in rising was to direct the Court to a circumstance which had not been adverted to. It appeared that Lord Charles Somerset had paid every possible attention to the situation of Mr. Marjoribanks and his companions, and had, to soothe their feelings, written a letter to them with his own hand, offering them permission to remove to any ship they pleased in the Bay. It had been said that if the question before the Court were decided in the negative, it would have the effect of damping the zeal of the Company's servants; but he could not coincide with that opinion. It appeared to him that no sufficient reason had been shown why these gentlemen did not accept the offer of the Government to remove to another vessel, and he should therefore vote against the motion. There was one circumstance which struck him as extraordinary. In the papers a sum of 50,000 rupees was claimed as arrears of salary due to Mr. Marjoribanks, on account of an office which had accrued to him during his absence.

Mr. Buckingham said, that during the desultory and irrelevant matter which had been mixed up with the question in debate, he had been forcibly reminded of the parable of the sower; some of whose seed fell on stones and barren ground, and produced nothing—others among thorns and thistles, and grew up choaked with briars,—but by far the *smallest* portion was that which brought forth fruit in abundance. This was an exact illustration of what was perpetually happening in this Court. Indeed, it would require a nice judgment to determine whether among what dropped from the speakers there, the greatest part fell on barren rocks, or on a weedy and thorny soil. The former might perhaps be suffered to pass unobserved; the latter, however, required rooting up: and, however unimportant it might be to notice much that was said, from its being entirely foreign to the question in debate, it was essential to expose assertions founded on inaccurate information, and supported only by fallacy. Whatever was said, of this nature, when spoken by persons having an air of authority, might and did obtain general credence; and therefore it was essential to truth to expose it: this applied particularly to the speech of the hon. Gent. opposite (Mr. Trant). He commenced by saying that Mr. Marjoribanks was justified in not accepting Lord Charles Somerset's offer of accommodation, because Table Bay was a sad place for an invalid; that the stormy season was coming on; that Mr. Marjoribanks would have been tossed about in the ship, and his health rendered inevitably worse by the motion. Did he forget that it was a common practice for invalids, in the weakest state of health, to proceed from Calcutta on board a pilot-vessel to the Sand Heads, merely to be tossed about for their recovery; and that the benefit of the very motion he deprecated was universally acknowledged? These stormy trips were undertaken as a matter of choice, and hardly ever failed to benefit the invalids who made them. Indeed, the general opinion in India was, that in a voyage from that country to Europe, for the recovery of health, the time which was spent at sea was the best; so that Mr. Marjoribanks was likely to have been benefited by the very exposure here complained of. The honourable Proprietor has said also, in reference to what fell from Mr. Hume, as to this grant opening the door to abuse, that persons in India were of too high character to avail themselves improperly of leave of absence, or medical certificates to quit their duties. He (Mr. B.) would mention one fact at least on this head, which might be worth many arguments; and although there was a popular prejudice against speaking even truth of the dead, if it should be to their disadvantage, he could not but think it was less ungenerous to speak the truth of the dead, who had no feelings to wound, than of the living, whose feelings might be hurt, and to wound which, indeed, whether justly or not, is considered by the law to be a crime. He would, therefore, allude to the case of Mr. Wilkinson; that gentleman was well known to have been in the habit of proceeding to

the Cape repeatedly, on certificates of ill-health; staying there a sufficient time to enjoy his pleasures, returning to India again to receive his full allowances for duties done by others in his absence; getting a fresh certificate of ill-health, and setting off again to the Cape; a course that was repeated for four or five successive voyages. That fact was worth a thousand arguments, because it proved that the leave of proceeding to the Cape, and retaining full pay, might be abused, and that if persons could extend their voyage to England, and still retain their pay also, the temptation would be only the stronger. Some observations had fallen from the hon. Proprietor as to the invidiousness of remarks upon character. He said, that his hon. friend's observations embodied something like an imputation of interested or improper motives to a man of the strictest honour; as if, because Mr. Marjoribanks was a man of honour, there was therefore to be no inquiry permitted into his conduct. Amongst all the fallacies by which men were deceived, none was more prejudicial or more general than this—that reputed good character was a guarantee against all possible misconduct. A striking example of the worthlessness of this guarantee had recently occurred in the case of Mr. Fontleroy, who, twenty years ago, was no doubt esteemed to be, and perhaps was, a man of the strictest integrity. [Interruption.] He mentioned the case only to show that there was no man, let him be ever so bad, who must not, at some period of his life, have been a good man; and that, therefore, to set up reputed high personal character as a reason why no scrutiny should be permitted, and neither acts nor motives inquired into, was a fallacy of the most pernicious kind. The hon. Proprietor, opposite, had observed that one of the advantages resulting from Mr. Marjoribanks's coming to England was, that his health was restored sooner than it otherwise would have been, and his services therefore sooner returned to the Company. That circumstance might, and did, no doubt, impart joy to his friends; but to suppose that Mr. Marjoribanks's return to the service was a matter of public congratulation, was to suppose that those persons, whom he had left behind, were not competent to perform the duties of the office which they had undertaken. If they were not competent, the interests of the Company had been betrayed; but if they were competent, Mr. Marjoribanks's return must have had the effect of placing these deserving men in inferior situations. The whole question hinged, however, on this: whether Mr. Marjoribanks had done all in his power to remain at the Cape, or not. He thought it was incumbent upon the friends of Mr. Marjoribanks, or the advocates of his claim, to show that the obstacles to his removal to another ship in Table Bay, were insuperable. If that could be done, he could see no objection to the grant. But if that should not be done, he hoped the Court would not establish so dangerous a precedent, or open the door to future abuse, by acceding to the present application.

Mr. PATTISON was of opinion, that the circumstances of the case fully justified Mr. Marjoribanks in proceeding to England. It was impossible to prove absolute compulsion; but a case of reasonable compulsion had, he thought, been made out, and he trusted that gentlemen would withdraw their opposition to the grant.

Col. THORNTON thought that Mr. Marjoribanks's coming to England was a voluntary act, and that, therefore, he was not entitled to receive the proposed allowance. It would, as had been said, be opening a door to abuse. It was pretended that it was difficult to procure certificates of ill-health in India; but he knew that no such difficulty existed in this country, nor did he believe it did there.

Sir JOHN SEWELL rose to express his dissent from the motion. It appeared that Mr. Marjoribanks was at liberty to proceed on board of any of the vessels in the Bay, which were forty in number; and yet it was not attempted to be shown that he had endeavoured to place himself on board of any one of them. He thought that if Mr. Marjoribanks had been in earnest, he would have applied to the captains of every one of those vessels, and have obtained their written refusals to take him on board. He could have produced them to the Court, to justify his conduct in returning to England, and there would then have been but one unanimous sentiment in his favour. (Hear!) The Governor of the Cape would not have offered an impossibility. He must have supposed that it was feasible for Mr. Marjoribanks to remove to some of the ships in the Bay. With respect to the storms which had been talked of, they appeared to have been conjured up during the debate, for he could see nothing mentioned about them in the correspondence. (A laugh.)

Mr. JAMES STUART thought that no danger would arise from the precedent which was proposed to be established, as invalids in India were not sufficiently easy to be moved to undertake voyages; and generally delayed rather than hastened their embarkation for health. He would vote for the grant, because he thought it fully and fairly deserved, and he hoped that every liberal Proprietor would do the same.

Mr. WEEDING was desirous of seeing a unanimous vote on this occasion; and among other reasons in favour of the grant, observed that it was extremely un-

likely that any vessel would have received Mr. Marjoribanks on board, for fear of infection; so that it might be concluded that even if he had tried, he would not have succeeded in his attempt.

The CHAIRMAN was anxious to repel the charge, that Mr. Marjoribanks had come to England under false pretences. Mr. Marjoribanks demanded the grant not as a boon, but as a right. The documents satisfied his mind that Mr. Marjoribanks's return to England was the act of Providence. An hon. Proprietor (Sir John Sewell) had said that there were forty ships (he did not know where he learnt the number) in the harbour or bay, and added, that he should have tried to get on board of them all, before he relinquished his endeavours to stay. But what ship would take him on board in the situation in which he was? The 50,000 rupees, which an hon. Proprietor had alluded to, were not claimed on account of a new office, but on account of an exchange of one office for another; and this was a customary thing.

Mr. HUME begged to say a few words before the Chairman put the question. In consequence of the insinuations, which had been thrown out, of his having brought a charge of unfair conduct against Mr. Marjoribanks, he would now say what he had not before said; namely, that it appeared on the face of the papers that Mr. Marjoribanks *had* come to that Court to ask for money under false pretences. So far from Mr. Marjoribanks's return home being the act of Providence, the measure appeared to have been determined upon in order to avoid the paltry expense of 300*l.* or 400*l.* at most, which would be attendant upon the hiring of a separate vessel (which he proved by reading several parts of the correspondence laid before the Proprietors); and he now came before that Court to ask for 7,000*l.* which the payment of these few hundreds for the vessel he was permitted to hire, would have saved.

After a few words from Mr. TRANT,

Mr. DIXON suggested that the question should be adjourned, in order to afford an opportunity for further explanation.

The CHAIRMAN thought there was no necessity for adjourning the question.

Mr. RIGBY moved that the debate be adjourned till that day fortnight.

General THORNTON seconded the motion.

The question of adjournment was then put and negatived, and the original question was carried.

Mr. HUME stated that he would again take the sense of the Court on the question, upon the first opportunity.

STEWARD AT ADDISCOMBE.

The CHAIRMAN laid before the Court a resolution of the Court of Directors, of the 21st of July last, appointing Mr. Robert Martin Leede, purveyor to the Military Seminary, and steward of the Company's estate at Addiscombe; with a salary of 400*l.* per annum. This appointment was rendered necessary in consequence of the change which had taken place in the management of the Company's estate. The experiment had been tried for two years, and had been found to answer. It was, therefore, intended to render the new system permanent. It was necessary to state that, under the new plan, the expenses of the establishment were considerably reduced. He moved that the Court do approve of the resolution.

Mr. HUME was happy to concur in the motion. In the change which had been made, the Company was acting on the soundest principles. He took that opportunity of again strongly impressing upon the mind of the Court of Directors, how necessary it was that every servant of the Company, whether civil or military, should be properly educated for their particular duties. He thought that no person in the Company's service should be ignorant of the Hindoostanee language at least.

The CHAIRMAN observed that the important subject, to which the hon. Proprietor had alluded, constantly occupied the attention of the Court of Directors. He was happy that it was in his power to state, that at present, cadets were generally much better educated than formerly.

After a few words from Mr. LOWNDES the question was put and carried.

THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.

The CHAIRMAN said he had to acquaint the Court, that the papers which the Court of Proprietors had, on the 23d of March last, ordered to be printed, were now in course of delivery; and also that certain documents, which the Court of Proprietors, on the 23d of June last, had ordered to be printed, were in course of preparation. It was likewise his duty to inform the Court that certain other papers, which they had expressed a desire to obtain, could not be laid before them. Those papers belonged to the secret department. Application was made to the Board of Commissioners to absolve the members of that department from their oaths of secresy, with respect to all matters which came under their cognizance; but the Commissioners had not thought proper to comply with the request.

Mr. EDMONSTONE said, that being himself the person who had moved for the production of the papers, which the Board of Commissioners had refused, he was desirous of saying a few words upon the present occasion. When it was proposed to include among the papers, about to be laid before the Court, the Mar-

quess of Hastings's pamphlet, he said that he had no objection to that, provided that some other documents were produced, which contained the recorded views and sentiments of the members of the Indian Government, with respect to the political state of India, at the period of the Marquess of Hastings's accession to the Government, and subsequently thereto. Those documents would have formed a proper commentary upon the Noble Marquess's Summary of his own Administration. All he now desired, was, that the Court would receive the pamphlet, with the impression that there were documents of the nature to which he alluded, which had been withheld.

Mr. HUME begged any candid man to consider the situation in which the Marquess of Hastings was placed by the conduct of the Government. After filling one of the highest situations under the Crown, with the unanimous approbation of both Houses of Parliament, of that Court and of the Court of Directors, he came home and found his character suddenly assailed in some quarter or other. As every other candid and honourable man would have done, he had turned round upon his accusers, and stated every thing which he had done in India, from the time of his arrival to the time of his departure. The Court then owed it to its own character, to that of the Marquess of Hastings, and even to those who differed from him, to have all the documents produced which could throw any light upon the question. The character of such a man as the Marquess of Hastings was public property, and when it was impeached, it was necessary that the most full and minute inquiry should take place. He considered the act of withholding the papers very extraordinary, but he was not at the present time prepared to say what proceeding it would be proper to adopt in consequence. He wished to know, whether there was any objection to lay the answer of the Board of Commissioners before the Court.

The CHAIRMAN said he saw no objection to the letter being read. The letter was accordingly read by the clerk. It was dated July 3, and merely declared that the Board of Commissioners saw no reason for departing from the opinion, which they had so often expressed, of the impropriety of giving publicity to documents in the posession of the Secret Committee.

Mr. RIGBY said, that although he entertained the highest opinion of the Marquess of Hastings, he was not prepared to condemn his Majesty's Government for refusing to publish documents relative to the policy pursued by the Government of India.

BANISHMENT OF MR. ARNOT.—THE PRESS IN INDIA.

Mr. HUME, before the Court adjourned, wished to propose a question to the Chairman. At a late Court, during a debate on the subject of the liberty of the press in India, the result of which he should ever lament, an hon. Director had observed that the case of Mr. Arnot was not properly before the Court; because they were in possession of no documents on that subject. He now wished to know whether the Court of Directors had received any documents connected with the banishment of Mr. Arnot from India, both before and after he was put on board ship. If any such documents had arrived, he would move that they be printed.

The CHAIRMAN replied that the Court of Directors was not in possession of any fresh intelligence respecting Mr. Arnot, except upon one point. Mr. Arnot was a passenger in the ship Fame, which was burnt to the water's edge, though all the passengers escaped and arrived at Bencoolen. Mr. Arnot still remained there, because, having appealed to the Government of Bengal, stating his additional distress, and claiming a remission of his sentence, the Governor did not think himself justified in sending him home, until the decision of that Government should be known.

Mr. HUME said that he had seen a letter from Mr. Arnot, stating that Lord Amherst's order for his detention on board ship till he landed in England, was so strict that he was not to be permitted, upon any account, to go out of the vessel, in which he was placed. He considered the conduct which had been pursued towards Mr. Arnot a violation of the rights of Englishmen, and a stain upon the character of the Indian Government under Lord Amherst's administration, which even years of subsequent good government would be insufficient to wipe away.

The CHAIRMAN said he was not prepared to enter into any argument upon the subject; he could only state that the Court of Directors had received no further intelligence, since the question was last agitated.

Mr. HUME then asked whether the Court of Directors had received authentic copies of the extraordinary regulations which now exist in India, with respect to the press; if so, he would move for their production.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Court of Directors were in possession of a copy of the ordinances regarding the press; but when he stated that they were now under an Appeal to the King in Council, he trusted that the hon. Proprietor would see the impropriety of making them a subject of a motion at present.

Mr. HUME gave notice that when the papers respecting Mr. Arnot should arrive, he would submit a motion on the subject.

The Court then adjourned.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[*From the London Gazette.*]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS.

BENGAL.

16th Light Dragoons. Lieut. G. Hamilton, half-pay 1st Light Dragoons, to be Lieutenant, vice Williams, who exchanges, dated 2 Sept. 1824.

38th Foot. Ensign J. J. Lowth, from 48th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Thorold, appointed to 15th Foot, dated 9 September 1824.

MADRAS.

1st Foot. Lieut. D. Campbell, from half-pay 58th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Williams, who exchanges, dated 2 Sept. 1824.

48th Foot. Ensign J. Ward, from half-pay 63d Foot, to be Ensign, paying the difference, vice Lowth, appointed to the 38th Foot, dated 2 Sept. 1824.

BOMBAY.

4th Light Dragoons. Paymaster W. Wildey, from half-pay 40th Foot, to be Paymaster, vice Kerr, who exchanges, dated 12 August 1824.

20th Foot. Ensign J. G. Young, from 18th Foot, to be Lieutenant, without purchase, vice Church, deceased, dated 12 August 1824.

MAURITIUS.

82d Foot. Lieutenant C. Mortimer to be Captain without purchase, vice Field, deceased, dated 9 March 1824; Ensign N. Greene to be Lieutenant, vice Mortimer, dated 12 August 1824; J. Trollope, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Greene, dated 12 August 1824.

CEYLON.

97th Foot. Major T. Paterson, from half-pay York Chasseurs, to be Major, vice Bamford, appointed to 73d Foot, dated 12 August 1824.

CAPE.

98th Foot. Lieut. J. J. M. Goodiff, from half-pay 31st Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Logan, who exchanges, dated 12 August 1824.

Cape Corps. Lieut. Col. H. H. Hutchinson, from half-pay, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Ross, who exchanges, dated 9 September 1824.

Royal East India Volunteers. C. Mills, jun. Esq. to be Major, vice Raikes, resigned.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

[*From the Indian Gazettes.*]

BENGAL.

GENERAL ORDERS BY THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

Head Quarters, on the River Ganges, above Dalamow, March 11, 1824.

At a European General Court Martial, assembled at Nagpoor on the 17th of February 1824, of which Major Gall, 3d Regiment Light Cavalry, is President, Mr. Assistant Apothecary James Everard, Honourable Company's European Regiment, was arraigned upon the under-mentioned Charges, viz.

'1st. For being repeatedly in a state of shameful intoxication, but particularly on the evening of the 10th inst. (February).'

'2d. For bleeding private Ward, of the Rifle Company, European Regiment, and cutting his arm in a highly improper manner, on the evening of the 10th inst. (February), whilst in the above state of shameful intoxication.'

Upon which charges the Court came to the following decision:—

Finding and Sentence.—'The Court, having duly considered the evidence that has come before it, is of opinion, that the prisoner is guilty of both the charges exhibited against him, and sentence him to be dismissed the service.'

Approved and confirmed,
(Signed) EDW. PAGET, General,
Commander in Chief in India.

James Everard is to be struck off the list of Subordinate Medical Officers, from the date on which this Order may be published at Nagpoor.

BOMBAY.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, February 24.—Mr. T. Flower to be Warehousekeeper; Mr. E. E. Elliott to resume his office of Deputy Warehousekeeper; Mr. J. J. Sparrow to be Superintendent of Stamps;

Mr. J. Farish to be Secretary to the Government in the General, Judicial, and Marine Departments; Mr. G. Moore to officiate as Secretary to Government in the Territorial and Commercial Department.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

[*From the Sydney Gazettes.*]

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney.—Jan. 14, 1824. S. Wright, Esq., Lieutenant of 3d Regiment, to be Justice of the Peace for Macquarie and Carbor.—Feb. 11. H. G. Douglass, Esq. to be a Commissioner of the Court of Civil Jurisdiction.—18. J. Uniacke, Esq. to be Surveyor of the Distilleries of New South Wales—April 14. F. Forbes, Esq. to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New South Wales; S. Bannister, Esq. to be Attorney General to the Colony of New South Wales.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney.—Feb. 18, 1824. M. Anderson, Esq., R. N. to be Assistant Surgeon on the Colonial Medical Staff, vice Douglass, resigned.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney.—March 3, 1824. Lieut. R. Stirling, 3d Regiment, to act as Assistant Engineer, vice Croker.—April 14. Commissary General Radford to be placed in charge of the General Provision Magazine at Sydney.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—March 8th. At Calcutta, Mrs. T. B. Scott, of a son.—9th. Mrs. H. Stacey, of a son.—11th. Mrs. F. Andrews, of a son.—12th. At Dum Dum, Mrs. Watson, wife of Conductor J. Watson, of a daughter.—14th. Mrs. J. H. M. Havard, of a daughter.

Marriages.—March 15th. At Moorshedabad, Rev. H. R. Shepherd, B. A. to Miss J. L. Christopher; at Calcutta, J. H. Patton, Esq. of the Bengal Civil Service, to Miss S. A. Halcott, youngest daughter of Lieut.-Col. T. Halcott, of the Madras N. I.; at Dinapore, Capt. F. Hemming, H. M. 44th Regt. to Miss E. Gregory, daughter of Maj.-Gen. Gregory, commanding the Dinapore Division.—16th. At Calcutta, R. Allport, Esq. to Eliza, eldest daughter of Capt. D. Ross, of Howrah.

Death.—March 19th. At Calcutta, Mr. C. M. Shaw, of the Territorial Department.

SINGAPORE.

Death.—Feb. 19th. Lieut. C. Barnard, of the Bombay Marines.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—Aug. 30th. At Camberwell, the lady of Capt. J. T. Edwards, of the Golconda, of a daughter.—Sept. 4th. At Southampton, the lady of Captain W. Gowan, of a still-born son.—Sept. 12th. in Mecklenburgh-square, Mrs. T. M. Alsager of a daughter.

Marriages.— —— W. Simpson, in the East India Trade, senior Captain in the service of R. Thornton, Esq., to Miss Thornton, of Clapham common.—Sept. 2d. At St. James's Church, Lord Elliot, son of the Earl of St. Germains, to Lady Jemima Cornwallis, third daughter of the late Marquess Cornwallis; at Buckingham, J. Dinsdale, Esq. of the East India Company's service, to Mary, daughter of Mr. Heath, of that place.—6th. At Lymington Lodge, Lanark, A. Wardrop, Esq. of Madras, to Jessie, third daughter of R. Burn, Esq. of Edinburgh.—23d. At St. Martin's in the Fields, George Albert Sheppard, Esq. of Calcutta, to Ellen, eldest daughter of Dr. Shearman, of Northampton-square.

Deaths.—Aug. 28. At Brighton, landed from the Mariner, Capt. C. Young, late Commander of the Fame, destroyed by fire off Bencoolen.—Sept. 9. At Hastings, Mrs. S. O. Barclay, wife of Capt. A. Barclay, and daughter of the late Col. B. A. Kelly, of the Bengal Army.—16th. In Baker-street, Lieut.-Gen. A. Anderson, of the H. E. I. Company's Service, on their Establishment at Bombay.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Departure.*	*Date.*
Sept. 2	Off Falmouth	Lady Flora	M'Donald	Bengal & Padang	Jan. 12
Sept. 9	Gravesend	Thalia	Biden	India, France, &c.	......
Sept. 20	Off Portsmouth	Andromeda	Muddle	Bengal	Mar. 29
Sept. 22	Downs	Amelia Wilson	Underwood	S. Seas & St. Hel.	July 29
Sept. 23	Off Portsmouth	Saucy Jack	Bell	S. Seas & St. Hel.	Aug. 1

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

April 27	Anjeer Roads	Shannon	Kendal	London
July 25	St. Helena	Mexborough	Tarbutt	Madras
July 29	St. Helena	Medina	Brown	Batavia
July 30	St. Helena	Commodore Hayes	Moncrieff	Bengal
July 31	St. Helena	Albion	Best	Mauritius

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Aug. 25	Gravesend	Kerswell	Armstrong	Cape
Aug. 25	Gravesend	Cumbrian	Clarkson	Bombay
Sept. 2	Downs	Orynthia	Holton	Bombay
Sept. 5	Downs	Driver	Nelson	Cape
Sept. 5	Portsmouth	Hero of Malown	Garrick	Bengal
Sept. 11	Gravesend	Sir Geo. Osborne	Coulson	Cape
Sept. 17	Portsmouth	Houqua	Nash	China
Sept. 18	Downs	Florentia	Wimble	Bombay
Sept. 19	Portsmouth	Portsea	Shepherd	Bengal
Sept. 20	Portsmouth	Felicitas	Campbell	Madras & Bengal
Sept. 22	Downs	Promise	Glasgow	Cape
Sept. 25	Portsmouth	Sophia	Barclay	Bengal
Sept. 25	Downs	Cornwallis	Henderson	Cape

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL IN THIS MONTH.

Oct. 1	Downs	Harriet	Fulcher	Batavia and Singapore
Oct. 1	Downs	Alfred	Lamb	Bombay
Oct. 3	Downs	City of Rochester	Coppin	Madras and Bengal
Oct. 5	Portsmouth	Ganges	Lloyd	Madras and Bengal
Oct. 5	Downs	Rockingham	Beach	Bengal
Oct. 5	Downs	Ogle Castle	Weyuton	Bombay
Oct. 5	Downs	Alexander	Richardson	Mauritius and Ceylon
Oct. 7	Downs	Madras	Crosley	Madras and Bengal
Oct. 10	Portsmouth	Aurora	Earl	Madras and Bengal
Oct. 10	Downs	Sir Charles Forbes	Foulerton	Madras and Bengal
Oct. 2[illegible]	Downs	Boyne	Lawson	Madras and Bengal
Oct. 15	Downs	Monmouth	Simpson	Cape and St. Helena

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	*Lat. and Long.*		*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*From whence.*	*Where bound.*
May 29	23 S.	58 E.	Udney	Holden	Bengal	London
June 6	7.31 S.	27.19 W.	Thames	Haviside	London	China
June 14	24 S.	30 W.	Princess Amelia	Williams	London	China
June 30	..	..	George the Fourth	Prissick	Mauritius	London
June 30	50.30 N.	22 W.	Pyramus	Brodie	London	Mad.& Ben.
July 3	29 S.	24 W.	Upton Castle	Thacker	London	Bombay
July 19	21 S.	38 W.	Cornwall	Bunyon	London	Mad.& Ben.
July 27	13 N.	22 W.	Mary	———	St. Helena	London
Aug. 12	37 N.	17 W.	Isabella	Leeds	Liverpool	Java
Aug. 12	7.30 N.	16.40 W.	Exmouth	Owen	London	Mad.& Ben.
Aug. 12	11.17 N.	89 E.	Mary	Ardlie	Bengal	London

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the *Mariner*.—From Bencoolen: Sir Stamford Raffles, Lady Raffles, Lieut. L.N. Hull, Assistant Surgeon Bell, Master C. Flint, Master David Scott, Capt. C. Young, (since dead), Mr. Burford, and 12 men, late of the ship Fame.

By the *Ganges*.—From Bombay: Ensign J. B. Dewes, 8th Regt. Madras; Lieut. J. B. Dixon, 12th ditto; Mr. A. Steele and Mr. J. Grieves.

By the *Lady Flora*.—From Bencoolen: Mr. Thompson and three children, Messrs. Fieldwick & Pope, and Dr. Imlach, from Bencoolen.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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PROPOSAL FOR INTRODUCING INTO ENGLAND THE PRACTICE OF BURNING THE DEAD.

Vix manet è tanto parva quod urna capit!---Ovid. Eleg. ix.

In pursuing the present argument, our chief antagonists, we apprehend, will be the undertakers, sextons, and resurrection-men; for as to the clergy, we will suppose that they would be willing, in favour of the feelings of humanity, to forego any claims they may be supposed to have upon the disposal of our dead bodies. Indeed, if it were thought necessary, they might still assist at the funeral pile; as there would be no less solemnity of feeling excited by committing our ashes to the urn, than by the present practice of lowering the undissolved body to the grave. It may possibly appear that the ceremony of cremation, or burning, would more strongly excite and accord better with our sensibilities. For it is acknowledged that whatever feelings are generated by witnessing the interment of a friend, they are quickly dissipated by the bustle of the world; and, as few leave behind them any durable monuments, the little mementoes which serve at first to keep his memory alive in the domestic sanctuary, being of a perishable nature, soon fade away, and verify too rapidly, the melancholy truth, that "the place that knew him shall know him no more for ever!" Men altogether destitute of imagination may say that all this is right. It may be right in the abstract that sorrow should be of short duration: but the human mind loves to repose on its griefs; and regret, when not too violent, is pleasing to it. Habit renders us worldly; but our natural craving is after such things as give us glimpses of the world of imagination, and seem to lift the veil of futurity. It need not be feared that the memory of any one will last too long; no art can evade the tooth of Time; he gnaws our reputation as surely as he does our cearcloth; and if for a while he seems to respect any particular names, it is because he need be in no hurry; he can afford them a long scope and come up to them at last.

> Before great Agamemnon reigned,
> Reigned kings as great as he, and brave,
> Whose huge ambition 's now contained
> In the small compass of a grave;
> In endless night they sleep, unwept, unknown;
> No bard had they *to make all time their own!*

There may come a time, Horace! when Agamemnon himself shall sleep unknown, and even thy verses be forgotten. Our present argu-

ments, however, apply to much quicker marches of oblivion; we are not now looking forward to the revolution of Plato's year; the turn of a century, or even of a simple generation, will perform our business, and place us with the kings who lived "ante Agamemnona!" In speaking, therefore, of preserving the memory of the dead, we mean, for a year or two; just long enough to allow their virtues or vices to do their offices, as examples in society. That this might be done more effectually by inurning than inhumation we are fully persuaded; for there is nothing awful or even decent in a city churchyard, and in the country, superstition mars all practical deductions. The former looks like a place where worn-out humanity is thrown, that it may be kept out of sight and memory; and raises disgust and horror.[1] Now it is certainly desirable that none of these ideas should be connected in anticipation with death. It ought, we think, to be our aim to strip it as much as possible of all its terrors; in order that men might look to the end of life, if not with cheerfulness, at least without fear and shuddering. This serenity of anticipation is not to be attained by leading the imagination through the horrors of tombs and cemeteries, where the ruins of all that was ever wise or beautiful amongst men lie at the mercy of worms and corruption; where the unfeeling sexton kicketh the head of a philosopher as he would that of a dog; where vice and virtue appear blended and confounded by death. Out upon the taste of that people who first invented common cemeteries! It was a barbarous and unintellectual notion.

Not that these things are of any moment to the dead: the *King of Terrors* has no terrors for those whom he has conquered; he is dreadful only as long as he is feared, and never tramples unfeelingly on the enemies he has subdued. But the *living* have an interest in coming near a power with whom they must one day be so familiar; and this cannot be done by removing immediately his triumphs from their eyes. They should accustom themselves to think upon his works, and that with composure and without affectation. To render this possible, nothing could be so efficacious as burning the bodies of the dead. The purifying action of the elements would in this practice take place before our eyes; our friends

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1 We ask our readers whether the Pagan custom of burning the dead be not somewhat less shocking to the feelings than the following Christian mode of burial:—"We drove to the *Campo Santo*—the great *Golgotha* of Naples. It is situated on a rising ground behind the town; about a mile and a half from the gate. Within its walls, are 365 caverns; one is opened every day for the reception of the dead, the great mass of whom, as soon as the rites of religion have been performed, are brought here for sepulture. There were fifteen cast in while we were there; men, women, and children, without a rag to cover them; litterally fulfilling the words of scripture:—'As he came forth out of his mother's womb, naked shall he return, to go as he came!' I looked down into this frightful charnel-house;—it was a shocking sight—a mass of blood and garbage;—for many of the bodies had been opened at the hospitals. Cockroaches, and other reptiles, were crawling about in all their glory. 'We fat all creatures else to fat us, and we fat ourselves for maggots, that's the end!' We made the sexton of this dreary abode, who, by the way, had been employed in this daily work for eleven years, open the stone of the next day's grave, which had been sealed up for a year. The flesh was entirely gone, for, in such a fermenting mass, the work of corruption must go on swimmingly. Quick-lime is added to hasten the process, and nothing seemed to remain but a dry heap of bones and sculls. What must be the feelings of those who can suffer the remains of a friend, a sister, a mother, or a wife to be thus disposed of?"—*Matthews's Diary of an Invalid*, vol. i. p. 255.

would quickly be reduced to inodorous ashes; which, kept separate by proper contrivances from that of the pile, might be carefully deposited in an urn of marble, alabaster, metal, or clay, as might be most convenient; and this could be preserved in our houses for a long course of generations. To filial piety, to friendship, or to love, how precious, how sacred a deposit! How often should we steal at midnight to bedew these urns with tears! There is no house so poor that might not afford some small closet for a sanctuary to these domestic monuments of its inmates' affections. In them the manes of the mother would still seem to be present among her children; the image of the husband or wife would be there to be evoked at any time by its deserted partner; and the innocent souls of children would appear to smile and linger round their sculptured urns. What a rich nursery of affection and virtue! How different from the cold habit of dismissing those we love from our sight, the moment Death has put his hand upon them. Who would not feel warmed and quickened as if by the rays of some other sun, did he possess the ashes of Shakespeare or Milton, preserved in gold or marble, and placed on a pedestal near his pillow! As often as the rays of the moon streamed upon them through his lattice, he would seem to feel their illustrious shades near him, exalting his genius and purifying his soul. How much more, could he call them his ancestors and progenitors!

The supporters and arguers in favour of the things that be, may possibly pretend to see something extremely shocking in our proposal to burn his Majesty's Christian subjects, though it be after they are dead. But such persons are likewise great enemies to innovation, and would be chiefly apt, we think, to oppose us on the present occasion, through their looking on the ancient rite of burning as such. It has prevailed, however, in all quarters and ages of the world; though, it must be confessed, the practice of interring the dead seems, from what is related of the patriarchs and others, to be more ancient. But the rite of burning was not unknown to the Hebrews: the men of Jabesh burned the body of Saul; and we learn from the prophet Amos, that, to guard against infection, the bodies of such as died of any epidemic disease were burned. Among the Pagans we can trace the funeral pile up to the most remote antiquity: the bodies of Archemorus and Menecius, slain in the Theban war, as well as those of Achilles, Patroclus, and Hector, were consumed upon the pile. We find also that cremation was in use among the Heruli, Getes, Thracians, Celts, Sarmatians, Germans, Gauls, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and Carthaginians.[2] The ancient Persians and Chaldeans did not burn their dead, because they held it impious to pollute their deity (fire) with a carcass. The Egyptians abstained from it through a superstitious opinion that the soul subsisted only as long as the body remained undissolved, or, as some have thought, through an obscure hope of a resurrection or reunion of the soul and body. Hence the practice of embalming, that on the return of the spirit, it might find its ancient mansion unchanged in form and feature. Numa gave orders that his body should not be burned; which Sir Thomas Browne conjectures to have arisen from his intercourse with Pythagoras, who might have contracted in Egypt a horror for the ceremony: but we learn from Cicero and Livy, that Pythagoras was contemporary with the elder Brutus.

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[2] Sir Thomas Browne, Treatise on Urn Burial.

Sir Thomas was therefore led away by popular error, in entertaining this opinion. The Romans do not seem, however, to have practised burning until much later than Numa; Pliny relating that, according to tradition, Lucius Sylla was the first whose body was burned at Rome. Tradition was in this instance mistaken: in the laws of the Twelve Tables we find these words—"Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito:"—*neither bury nor burn any dead body in the city.* Directions were also given that the funeral fire should be made with planed wood, and the flames quenched with wine. But the Romans had a curious notion about the impropriety of burning the bodies of children, who died before they had *cut their teeth*,[3] (to use a familiar phrase:) sometimes they were buried beneath the eaves of their houses,[4] but more frequently perhaps in the earth, as Juvenal talks of being moved by meeting the pomp of their funerals in the street:

Naturæ imperio gemimus, &c.

in English:—

———Tears steal from our eyes, when in the street
With some betrothed virgin's hearse we meet;
Or infant's funeral, from the cheated womb
Conveyed to earth, and cradled in a tomb.—*Tate.*

In which, however, we find nothing of the *minor igne rogi* (too small for the funeral fire) which denotes the peculiar practice of which we have been speaking.

Why the early Christians, who must, from the beginning, have been familiar with these rites, should have been altogether averse from the funeral pile, it is not easy to conjecture; unless, indeed, we suppose that they chose to sanctify every ceremony which served to distinguish them from the Pagans, or were all desirous of disposing of their mortal remains in the manner in which Christ's had been deposited. But a custom adopted without reason, (since none appears why cremation should not be considered as favourable to piety as interment,) may certainly be withstood, when it can be proved to make against the peace and interests of humanity. Were the practice of burning adopted universally, no one need fear that the remains of his wife or children might be dragged from their grave, by the sacrilegious hands of robbers, and sold to surgeons for dissection. These apprehensions would be dissipated with the smoke of the funeral pile. Nor would the timid and nervous feel half the horror they now do at the approach of death; for in so visible and complete a dissolution, the fancy would be able to attach no consciousness to any particle of the remains, which, whatever may be said, it is apt to do when it considers how small is the outward alteration wrought by death. The practice of burning would likewise do away with the necessity of common cemeteries; and with that the belief of ghosts, and all the *diablerie* which, in the country, subsists upon graves and churchyards. Those, however, for whom the aspect of a cemetery has certain melancholy charms, might still deposit the ashes of their friends in tombs or mausoleums;[5] by which whatever is pious and pleasing in the rite of inhuma-

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[3] Priusquam genito dente cremari, mos gentium non est. Plin. l. vi. c. 16.
[4] Fab. Planciades.
[5] Artemesia mixed the ashes of her husband in wine, and drank it. The Indians,

tion, would be united to the wholesome and purifying consequences of the funeral pile. But men of a certain cast of thinking, by which they are lifted above the prejudices that disturb the minds of the people, would, in death as in life, prefer a degree of simplicity and modesty, to the pomp and magnificence which are the objects of vulgar ambition. Trimalchio, in Petronius, giving orders amid his cups for the conduct of his funeral and construction of his tomb, is a good satire upon the feelings which sometimes agitate human vanity in the last scene it has to play in this world. "Let not my wife's statue," said he, (they had just quarrelled,) "be placed upon my monument, lest even in death I should have contentions with her. And, that she may know I have it in my power to torment her, let her not kiss me after I am dead."[6] The same worthy thus begins his orders for his monument. "I earnestly entreat you to place at the foot of my tomb the statue of my favourite bitch, with crowns, boxes of perfume, and representations of all the battles I have won, in relief, that by your assistance I may live after death. Let the façade of the structure be one hundred feet long; its depth two hundred feet. I desire also that all manner of fruit-trees be planted round my ashes, especially vines; for it would be absurd to give room for it to be said after my death, that, although I spared no pains in cultivating my lands during life, that spot had been neglected in which I must dwell for a so much longer period."[7]

Plato and Sir Thomas Browne, the one in his most beautiful piece entitled the Banquet, and the other in his Treatise on Urn Burial, have with the keenest ridicule assaulted man's absurd practices for perpetuating his memory. The latter, indeed, affected to look upon all methods as ineffectual and ridiculous; because, as he thought, we had fallen in the evening of time, merely soon enough to say we had lived, but too near the world's goal, to allow the echoes of our virtues to be heard upon the earth. Plato, on the contrary, as conceiving probably that he lived in the morning of the world, was not averse to reputation; only, he thought it was to be acquired, not by preserving our bodies from corruption by embalming, nor by raising over our ashes piles of marble or tombs of brass, nor by being the founder of a family distinguished for nothing but riches,—but by generating noble and magnanimous thoughts.

It cannot be denied that there is something exceedingly impressive in seeing any remnant of humanity going to join "the mighty nations of the dead," in whatever manner it is effected. The presence of Death with his terrors has sometimes an ennobling effect upon the survivors; they feel for a moment as if they could willingly cope with him, while his dart is hardly extracted from the bosom of their friend. How much of a heroine does even a peasant girl or forlorn widow appear, in the pomp of grief and tears, while the lover or the husband is borne by hands

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according to Herodotus, were in the habit of eating their deceased parents, which Chrysippus wanted to introduce into general practice.—Such are the fancies of men!

[6] Petron. Arbit. Satyr. t. i. p. 304.—Trimalchio (by whom he meant Nero,) alludes, in this place, to the ancient custom, by which, as soon as a man was dead, his wife, relations, and friends, ran and kissed his face as a mark of their affection for him. Mistresses hung upon their lover's lips, in order to imbibe his soul, which was supposed to depart through the mouth.

[7] Idem. t. i. p. 285.

made hard with labour, to his long home beneath the turf of some village churchyard. But the stern pathos of these scenes might be heightened by the ceremonies of the funeral pile. When it was a youth, in those times when burning prevailed, that was cut off in the flower of his age, or a virgin before the period of womanhood, the mother, if she unhappily survived, or else some near relation, wrapped in a sad-coloured garment, gathered up the beloved ashes into an urn;[8] and little vases of perfumes and bottles of essences (afterwards mistaken for tears,) were deposited with it in the tomb, while lamentations and sorrow were heard on all sides. The funeral supper, borne in upon pateræ, was then tasted by the relations, who wore crowns upon their heads,[9] and at stated periods these lamenations were renewed.

But the practice of burying in churches is doubly objectionable, as it injures alike our piety and health.

The character of our devotion should be pure and cheerful, and the places set apart for its public exercise ought rather to increase than diminish the natural exaltation of the mind. For this reason lightness and elegance should be aimed at in the architecture of our churches, and every thing offensive and gloomy removed from their vicinity. Pure sublimity might be preferable, if it were within the reach of ordinary architects, for such are the persons generally employed in building churches; but every attempt at reaching it only proves that they mistake gloom and obscurity for the sublime, and, in consequence, only depress the souls they meant to raise and purify. To add to this, our dead are interred in our temples, and putrid exhalations float like mist through those aisles that should be sacred to the breath of praise alone. It is a great mistake, if it be thought that greater veneration is through this means paid to our sacred edifices. Men feel an involuntary sinking of the spirit on entering them, but it is caused, not by any accession of penitential feelings, but by inhaling a fetid, unwholesome atmosphere; and through life they associate a certain heavy, cadaverous scent with every reminiscence of a church. Besides, nothing is more certain than that the sight and smell of mortality may be endured without any increase of virtuous or moral feelings. The Arabs of the Nile lie down, without any observable emendation of morals, beside the crumbling mummies in the ancient sepulchres of the Egyptians; and the early Christians retired to the tombs of the martyrs, that they might enjoy, according to St. Ambrose, the advantage of being intoxicated with impunity. On warm summer days, when the sun darted his rays through the long dim windows of a country church, we have often observed bluish steams ascending heavily towards the roof of the building; and these, mingling with the breath of a numerous congregation, have so depressed our spirits that we have been overwhelmed with melancholy. How different were the taste and notions of the Pagans! Though their gods and their rites were sometimes impure, it was very rarely that their temples were profaned by any thing calculated to raise disgust, and never by the the presence of a dead body. Nay their scrupulous delicacy was so great in this respect, that they suspended boughs of cypress at the doors of deceased persons, lest any one about to perform any religious rite, should enter a house rendered contaminated, and unpropitious by the

[8] Antiquitates Middletonianæ. [9] Cicero de Legib.

presence of a corpse. This may have been carrying the matter too far, but it was a proof of respect for the objects of their religion.

Our notions of death are sought by every means to be rendered more gloomy; the Pagans were anxious to strip them, as much as possible, of that characteristic, though their hopes of futurity were much more vague and cheerless. We fear that difference of creed, however, has very little to do with natural feelings, for we find from the reproaches of the fathers, that even the primitive Christians were accustomed to abandon themselves to excessive grief on the death of their friends, and, not content with their own tears, to hire *Præficæ*, or mercenary female mourners, who might lengthen and direct their grief by art and method. And, though they did not practise burning, much of the pomp and expense of the funeral pile was preserved, or rather augmented; for Tertullian informs the Arabs that they had no reason to regret the decay of Paganism, since a greater quantity of their precious odours were used at the funerals of the Christians than formerly had been burnt on the altars of the Gods.

The practice of cremation, or burning, is indeed the most economical way in which the dead can be disposed of; and it is certainly a mistaken notion to think we honour our departed friends by depriving those that are living of gifts which we heap upon their ashes. Towards neither dead nor living is the fervency of our affections proved by the price of our gifts. A common urn might be purchased for a few shillings, and with such the poor would be content; while the rich might show their regret or extravagance by sculptured marble or alabaster. What is now expended on a coffin would buy wood for the pile; and as to the perfumes anciently used, their place might be supplied by very homely expedients. Instead, also, of the planed wood, and wine to extingush the flames, commanded by law among the Romans, common faggots and water might be substituted. The practice of inhumation has always given rise to useless labour and expense. The coffins of the ancient kings of France were immense blocks of stone hollowed out with prodigious labour, their effigies were painted on the inside, and considerable riches were buried with them; and if they did not equal the pyramids, as a French author excellently observes, they were at least as useful.

To common-place minds every thing is common-place, and nothing more so than reflections on death; but yet what lessons might we not learn from these common-places! Let such minds grapple with that most common of all things, and see how they will fare. The most strange and marvellous of subjects would scarcely bow down their spirit so effectually, or show these despisers of common-place how they would shudder at having it thrust home to their bosoms. On such occasions are seen the advantages of those whose habits of thinking never led them to reckon death a subject beneath their contemplation, or foreign to their happiness; whose night-thoughts were wont to wander calmly among urns and sepulchres; and who, like the Egyptians, beheld their festivals accompanied by a skeleton, present to the imagination, without checking their mirth or damping their enjoyments. We should like to see the urns of our ancestors arranged on our chimney-pieces with their various dates sculptured on their sides, that we might never forget the duration of human life, or be angry at what are emphatically called "the

ups and downs" of this world. As it is, we keep a strict debtor and creditor account with Time, and complacently reckon up at stated periods what we have gained by yielding up certain portions of our lives to his sway. We shall see who will be the gainer in the end! Meanwhile it is our wish that our country would adopt the healthful, pious, and economical practice of what Sir Thomas Browne calls "the fiery solution," and yield up their dead bodies rather to the purifying flames, than to worms and corruption.

AN INDIAN DAY.

Morn.

Lo! Morning wakes upon the gray hill's brow,
Raising the veil of mist, meek twilight wore;—
And hark! resounding from the tamarind bough
The Minah's matins ring! On Ganga's[1] shore
The fervent Hindoos welcome and adore
The rising Lord of Day. Above the vale
Behold the tall Palmyra proudly soar,
And wave his verdant crown,—a lustre pale
Gleams on the broad fringed leaves, that rustle in the gale!

Noon.

How still the noon-tide hour! no sounds arise
To cheer the sultry calm,—deep silence reigns
Among the drooping groves; the fervid skies
Glare on the slumbering wave; on those far plains
The zephyr dies,—no hope of rest detains
The pilgrim there! Yon Orb's meridian might
No fragrant bower, no humid cloud restrains,—
The solar rays, insufferably bright,
Play on the fevered brow, and mock the dazzled sight!

Night.

Oh! how the spirit joys, when the fresh breeze,
The milder radiance, and the longer shade,
Steal o'er the sultry scene! Through waving trees
The pale moon smiles, the minstrels of the glade
Hail night's fair Queen; and as the day-beams fade
Along the crimson west, through twilight gloom
The fire-fly darts; and, where all lowly laid
The dead repose, the mourner's hands illume
The consecrated lamp o'er beauty's hallowed tomb!

Camberwell. D. L. R—N.

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[1] The Indian name of the Ganges.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH FOR CIVIL OFFICES IN INDIA.

No. II.

" Quod quando, et quomodo, et per quos agendum sit."

Cic. Epist. ad Fam.

In pursuing the examination of the advantages procured for the student by the peculiar discipline of Hertford College, the propriety of indulging the youth of that institution with private apartments has been questioned. Mr. Grant and Mr. Malthus [1] have pointed out, with high approbation, the power thus afforded to a young man of selecting from among his fellow-collegians his own circle of acquaintance; and this brings me to consider, in connexion with the second, the third division, under which the advantages belonging to Haileybury have been classed, namely, the power of forming intimacies with persons destined for India, and for the same line of service in that country. But the usual age of the student must be kept in view; the majority will be found to consist of lads from 16 to 19 years old. The knowledge of character, and the power of estimating another's qualifications, must be, in persons at this time of life, extremely limited and uncertain; and it may, therefore, fairly be doubted whether this power of selecting associates can be productive of much benefit. At schools, the general freedom of intercourse, almost wholly unrestricted by form, forces out all the outlines of character, and displays them in their true shape and colour, neither strengthened nor softened, while yet but slightly affected, by the ordinary rules of society. Hence the ridicule which attends conceit and false pretensions, the public scorn of falsehood, the disgrace of cowardice, and the resistance offered to petty tyranny, prevent the effect of evil example, mark out the guilty as boys to be avoided, and often destroy in others the lurking vice or foible. It is at school that the power of public opinion is most plainly seen and quickly felt; and supplies the want of discrimination in each individual. All express what they think of each other; the power of truth lends force to the opinion of those who happen to be right; it is soon adopted by the rest, and thus directs the judgment of the little society. The facility is very great of arriving at a knowledge of a boy's disposition and qualities in those youthful communities. He is observed from an age when all concealment is unnatural; his true propensities are at once discovered; and by the time he reaches the upper stations, and becomes a senior in the school, every point of his character is generally and thoroughly understood. But at Haileybury, the case is exactly reversed: the students meet together for the first time at an age when they are necessarily induced partly to conceal what they are, and partly to affect to be what they are not, by the discipline which admirably suits with the desire then so natural of appearing and acting as men. The mimickry of worldly etiquette, and the possession of separate apartments, where the mannikin may exhibit himself as guest or host,

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[1] Statements, &c. p. 56.—" At the College in England, each student has a separate room, in which he breakfasts, drinks tea, and prepares his lectures. This mode of living gives him the opportunity of choosing his own society."

restrain that license of remark which makes the common opinion serve as a guide to the weak, and an exercise to the strong understanding. Under such circumstances, is it likely that a raw boy, during the two years of his residence at Haileybury, in the assumed character of a man, should make much use of his power to select acquaintances, or derive much future comfort or benefit from friendships formed and cemented during so short a period?

It has been observed, that school acquaintances seldom ripen into permanent friendships; and it has also been said, that college friends are often the best and firmest we meet with through life. But by the term College, let us not be deceived into a false notion of such an institution as Haileybury. We must understand the word to mean, as was intended by those who made the remark, such establishments as the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. These, it will be observed, besides the advantage to be derived from the mixed intercourse, existing to a certain extent, of graduates with under-graduates, most young men possess some family friend, some Fellow of a College, the contemporary of a father or an uncle, who without the invidious power of a tutor or professor, watches with the readiness of voluntary regard, and advises with the authority of disinterested kindness. The under-graduate, through whom the constancy of an early esteem is thus testified, may sometimes laugh in public at the self-constituted guardian, vote his dinners a bore, and a visit to his rooms worse than going to lecture; but secretly he will often lay his counsel to heart, and the self-love and pride which are always in arms against a tutor, not being opposed to the adviser, who insinuates his advice with a bottle of port or claret, much of what is laughed at abroad will work its effect in private: the young springald is disappointed of a horse, and missed at cover the next time the hounds meet—a head-ache confines him to his rooms—his oak[2] is for the first time sported against some wild companion—other men of more temperate habits rise in his esteem, and are allowed to have spirit enough for gentlemen,—and thus, by being taught to commune with himself, he discovers much of value which he had never seen in his own character, acquires that most useful quality of self-respect, and, by improving himself, increases his chance of forming desirable intimacies, by strengthening and sharpening his own insight into human nature, and at the same time making himself more worthy the love of the honest heart, and the approbation of the cultivated mind. With the advantage of a guide, young men thus appear even to themselves to choose their own friends, and regard the choice with all the complacency with which we look at every act of our own volition productive of good: and in no one business of life do men more require assistance, than in that of selecting their associates, 'quibus crederent, quos caverent.' Yet it can hardly be denied, that, at Haileybury, the school-college, this matter is almost left to chance. A lad is thrown into the midst of many others about his own age; the natural aristocracy, composed of persons at a more advanced period of life, is not there to be found, who would restrain by advice, and guide by example; nor is that loudly-expressed public opinion, which shames a boy at school from in-

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[2] To sport the oak, is a cant term in use among Oxonians for shutting the outer door of their rooms, by way of intimation to visitors, that they are *not at home*.

timacy with the evil-disposed, permitted to be heard among the polite community of Hertford College. Any casual conformity of taste in the pursuit of amusement and relaxation will, we know, speedily draw on an acquaintance between boys; and thus the youth of early promise, but half-formed habits, attracted by a congenial love of sport, may link himself with another whose moral insignificance or degradation has escaped his unpractised observation, undirected by friendly experience, and not till too late aroused by common report. This situation is rendered the more critical on account of the increased chances existing at Hertford of meeting with persons of idle and insubordinate disposition; for it seems to be admitted, that those who have the means of supporting a son in his endeavours after advancement in this country, and the opportunity of providing for another by an appointment in India, will very naturally make use of the latter for him who is likely to give them most trouble, by reason of his turbulent character, or yield them least credit by reason of his incapacity. The operation of this general feeling will necessarily drive into Haileybury a certain number of dull and unmanageable lads. Mr. Malthus points out another cause, which must diminish the account of good example at the East India College; as many, it appears, who would elsewhere exert fine talents, and become confirmed in good habits, will there suppress or pervert the exercise of the one, and abandon the observance or oppose the influence of the other. "The second *permanent* difficulty which the College has to contend with, is the chance that some of the young men, whose parents have obtained appointments for them, may be indisposed to the service, and not really wish to go out to India. Such a temper of mind will, of course, naturally indispose them to submit to the discipline of the College, or to profit by the education which it offers to them, and will, at the same time, make them *most pernicious and dangerous examples* to others."[3] Is, then, the undirected power of selecting society a desirable possession for youths from 16 to 19 years old, so peculiarly situated as the students of Hertford College?

But, say the friends of the institution, here the young men may form intimacies with persons destined for India, and for the same line of service in that country. Whatever may be the degree of consolation afforded to the feelings of an involuntary exile, by the prospect of carrying with him to a distant land an old associate, the benefits to be derived to the service, and indeed the solid advantages to the young men themselves, may fairly be questioned. Suppose, for example, two Haileybury students, nominated to the same presidency, proceeding to India in the same season, studying at the College (we will say) of Fort William, and leaving it together. Bound by intimacy thus closely cemented, they meet many years afterwards as public functionaries in the same district, the one holding an office created perhaps partly as a check on that filled by the other. Suppose this latter, in the interval of their separation, to have become a confirmed gamester, and involved in all the embarrassments attending that destructive vice. To make the case more striking, imagine the distressed gamester collecting revenue for the state, or dispensing justice to its subjects; in the former capacity absorbing as they passed through his hands the supplies of government, or extorting

[3] Statement, &c. p. 66.

here by exorbitant, and remitting there by insufficient valuation of lands, for the sake of equivocal loans: in the latter situation, as judge and magistrate, let us suppose him corrupting the source of justice, making the litigious spirit of the people an instrument of supply for his pecuniary wants, hastening or retarding, facilitating or preventing, the redress of wrongs, according to the inducement held out to his mercenary cravings; thus giving the sanction of law to the crime of the aggressor and the sufferings of the aggrieved, who may be left, ruined in character and fortune, to sink without hope of recovery, under the combined oppression of relentless enmity and tyrannical corruption. While such a man disgraces a judicial appointment, suppose his fellow-student, performing the duties of collector in the same district, and unavoidably acquainted with the character and conduct of his old familiar friend and associate—then arises the contest between the tenderness of early intimacy and the sense of public duty, between pity for the man and compassion for his victims. They meet at each other's tables, the toil of the day and the fierceness of the heat are past, around them are the pomp and luxuries of the East, before them the delicacies of Europe and Asia; Carbonell's claret cools the palate and warms the heart; the rooms and scenes of Haileybury rise before their fancies, the old joke is repeated, the laugh of youth is echoed by the recollections of manhood; the entomologist again is gibed, the great enemy to excessive population is called to mind with the broad jest and epigram; Sir James's History of England is again regretted, as belonging to what M. D'Israeli strangely calls "events which have not happened;" the warm and confiding manner of the dissolute gamester opens again all the springs of old affection, and his companion retires, attributing to the incorrigible avarice and corruption of the Native Officers of the Court, the disastrous effects of his friend's misconduct, considers him the dupe of their cunning, laments his indolence and want of penetration, and leaves him again to squander lacks of rupees and ruin thousands of families, till the clamours of the injured, or some untoward accident, expose the delinquent, and by an inadequate punishment consign him to oblivion, but not, alas! to infamy.

It may be said, that this picture is, as it is believed to be, all imaginary; that the case is quite an extreme one, and wholly hypothetical; but, although it is hoped, that no case exists, or is known to have existed, like that just described, yet it is of very possible occurrence; and the sacrifice of public duty to the tenderness of private friendship has been witnessed at many times and in many countries. Such a sacrifice is not less likely to be exhibited in India than elsewhere. There men are brought together for whom the means of forming early and close intimacies have been prepared; the ties of friendship are rendered stronger and more precious by the mutual dependence in which Europeans are placed on each other, few, dispersed and distinguished as they are, in a land of strangers, and those strangers their slaves.

It may be urged, that intimacies will be made; and, however, you educate the civil servants of the Government, old schoolfellows may hereafter be placed nearly in the same predicament as that above set forth. Intimacies, it is true, may, and it is hoped will be made, but not till a later period of life, if the plan to be suggested should ever be adopted; they will not be forced, as in a hot bed, upon undiscriminating youth, brought together in contemplation of one common exile. Old

schoolfellows, it is granted, may meet in similar relative situations, but they will not from boyhood have been taught to reverence, and conform themselves to one system as immutable; they will not have been trained from the nursery for nabobs, like the majority of the Company's civil servants, composed as it is of the sons, nephews, and cousins of East India Directors, or old Indians: they will, therefore, not be prepared for that sort of conventional morality, which none of those gentlemen (to their credit be it spoken) would acknowledge for their own rule of conduct, but by which they are apt to try the behaviour and connive at the misdeeds of their native servants. This they do, not for their own profit, but for the sake of avoiding trouble, dreading to disturb a long-established abuse.

Convien che molto possi un error vecchio.

Many succeed to situations, and witness what their predecessors have permitted with astonishment; they pause to consider their motives; in the mean time what at first surprised becomes familiar to their minds, the method is vicious but convenient, has existed for many years under many predecessors, and thus is again transmitted with the sanction of another incumbent, and the authority of increased age, to another civil servant from the same school as those who have preceded him. Surely if there be room for improvement, (and who shall say of any human invention that there is not?) small is the chance of any change for the better, when emulation is cramped in the birth by an admitted, though loosely observed, rule of seniority—when the recruits from England are, for the most part, begotten and nursed by the agent of the old system, and are all moulded by a discipline, which prepares them for the adoption of whatever they shall find established in India. The race of civil servants is something like the high nobility of Spain, the Grandees of many hats, who have intermarried so often, that they form a peculiar and distinct tribe of Spaniards, remarkable for an undergrowth of mind and body; so the constant succession of the kindred and connexions of old Indians to writerships, although they may not be marked by stinted limbs or swarthy complexions, yet carry with them a certain listlessness and obsequiousness belonging to their fathers, and all the predisposition to fall in with the hog-hunting and indolent habits of the service which they are about to join. Let a fresh stimulus be given to the service, by opening to the British youth another and a wider road to preferment in India—let there be a broader European education, a larger field for candidates, but not a lower test of qualification; and high as is the character of the Company's civil servants, it may yet rise higher; great as may be the benefits which they dispense to the natives, they will yet be greater; and powerful as the influence may be of British character on the Indian empire, it will be yet more powerful. Europe and posterity may, perhaps, behold a singular example of the highest civilization attained amidst the most inveterate prejudices, religious and national, and ultimately the annihilation of those prejudices, by the philosophical introduction of a pure faith among a people prepared, by intellectual improvement, to adopt it as a religion, not submitted to by their fears, but embraced by their free will.

May we not, therefore, question the degree of good to be derived to the service by the power, enjoyed by the students at Hertford, of forming

intimacies with those who will be a part of their future society! If it may be questioned, with regard to the public interests, we may readily suspect, according to that ancient but sound axiom, "the welfare of the community is inseparable from that of individuals," that the benefits thus procured for the students themselves, are not so real and sure as the friends of the College have asserted.

It has before been said, that the prospect of carrying with him into exile his early companions, may be a consolation to the feelings, but of doubtful advantage in the condition of the writer. In youth our habits are social; if they be bad, we have our companions of the like evil disposition; if good, those of similar intentions are known and esteemed by us. In the former case then the writer loses the opportunity of breaking off undesirable connexions by removal to India, because his old abettors follow him, and continue to share his pursuits and strengthen his habits. In the latter case the feelings of the young man may be outraged by the bursting asunder of close-kept intimacy, if obliged to leave his accustomed companions behind him: but his good dispositions secure his advancement, and must obtain for him a kind reception, to whatsoever presidency he may be bound. It is not, we must recollect, like the arrival of a medical or law student in London, with neither the means of subsistence, nor employment to yield it, without a station to fill, or a hope of obtaining it: the writer reaches his presidency, where he at once receives an income of about 400*l.* a year; where the situations to be filled are more numerous than the candidates to fill them; where, therefore, modest merit cannot be left unobserved, or be trampled upon by empty pretension; and consequently where habits of application, and, if these, by so much more, higher qualities soon bring the young stranger into society as well as employment, the former soothing the feelings, when the latter has already abstracted the mind from dwelling on regret for lost companions; though they may yet be recollected with profit as one of many links, which preserve and perpetuate love of country.

But although this alleviation of the pains of banishment is, it must be owned, a matter of smaller importance, than the other points to be considered in any scheme of education for civil functionaries in India; yet in this matter, the only change, which will be brought about by a change of system, will be the reducing of that to a chance, which is now almost a certainty. The personal intimates of a young man may yet accompany him to India, although this contingent advantage will not be secured to him—it will no longer be an inseparable quality of his early education. As a constituent part of college discipline many must doubt the benefit of its influence. One of its probable effects the East India Directors, it might be thought, would be quick to foresee—a consequence which they would be disposed to dread—namely, the facility (in short, the previous training) given to their civil servants in India of forming combinations and making simultaneous representations against any supposed grievance; against, for example, any imagined superiority of prospect opened to the military in comparison with the civil branch of the service. While those who hold the sword are contented, the querulousness of those who wield the pen may be disregarded, so long as an attachment to the mother country is strong and predominant in their feelings. But, operating as it does on minds familiarized with India as the country of their parents or relations, must not the establishment of a separate col-

lege for the preparation of the young writer tend irresistibly to weaken that noblest and loveliest of human affections—a devoted attachment to the land of our forefathers? Many of the youths cannot strictly call Great Britain their native country; they have been born in India, and conveyed to England for education; the natural current of their feelings has been interrupted almost from their source—estranged from their parents in childhood, as boys, perhaps, they renew their acquaintance with them, and as youths are again banished from all that is dear by nature, or has become so by habit. Thus the strongest of the many ties, which bind us to our native land, those of family love, are so weakened as to make the young writer soon forget that he is an exile. If the British Eastern empire is held, as it is said to be, by the tenure of opinion, should men be thus educated to manage the brittle machinery of its government?

But it may be urged, that the objections taken against the present system of education for Indian functionaries, are those of theory against the advantages which it has been proved to possess in practice. First, it may be replied, that what is good for one season is not good for another; and secondly, that advantages are only so by comparison, and that the superiority of the present race of civil servants over that which preceded it, and is now rapidly disappearing, cannot be considered any very high distinction, according to the character given of the latter by Lord Wellesley and others;—if we have toiled on with a horse both lame and blind, we gladly change him for another that is only blind, and justly think the latter a very superior beast.

By the first of these answers is meant, that as Lord Wellesley found, when he formed the magnificent plan of the College at Fort William, that the growth and altered nature of the British possessions in the East required men of another stamp than those who were first supplied for the management of the Company's factories, so now, in consequence of the continued growth and alteration of these possessions, a larger number of qualified persons is called for, which the College is unable to supply. And, connecting the first with the second answer, it is further meant, that although there are exceptions, the present method is not calculated to send out a body of civil servants prepared in the best possible manner to advance the interests of the state, and the improvement of the natives.

It will be observed that a great change has taken place in India since 1814. One of the inferior presidencies has risen vastly in importance, and spread widely in extent;—external aggression, in spite of the Burmese, is no longer dreaded;—and the internal administration of the country has become almost the sole object of legislative attention. If what Mr. Malthus said in 1816, was then thought applicable, it now applies with ten times greater force: "The progressive extension and prosperity (says Mr. Malthus) of the British dominions in India, has been founded mainly on its military and political power; but, in the military line, and in the highest departments of government, circumstances rarely fail to generate the qualifications required. All ages and countries have produced warriors and statesmen. A few great and illustrious individuals, such as we may suppose might be formed out of the number of Englishmen sent to the East, might be sufficient so to animate the whole body of their countrymen, and so skilfully to manage the natives, as to acquire

and maintain enormous possessions against Mohammedan and Indian competition. But it is a very different thing, when the question is no longer about the acquisition and maintenance of empire, but the administration of justice, and of a good internal government to sixty millions of subjects. Here the few men of great talents, who will always be found among a certain number, are comparatively without power:—they cannot act without instruments. These instruments must necessarily be a considerable body of civil servants, not only possessing the means of easy communication with the natives, but of improved understandings, of acquired knowledge, and of habits of steady application and industry." It is an ample supply of civil servants zealous for the welfare of the natives, animated with public spirit, raising by example and influence judiciously exercised, the moral character of the people, and ready to detect what latent defects exist in the system of which they formed a part—it is a sufficient number of such men which is wanted. Exceptions there will always be; but no class or body of persons is judged of by the weaker and inferior members, while but a small minority, of their community. Does the College at Hertford yield an adequate supply? It has been said, that on a late occasion, when there was a great demand for writers, when upwards of ninety were required, it was intimated to the College authorities, that the wants of the service must supersede the rules or rather the practice of the institution, and that the test of qualification must not be too strictly observed. An apology is due for naming a report; if incorrect, there are many whose word would be sufficient to prove its inaccuracy. But the report seems to be borne out by, and to be conformable with, the circumstances of the College at Fort William, as represented by Mr. Adam in the address which he delivered, acting as Governor-General, and as Visitor of the College on the distribution of prizes to the students in July 1823. "The exigencies of the public service, and the consequent demands for public officers to carry on the indispensable business of the government, must always have a powerful influence on the affairs of the College. Those exigencies have for some years past compelled us to rest satisfied with a scale of distinction somewhat below that to which we might naturally and reasonably aspire, under a different state of circumstances." The effect of these circumstances may presently afterwards be traced in another part of this address. Mr. Adam continues, "Sixteen students have been examined this year, at the annual examinations, of whom three only have been reported qualified by their proficiency in two languages to enter on the public service; but fourteen more have been examined intermediately, at various periods since the annual examination, and reported qualified for the public service. The total number of proficients, therefore, in two languages this year is seventeen, which is five more than were reported qualified the preceding year." From the tone of the passage, these "five more," and some of the remaining twelve may justly be supposed to owe the report in their favour to the exigencies of the service, and these exigencies, it must be believed, of necessity extend their influence to the College in England. If the test of qualification be occasionally lowered at Haileybury, the unfairness of the proceeding is self evident, when the consequences attached to success or failure are considered—entailing as it does the gain or loss of rank, by delaying or accelerating the period at which the writer proceeds to take up his appointment, and,

as a consequence, the period at which a civilian can claim his pension from the Civil Fund. The effect too of such a measure on the emulation of the students, and the very spirit of the institution, must be equally injurious to the minds and feelings of the one, and to the efficiency of the other. The College occasionally, it will hardly be denied, is insufficient for the purpose of supplying the wants of the service with persons qualified in the degree fixed by the contract, which that, as well as all other such establishments, tacitly forms with the public. Public opinion must, therefore, pause in giving it support. In the next Number, Mr. Adam's address will be resumed as affording evidence, that Haileybury College falls short of its object even in the preparation of those youths whom it sends to India as qualified for what is required of them. In dwelling so long on the imperfections of the present system, it must be obvious that much is done towards explaining the nature and object of what will be proposed as worthy to supersede it; and as opening a road, whose limits are set by the failings of our nature alone, to the improvement of the Company's Civil servants, the delegates and executors, under their respective governments, of British authority in India.

B. M. V.

STANZAS.

Oh! visit not
My couch of dreamless sleep,
When even thou shalt be forgot
By this so faithful breast;
But let the stranger watch my silent rest,
With eyes that will not weep!

Oh! come not, maid!
I crave no sigh from thee,
E'en when the mouldering frame is laid
Beneath the cold dull grave;
For the yew shall moan, and the night-wind rave,
A fitting dirge for me!

Weep not, dear love!
While grief were agony,—
Wait till the balm of time remove
The fever of the brain,
And sweet though mournful dreams alone remain
Of me and misery!

Then—then, sweet maid!
By twilight linger near
The rustling trees whose green boughs shade
My lonely place of rest,
And hallow thou the turf that wraps my breast,
With Pity's sacred tear!

D. L. Richardson.

GREECE IN 1823 AND 1824.

By the Honourable Colonel Leicester Stanhope.

The glorious Revolution of Greece has strongly attracted the attention of all liberal men, to whom it had long appeared surprising that that classic land, the very birth-place and cradle of liberty, should have remained during so many centuries under the yoke of foreign tyrants. When, however, the spirit which had animated his forefathers at length aroused itself in the bosom of the modern Greek, those who had previously deplored his degeneracy and his fall, hailed with pleasure the awakened energies which led to the establishment of his freedom and the expulsion of the despot from the territories which he had trampled under his feet. In every corner of Europe this glorious result of the struggle excited the warmest admiration, and in almost every country the spirit of the people was roused to a participation in so noble a cause, embraced with an ardour increasing in proportion to the jealousy with which it was regarded by their rulers. In Switzerland, in Germany, and even in Russia, committees have been organized to assist in the regeneration of Grecian liberty; and a portion at least of the English people followed speedily the example which had been set before them by others. Assisted by the contributions of this part of the British public, the Greek Committee of London, at the head of which were many noble and respected names, exerted itself with success in forwarding the progress of Grecian liberty and independence. Restricted by the jealous policy of the English laws from shipping from British ports any warlike stores to the aid of these oppressed foreigners, it became a chief object with the Committee to furnish to the Greeks the means of fabricating them for their own use, and to impart to them that practical knowledge of the arts of manufacturing and employing these destructive means, which could only be supplied by men of skill and experience. For this purpose arrangements were made for despatching to Greece several persons well qualified by their previous knowledge and habits to give the necessary instructions, together with the requisite tools and apparatus for the fitting up of a complete laboratory.

But while thus strengthening the hands, the committee did not neglect the minds and the hearts of the Greeks: with the means for resisting their oppressors, were despatched also those for enlightening their own minds, and improving their own condition. Important as publicity is to good government in all countries and at all times, it may be regarded as yet more especially so in those in which much power is delegated to individuals. Honourable as these may be in their conduct towards other men, and worthy in their private relations, power is too generally productive of the temptation to misuse it; and it is here that the press must be looked to as supplying that controlling force which the laws are too weak to afford. The Government of Greece, at the period immediately preceding the shipment of the stores furnished by the London Committee, existed in this state. The due execution of the laws was prevented by the unsettled condition of the country, and the factions which prevailed among the chiefs; and it was therefore deemed necessary to include among the supplies several printing and lithographic presses, for the

purpose of establishing among the Greeks the advantages of publicity in all their national affairs. To put in motion these powerful engines for the destruction of tyranny and iniquity, nothing was wanting but the zealous exertions of some individual whose mind was deeply impressed with the advantages to be derived from them; and it was precisely at this period that the Honourable Colonel Stanhope offered his services to proceed to Greece as the Agent of the Committee. This offer was readily accepted, and he soon after departed from London with full powers to communicate on his journey with the principal Greek Committees of the continent, and to act, on his arrival in Greece, in conjunction with Lord Byron for the advancement of the cause in which they had both so zealously embarked. To this cause Colonel Stanhope continued to devote himself with ardour, until recalled by the Commander-in-Chief, in the summer of the present year, keeping up, during the whole time, a constant correspondence with the Greek Committee, and with most of the distinguished persons of Greece, which on his return he presented to Mr. Ryan, by whom it has just been given to the public under the title of "Greece in 1823 and 1824."[1]

To the readers of the Oriental Herald it is unnecessary to observe on the fitness of Colonel Stanhope for the task which he had undertaken. The mere mention of his name is sufficient to point him out at once as the individual best adapted for this service, and one on whom the utmost reliance might be placed as a tried and faithful friend to the most extensive freedom of discussion on every point connected with the welfare of mankind. His name will recall to their remembrance his manly and persevering struggles in behalf of the liberty of the Indian press, and his energetic appeal in its favour, which was noticed in an early number of our publication, and which was so dreaded in another quarter of the globe as to bring down annihilation on the Journal that ventured to reprint it. These circumstances form part of the history of his public life, and are consequently well known; but, to these we may add, that we have seen it asserted in a letter from a distinguished individual, whose opinions, were we at liberty to name him, would be readily acknowledged as most worthy of credit, that to his personal connexions with the late Governor-General of India is to be attributed much of that kindly feeling towards the press which was manifested during the continuance of his sway.

From an individual thus deeply impressed by his previous experience with the advantages to be derived from the freedom of the press and from publicity, it was to be expected that these should form the primary objects of his exertions. Colonel Stanhope's attention appears accordingly to have been chiefly directed to these points, and to combating the difficulties which thwarted him in his progress towards their attainment. Friendly as the President Mavrocordato appeared, and acquiescent in every thing proposed as regarded the establishment of a newspaper, "The Greek Chronicle," at Missolonghi; his secretary, and others connected with him, opposed numerous obstacles to its commencement. They objected to the prospectus which had been prepared for it, and also to an extract from a

[1] Greece in 1823 and 1824; being a Series of Letters and other Documents on the Greek Revolution, written during a visit to that country. By the Honourable Colonel Leicester Stanhope. Illustrated with several curious Fac Similes, and a Portrait of Mustapha Ali. 8vo, pp. xi. and 368. Sherwood, Jones, & Co.

work of the venerable Bentham which was inserted in it, and prevailed on the only printer the place afforded, to refuse to publish it. Irritated at this opposition, Colonel Stanhope was reduced to the necessity of remonstrating in very strong terms, which finally prevailed, and the prospectus was at length issued. Other means were employed to delay the publication of the paper; remonstrances were however again resorted to, with effect, and the first Greek Newspaper appeared through the determined instrumentality of Colonel Stanhope, on the first of January, 1824. In a subsequent attempt to establish another newspaper for the Ionian Islands and for Europe, a recurrence of difficulties was again experienced from the same quarter, and it was even refused to allow paper to be issued from the Committee's stores for the printing of the prospectus. These again were overcome, and "The Greek Telegraph" also appeared.

The obstacles, however, which have been just adverted to, were experienced only at Missolonghi. At Athens, Colonel Stanhope was received with the utmost frankness and cordiality by the celebrated Ulysses, who afforded every facility to the furtherance of his views. "I request you will lose no time," writes that distinguished general, "in the establishment of the printing-press, which will have the power of exposing and censuring the misconduct of every one. In one word, every thing which you shall do for the benefit of Greece will have my fullest approbation. Do not ask my opinion on any thing. I am not able to give you advice; you are much better acquainted with what is necessary than I am. Do not, therefore, delay to do every thing that you shall think desirable for Greece, or likely to advance her liberty." With this friendly encouragement no difficulty was of course experienced in the establishment of "The Athens Free Press," the Editor of which pledged himself to insert every well-written article, however adverse to his own political views. Two other newspapers, "The Friend of the Laws," and "The Ipsara Gazette," were subsequently established during Colonel Stanhope's stay in Greece, which is thus indebted to his persevering zeal for putting into full operation on the public mind no less than five of these powerful engines.

Other objects besides the establishment of the Free Press were effected during the residence of Colonel Stanhope at Athens. Much was done especially towards the conciliation of the factions both there and at Napoli; and his interviews with nearly the whole of the powerful chiefs enabled him to contribute materially to this desirable end. He had proposed to Ulysses to form a congress at Salona, for the effectual reconciliation of the chiefs of Eastern and Western Greece, and for the formation of an efficient plan of co-operation as well in matters of internal as of external policy. This meeting subsequently took place, but its proceedings were rendered much less efficient than they would otherwise have been, by the absence of Mavrocordato, which was occasioned principally by the death of Lord Byron, who had promised to assist at it in person. Many salutary measures were, however, adopted, and a general plan of the campaign for the ensuing summer was concerted, which is given in the appendix to Colonel Stanhope's volume.

No object could have been more desirable than the conciliating the dissensions and uniting the views of the respective chiefs. At the period of Colonel Stanhope's arrival in Greece, the Provisional Government of that country was feeble and disorganized. The factions which had long

disturbed it, had induced divisions in the legislative assembly, and the dissensions thereby excited among its members, paralyzed the energy of their decisions, and rendered them powerless and unrespected. Laws of the most beneficial character were enacted, but they possessed not the strength necessary to enforce their observance; and the execution of those especially which were directed towards equalizing the condition of the people, by abrogating many of the immunities claimed by the more powerful chiefs, was constantly resisted by those whose privileges they were calculated to abridge, and who would not willingly concur in the reduction of a power which enabled them to set the laws at defiance. To add to the difficulties of the situation in which the Government was placed, a feud had occurred between the legislative and executive bodies, which at length broke out in acts of violence on the part of the latter, who despatched an armed force to Napoli, where the sittings of the representatives were held, to take possession of their archives. Roused by this signal act of aggression to more vigorous exertion, the legislative body immediately changed the seat of its deliberations to Cranidi, a place of greater security, and issued a proclamation depriving the executive of its powers, enumerating the various acts in hostility to the constitution which it had perpetrated, and appointing in its stead a new executive, composed of men whose views and feelings were more in unison with their own. In this bold and decisive step the legislative body met with the approbation and support of the great body of the people, and more especially of the islanders, to whose activity, enterprise, gallantry, and love of freedom, Greece is mainly indebted for the maintenance of that independence which she has acquired with so much glory, and with so many sacrifices. From this time the Government has been daily gaining strength, and the Capitani who had hitherto acted the part of independent chieftains, and who could seldom be persuaded, even on the most pressing emergencies, to combine their powers and act in concert with each other, have submitted themselves to the supreme power, and to the control of the laws. The negotiation of the loan in England for the service of the Greek Government, has also tended materially to increase its strength. Passing directly into its hands, to be by it applied to the purposes for which it is destined, it has given that body a preponderance which cannot fail to be secured by firm and moderate measures, and must prove highly advantageous to the final success of the struggles in which they are engaged.

On this essential point it is gratifying to perceive that the opinions of Col. Stanhope are in unison with the wishes of all good men. "I confess," he observes in a letter to Mr. Bentham, "that I am sanguine with respect to the ultimate success of the Greeks. I found this opinion on the virtuous character of the people, on the strength of their country, on their martial character and their being all armed, on the multiplicity of little chiefs, on the sudden rise and fall of their leaders, on the love they have for their ancestors, on the clashing interests of their enemies, and on their attachment to the elective franchise, annuality, universality, publicity, &c." This opinion is yet more strongly expressed in the Report on the State of Greece, furnished to the London Committee, after the return of Col. Stanhope. "Every soldier's mind is bent on success; no Greek ever admits the possibility of being again subjected to the Turks. If you talk of millions that are about to pour down into their country, still they never

appear dismayed. They tell you calmly, that as more come, more will be famished, or mowed down by the Hellenists. This gallant feeling is universal. My opinion is that the struggle, however protracted, must succeed, and must lead to an improvement in the condition not only of Greece but of Asia."

While occupied at Salona in furthering the various important projects which came under the consideration of the Congress, Colonel Stanhope learned from several quarters that he had been appointed one of the Commissioners who were to watch over the issue of the loan negotiated in England, and that the first portion of the money was actually on its way to Zante. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence, he proceeded to that island, having first despatched a letter to the Government, requiring from them the fullest information on all points connected with their civil, military, and financial administration, in order that the Commissioners, having before them all the necessary data, might be enabled to judge of the probable stability of the government, and to examine into the resources of the state, and into its means of paying the interest, and ultimately the principal, of the debt, without a fair prospect of which, Colonel Stanhope was of opinion, that it would have been unwise, as respected the Greeks themselves, and unjust towards the lenders, to suffer the money to pass from their hands. On his arrival at Zante, however, he learned, that, in consequence of the death of Lord Byron, the commission was no longer complete; and the merchants, to whom the money had been consigned, refused, in consequence, to sanction its issue, until the appointment of a new commission. The state of Col. Stanhope's health had for some time past determined him to return to England as soon as possible, and, on his arrival in Zante, a letter from the Adjutant-general was put into his hands, requiring him to proceed home without delay. Having now no very urgent claims on him in Greece, he proceeded to carry these orders into effect, and being requested by Lord Sidney Osborne to take charge of the remains of Lord Byron, he embarked on board the Florida, with the body of that nobleman, and arrived in England in the month of June, after an absence of nearly nine months, spent in the most zealous and unremitting exertions for the regeneration of the public mind of Greece.

The Report of Colonel Stanhope on the affairs of Greece, which was presented to the Committee shortly after his arrival in England, offers an able summary of every point of consequence connected with the internal and external policy of its government. The distracted state of the Turkish Empire, her relations, as well as those of Greece, with the potentates of Europe, the characters of the chiefs, and the factions into which they are divided, the condition of the various classes of the people, the resources of the state, its naval and military force, and the best means of employing them, are all adverted to with considerable ability. The police appears to be well regulated, and, with the exception of the town of Missolonghi, personal security prevails throughout Greece to a much greater extent than under the Turkish government. Travellers are, therefore, enabled to pursue their routes with the greatest safety; and it is much to be regretted that so many of our countrymen should stop short at Naples, without visiting the classic soil of Greece. It may be well for them to be reminded, that without embarking in her cause, the mere spending of a few hundred pounds in the country, will have a tendency

to be materially serviceable to it, while the cheapness of provisions and labour appear to render Greece a desirable place for the emigration of persons possessing but moderate independent means.

The Appendix to the volume contains numerous original documents, many of which relate to the military operations and the plans of the campaign, together with a selection of original letters, chiefly from the principal personages connected with the history of the Greek revolution. Among these are several from Mavrocordato, of one of which a fac-simile is given, from Ulysses, Coletti, Panos Colocotroni, Goortho, Logotheti, &c.; the whole of whose signatures, together with those affixed to an address presented by the Athenians to Colonel Stanhope requesting his longer stay among them, are copied in a lithographic plate, and form a very curious illustration. Two letters from Jeremy Bentham, Esq., and two from the late Lord Erskine, require also to be particularly noticed; one of the latter, indeed, addressed to the President Mavrocordato, is truly eloquent, and breathes a fervour of attachment to the liberties and prosperity of Greece worthy of the enlightened and liberal mind of its noble writer. Of the hand-writing of each of these distinguised individuals, fac-similes will also be found among the illustrations.

Of the character and personal history of Lord Byron, every thing connected with which is regarded with so much interest, we meet with several illustrations in the present volume, which contains copies of two original letters from his Lordship, of one of which a lithographic fac-simile is given. As joint agent of the Greek Committee, and embarked warmly in a common cause, the intercourse between his Lordship and Colonel Stanhope was of course intimate and free, and minutes are given of some of the conversations which took place between them. These relate principally to the liberty of the press, to which, it will probably not have been anticipated from the liberal notions on all subjects generally attributed to him, the noble poet was not friendly in the present state of Greece. Other notices relative to him, which are interspersed throughout the volume, will also be perused with much interest, particularly a letter from his intimate, and (if such an expression can be applied to any one with respect to Lord Byron,) his bosom friend, Trelawny, giving an account of his last illness, as well as of the motives which chiefly induced him to embark his life and fortune in the cause of Grecian liberty, and to which he devoted himself with that energetic ardour which characterized all his attachments. "I (L. B.)," writes his Lordship, in a note affixed to a letter of Colonel Stanhope to Mr. Bowring, "request Mr. Bowring to urge the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird to send L. B. credits to the extent of L. B.'s resources. Here there are the greatest difficulties of every kind for the moment—but they have hope,—and will fight it out." A stronger proof of Lord Byron's devotion to Greece cannot be given, especially when it is remembered that this passion succeeded immediately to an intense fit of avarice, in which as we find from Mr. Trelawny's letter just noticed, his Lordship had previously indulged.

The work of Colonel Stanhope, the most prominent features of which we have briefly adverted to, possesses at the present moment a paramount interest. Referring as it does to the actual state of Greece, which it is calculated to illustrate in every essential point, and on the history of the revolution of which it throws so much valuable light, it will, we venture

to predict, be perused with avidity, for men of all parties are now deeply interested in the fate of this struggling people. It will long, indeed, be a source of pride to its enlightened author, to reflect that he has been enabled to contribute so materially to their moral improvement and regeneration, and their children will bless the name of him who first secured for them the freedom of the press, and thus proved himself the truest promoter of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

REPLY TO "GO WHERE GLORY WAITS THEE."

FATE may from thee tear me,
And o'er Ocean bear me,
Yet I'll remember thee;
Distant climes while ranging,
Still with love unchanging
Oh! I'll remember thee;
Hostile foes may press me,
Dangers sore distress me;
Yet if thou shalt bless me
With tried fidelity,
Then, whate'er awaits me,
While that hope elates me,
Oh! I'll remember thee.

At eve, in silence musing,
Heaven's bright vault perusing,
Then I'll remember thee,
The star thou lovest, blazing,
On its radiance gazing,
Oh! I'll remember thee;
Should its rays, wide streaming,
On thy couch play beaming,
And thou perchance be dreaming
In that hour of me;
The thought with bliss will fire me,
And, while joys inspire me,
Oh! I'll remember thee.

When my eyelids closing
Sink in sleep reposing,
I'll still remember thee;
Borne, in dewy slumbers,
To the spheric numbers,
There I'll remember thee;
'Mid their mystic wheeling,
While o'er every feeling
Music's powers are stealing
In heavenly harmony,
Then shall Memory bring me
Strains thou used to sing me,
And I'll remember thee.

THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. 7.—*The New Monthly Magazine.*

The reader will have observed that in these sketches of contemporary periodical publications, our aim has been not so much to describe their particular features, as to explain the nature of their influence. The former would be a task no less laborious than useless: for the publications we have spoken of are popular; their contents are well known; but their scope and tendency seem to have escaped general detection. To explain these we consider therefore of some importance; especially as periodical reading is likely rather to increase than diminish in this country.

In two respects the tendency of the New Monthly Magazine, our present subject, is very equivocal: we mean in regard to philosophy and politics. It cannot, we know, be expected, that the miscellaneous body of writers who supply the requisite variety for a work of this kind, should all entertain precisely the same notions on any subject whatever; or be even capable of correct thinking on the more abstruse relations and qualities of human nature. The vast number of men now carried along by the stream of literary ambition renders this impossible. According to the common principles of affinity, however, we should expect to find in those who cluster together round some common object, a certain broad basis of similitude, a degree of *family-likeness*, (if we may be allowed the phrase,) which might distinguish them from persons pursuing a directly contrary track. The mind looks for such differential features, and, not finding them, is disappointed. In viewing the writers of the New Monthly in a group, we experience this kind of disappointment, not being able to discover among them any such mutual resemblance: they appear sometimes to participate, at others to abominate, popular errors and prejudices; now they fly in the van of improving knowledge, and anon lurk in the rear of superstition. Still there is in it a preponderance, we think, on the side of human improvement; for the vices and follies of the privileged orders are frequently laid open with an unsparing hand; the follies, perhaps, chiefly,—but both are touched upon, and generally in a way highly creditable to the writers.

It may not, perhaps, be reasonable to expect much more from a work intended principally to discuss matters of mere literature; as, when it does diverge from its own particular path, it is generally into the regions of liberality. But it is the failing of human nature to be led by a little to desire more; we cannot be content at seeing writers shoot their spare arrows, as it were, at the pests of society; we could wish, while their hand is in, that they would deal their blows manfully, not merely irritate and enrage the enemy by playful skirmishes. The New Monthly writers affect to be fine gentlemen: that is their failing, and it is a very sad one for their readers; for nobody could expect a fine gentleman to be in earnest about any thing. What! a man who dines with this Lord, and that Marquis, and a hundred ladies of some literary consequence, to be serious? The thing is preposterous. If, however, they could be prevailed upon to be sincere with their readers, and own the truth, that they

were as little familiar with Lords as most honest people, there would result this great advantage: they might speak the truth without any disparagement to their supposed acquaintances, and be far more amusing into the bargain. As it is, no one will look into the New Monthly for instruction in politics or the art of thinking; though it might in reality prove as useful oftentimes in exercising our patience, a great necessary for acquiring truth, as Euclid's Elements themselves. But, to judge by our most popular books, it is quite clear that the present age is by no means deficient in the article of *patience;* and it will be well for the writers in question if any method can be discovered of rendering it an hereditary virtue, to be transmitted down to the latest posterity.

A great deal more might be said upon this head: but it may be as well not to say all we could, lest our space admonish us to stop before we have even seen the faces of half our topics.

In the division of the New Monthly more especially connected with literature, Mr. Campbell's Lectures on Poetry occupy a principal position. In those Lectures the writer may be supposed to have yielded up his mind to his favourite pursuit, being himself a poet of very considerable genius; and consequently to have looked much farther than was possible for the uninitiated, into the secret springs and causes of poetry. It does not follow, however, because a man may be able to seize, as he goes along the course of nature, the flowers of the imagination and fancy, and dispose them artfully and pleasingly, that therefore he is the fittest person to explain the principles which produced them, and the nature of the soil wherein they grew. It is indeed rarely that we find high imaginative powers united to a disposition for patient research and keen philosophical discernment: not that their co-existence in the same person has never been known to take place, or is altogether improbable; but the union being seldom found, is not to be looked for. Poets, indeed, may very well dispense with critical reputation; their characters are full and perfect without it; but if they will hazard the Muse's buckler in the noisy arena of criticism, they must come with minds prepared for rude thrusts and great deficiency of compliment. To speak candidly of Mr. Campbell, then, he has added nothing to our knowledge of poetry; he has much taste, but none of that piercing energy which tosses off the loading accessories of a subject, and gets at once to its core and bare first principles. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than his notions of poetry considered in the abstract. It may be, that nothing clear and determinate respecting its original elements is within the competence of humanity; but if so, a writer's meditations ought to discover so much to him; in which case it ought to be his care to say nothing. A man's faculties will always tell him, if he will listen to them, whether they view intellectual objects sufficiently close to discern their differences and properties, or only through the mist and uncertainty of great distance, in which all tints are blended and softened down into one pleasing but obscure hue. Most writers on poetry appear to be in the latter predicament, and only guess what lies beyond a mountain, the vantage ground of whose top their minds have never stood on; and it cannot be denied that Mr. Campbell forms no exception to the general rule. As soon however as we escape his generalities, there is a sensible difference for the better; we have before us a beautiful and easy shore, and our guide appears to be no novice in the topography of the country. This task, to be sure, is in-

finitely less difficult than developing the principles of so abstruse an art, and requires only taste and acuteness of observation; whereas, to explain as it should be explained, the nature of poetry, would demand a mind of the very first order, employed in perpetual meditation on that most difficult and splendid of all the arts of man.

But let us not be ungrateful to this writer for what he has done; he saw the prevailing taste verging towards the lawless and the marvellous, and thought most judiciously that the best antidote to this, was to direct a spirited retrospect once more upon the models of ancient art. He may have attached too much importance perhaps to certain biblical questions, which no soul at present except the Germans thinks worth discussing; but for this there are many excuses, and thinking our readers will readily forgive our passing the matter over, we proceed.

To criticism, the New Monthly has perhaps a more decided leaning than any other Magazine. It is a good feature. But this question arises—Is it possible, in the narrow space which the struggle after variety leaves for criticism, to enter into a proper analysis of any book deserving the attention of the critic? We think it is, and can point to *one* article in this Magazine which will bear us out—it is the one on the political works of Macchiavelli. The critic in that instance possessed the first requisite for performing his business well; he knew what he was writing about; and accordingly informed the reader what he was to expect in the work under consideration. Extracts are in general poor things, and it is a sad book indeed that can be judged of by extracts; for they serve at best but to show the stuff of which it is composed, not the masterly management and high art of the author. In a short critique, therefore, if we observe the critic inclined "to let the author speak for himself," as they say, when about to introduce some limb of his work torn at random from the body, we may be sure it arises from the critic's inability, in nine cases out of ten, to say a word or two of good sense in his stead. He would not let the reader witness his shame, but his strength while writing totters beneath the weight of his burden, and becoming ill-natured through fatigue and inability to bear it into the recesses of his mind, he tosses it down in the way, and like a weary pedlar, takes out the first piece that comes to hand as a specimen of his pack. This, we fear, applies in some degree, to the reviewers in the New Monthly, although they seem upon the whole to be freer from the vice of inability than many of their contemporaries and rivals. A good writer would certainly have less to fear in their hands than in those of almost any we could mention; chiefly perhaps on account of their brevity, for they quickly perceive there is no room for them to talk nonsense in. They therefore come at once to the point, and take their colour from their author. Exceptions, we allow, the reader may find in this Magazine; but so much may be said for the majority of its criticisms.

It is sometimes said that books should be judged of in relation to their aim; that is, the question ought to be, not whether in reality the book be a good book, but merely whether it does or does not reach the end aimed at by the author. But it will in a moment be seen that this is true only inasmuch as it is a work of art, considered independently of its effects, either upon taste or morals. An obscene or immoral book may be admirably adapted to answer the ends of the author; so far, and considered as a work of art, it is a fine production. But the question next

arising, is, how far is this end a matter of praise or blame? And here the critic will be justified in condemning *in toto*, what, if men had no passions to be wrought to evil, he might praise for the skilfulness of its execution. If, in time of peace, and without any just provocation, a man shoot another in the eye with an arrow, the person would not praise him for his skilfulness in archery, but would think him to be, if he took aim, far more mischievous and ill-disposed than if it occurred by chance.

To apply this: In going through the numbers of the New Monthly, we have asked ourselves from time to time, what is the aim of this publication. It imitates, in some degree, the system of cookery attributed to the French; which, far from suffering things to go to the table with the flavours bestowed upon them by nature, is principally excellent in disguising simple tastes in a profusion of sauces and spices. And as this system of cookery is put in practice for the pleasure of appetites not sufficiently keen to be stimulated by plain victuals, or mere hunger; so it appeared to us that the New Monthly was adapted for those minds that would turn away in listlessness from productions of greater energy and simplicity; and, rather than digest them, remain without any intellectual refreshment at all. But fashionable people do not eat because they are hungry, or read because they are in want of knowledge; but simply because they do not know what else to do with their time. With them, reading, therefore, is an amusement; and literary men chiefly valued for their powers of affording it with as little labour as possible to the persons amused. And what could possibly do this so well as a Magazine, light, airy, miscellaneous; able and willing to excite laughter at any body and every body's expense—not excepting the gentle authors themselves? Among people of quality, nothing is so amusing as scandal; but it is, unfortunately, an article which most commonly cannot be served up by the press in retail; they must take it in the gross, if they will persist in enjoying it: that is, (for though we love metaphor, we love still more to be understood,) the laws will not allow individuals to be exhibited, by name, in caricature for the delight of the idle; but it takes no care of ranks and orders of men. For here,

> ——— Satire like a wild goose flies
> Unclaimed of any man.

Mankind may be divided into two classes: those who love and can afford to be idle; and those who would be idle if they could. The latter have ever been obnoxious to the ridicule of the former; and never more so, than when, escaping for a moment from the trammels of business, they have shewn a disposition to be as idle as their *betters;* that is, as those who are good for nothing. The fact is, every body, whether idle or not, knows that there is a certain quantity of labour to be performed, in order that the machine of society may go on smoothly and easily; and those who have been accustomed to stand by, with their hands in their pockets, while their brethren are employed in picking up the stones, and levelling the banks and hindrances, which might obstruct the wheels of this old shattered carriage, called human society, these people, we say, are vastly terrified if they see them lift up their heads for a moment, the old affair still going on at a tremendous rate, lest they should be expected

> ——— to bear the logs the while!

It is "their cue," therefore, when they see any one evince a desire to pause for breath, to laugh at him for a silly knave, who has neither taste nor knowledge to be idle after their fashion.

The reader will better understand what we mean, when we refer him to that portion of the New Monthly, in which the amusements and relaxations of the citizens of London are made an everlasting butt for the shafts of false wit, and most ineffectual satire. It is not at all unlikely that the authors of these things desire to pass for persons of quality; and it may be that one or two of them has been at a race-course or boxing-ring in the company of some bankrupt-lord: at all events they have *one* peculiarity of nobility; they are as dull and prosing as the best of them; and, what is still worse, are not contented to be dull in prose, but hitch most lame witticisms in most limping rhymes, and smile over it, and call it POETRY.[1]

It seems, therefore, that the *aim* of the New Monthly is *to amuse.* Now amusement, we all know, is generally something that requires less intense or less constant exertion than labour; and as the discovery of truth, or even the creating a desire to search after it, is very laborious; and the combating of prejudices, errors, and false tastes, not less so; it is certain that neither the one nor the other can enter more than incidentally into the means used by this publication to accomplish its end. Notwithstanding, we sometimes find its contributors, weary of this perpetual vivacity, assume a serious and even passionate tone; fanned probably into warmth by the air of antiquity breathing over their classical studies. In these cases, we have observed the difference between trifling with literature, and coming to her as to the Goddess of our idolatry: in the one, with heart closed and head made dizzy by affectation, the votary approaches in a mist, that hides the majesty of the object before him from his view, and offers his paltry incense to a power that averts her visage, and disdains his worship: in the other, the adorer is drawn along by the secret force of inspiration; his heart elate, his soul on fire; and what he offers up, are his passions, his hopes, his love, his longing after immortality! The result is answerable.

Not that we are any enemies to gaiety and wit; we only object to living continually upon such light fare. We love in a periodical to pass

From grave to gay, from lively to severe.

But it seems there were certain Magazines, formerly very popular in this metropolis, that abominated every thing like wit, and were uniformly heavy and *useful*, as it is called. As a counterpart to these, the present race of periodicals profess to have sprung up; and intend, we presume, to be as uniformly light and *useless*. They lead us into antitheses against our inclination; but let it pass. We see only one objection to this mode of proceeding; it will create a middle sort, which may chance to bear away the palm from both. The manner of saying things is a great deal; but one should be quite sure, before he suffers *that* to occupy his serious thoughts, that he really has something to say. Those who deal in mere

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[1] We have no room for specimens of this *poetry;* but let the reader turn to "Mrs. Dobbs at home;" "London Lyrics;" "The Court of Aldermen;" "Peter Pindarics;" &c.; and for *prose satire* (prose *par eminence!*) he will find it at every turn.

vivacity and smartness, are apt to lose a great portion of their sprightliness, if forced at any time to encounter reason and argument; those qualities upon which they prided themselves, then sink into pertness and ill-manners; and calm logic or passionate eloquence, divesting them of their self-possession, turns back their stream of witticisms upon themselves, and overturns in a moment, what they had been years in building up. There are writers of genuine talent who now and then contribute to the New Monthly: a greater number, we think, than to any publication of the same class; these give it a character; these cause it to be read, and occasionally to be admired; and if these were multiplied, if their articles were longer and more frequent, in spite of its frivolity, it would be a very pleasing work. As it is, (though certainly it is the first periodical of its kind,) this can only now and then be said of it; and that, too, when the spirit of the publication is stifled by foreign influence.

To conclude: the New Monthly is more valuable upon the whole than any similar publication; and, bating a few dull articles now and then, is pre-eminently what it professes to be,—light, lively, and amusing. The few articles it gives on serious subjects are valuable; such as the ones on West Indian Slavery, the Austrian Emperor *against* Lord Holland, Lady Morgan, &c. which appeared in late Numbers; and some that have occasionally appeared in previous volumes. But the reader must look upon it chiefly as sprightly literary chit-chat, capable of affording a pleasant relaxation from the severity of study or the pressure of business; as such it may be useful to persons of almost all classes, and may help the thinking man to form an estimate of the taste of the times.

THE HARVEST MORNING.

Now warm beneath the village eaves
 The sparrow sleeps, and all is still,
Except the trembling aspen leaves,
 And bubble of the rill:
The unwearied cat, if on the watch,
The rustling mouse amid the thatch
Might hear far off, a calm so deep
Has wrapped the weary world in sleep!

But hark! the early cock-crow breaks
 The charm of night; the reaper hears,
And, surly, roused unwilling, wreaks
 His wrath on heedless ears;
For still the cock renews his peal,
Sharp as if Nature's commonweal
Through rustic sloth were threatened harm,
And he, its guardian, felt alarm.

The clowns are up! and many a joke
 Upon some lagging hind goes round,
Whom Morpheus with a heavier yoke
 Of pleasing slumber bound;

Then blithe afield they take their way,
Sleep's remnants shaking off in play,
While darkness yet o'erveils the view
Of hill and valley steeped in dew.

And yet a consciousness of day
  Pervades the landscape all around,
A tinge of softly pleasing gray,
  A sweetly creeping sound!
But still the morning star is bright,
And boldly throws his golden light
Along the front serene of heaven,
Where myriads more the heart enliven.

The earth, awaked by gentle airs,
  Moist fragrance from her tresses throws,
And every scent its edge repairs,
  And emulates the rose
Of spring, which proudly tosses wide
Its odours on the gushing tide
Of air, that wafts along the meads,
Where fairies count their matin-beads.

And last, but not least sweet, the song
  Of birds throughout the vale is heard,
In rapturous cadence borne along
  The pearl-besprinkled sward!
No little head beneath the wing,
For golden visions slumbering,
Remains, the scent of ripened corn
Awakes them as about 'tis borne.

And man the general bliss partakes,
  And feels his tranquil bosom swell
With young delight, as o'er the lakes
He hears the shepherd's bell,
And sees the Titan's saffron ray
Beat bright upon the mountain way,
Tinging the streams with amber light,
And putting Night's pale mists to flight.

Poetic dreams of other days,
  Sweet fables of the elder time,
His soul's thick-springing fancies raise,
  And stamp his hopes sublime!
He sees the day-dispensing God
Ascend the path Apollo trod,
Nor wonders that the Greek adored
The bearded Magian's glorious Lord.

BION.

HISTORICAL ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND PROBABLE RESULTS OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE ENGLISH IN INDIA.

From the French of Mons. J. B. Say.[1]

It seems to me that the inhabitants of the Continent of Europe entertain very generally the most erroneous notions respecting the power of the English in the East Indies. They frequently inquire, what is the origin of this power; by whom is it exercised; is it the East India Company that governs; is it the military authority, or the government, in fact, of the mother country? It appears to be firmly believed that this dominion is the principal source from which the English nation derives its opulence. Even those Governments whose interest it is to possess the most correct ideas on questions of political economy, partake, in this instance, of the opinions of the vulgar. They persuade themselves that the people of India are sinking to the earth beneath the British yoke, and that, to overturn so odious and precarious a power, it were sufficient to appear in a warlike manner in that country: Bonaparte wished to march by the way of Egypt for their emancipation; and the cabinet of St. Petersburgh has twenty times contemplated the project of reaching Bengal by the banks of the Caspian.

I should esteem myself happy could I destroy these illusions, if they are to be pursued at the expense of the lives and treasures of European nations; *quidquid delirant reges*, &c. Besides, is it not matter of wonder to see a company of merchants become the sovereigns of a country five or six times larger than Great Britain, possessing a population of forty millions according to some, and according to others, of seventy millions?[2] Even though this sovereignty were merely nominal; though the Hindoos were the only persons deriving benefit from it, *in spite of the Company*; though this Company itself were unequal to its affairs, and in no condition to reimburse the funds advanced by its stockholders and creditors, still ought we with the greater earnestness to endeavour to know the truth on this head, and to comprehend an order of things hitherto unexampled in the annals of the world; *and which probably is about to undergo important changes.*

The first privilege for trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope, was granted to a company of merchants by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. Its capital, formed from shares of fifty pounds each, did not amount to 72,000 pounds sterling. During the protectorate of Cromwell in 1655, the privilege was suspended, and the commerce of India, at that period

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[1] We received the original Essay of Mons. Say, during the month preceding our last publication, as stated in the announcement of our last Number. From that Essay, a Translation was immediately prepared for publication in our pages. It has since, however, appeared in a separate pamphlet in English, published by Messrs. Treuttel and Würtz. But the name of M. Say, and the importance of the subject, justify our adhering to the resolution originally formed, of inserting the Essay entire, with a few notes appended, where the subject appears to us to require them.

[2] From the latest accounts it appears that the population of British India exceeds eighty millions.

an independent empire governed by Aurungzebe, was free to every Englishman; but in three years the privilege was re-established, and was continued to the year 1689. At that period (that is, one year after the revolution, which for the second time drove the Stuart family from the throne of England), William's ministers, pressed by financial embarrassments, listened to the propositions of a new company, which, as the price of the privilege which they demanded and obtained, offered to the Government the loan of 2,000,000*l.* sterling, at eight per cent. What characterizes this last grant, is its being given by Act of Parliament, and its confirming those privileges accorded to the Company by preceding charters, of forming and possessing plantations and factories, and of erecting fortifications to defend them. Little did they then suspect that they were laying the foundations of a vast empire! When a people possesses fortified places, troops are required to garrison them; they must resist aggressions, conclude alliances and treaties; and, in fact, from the year 1698, these characteristics of sovereignty were granted to the agents of the Company; but, by a restriction which marks the spirit of the times, they were only permitted to make war or peace with such princes as were not Christians.

Until then the Company had been upon the same footing in Hindoostan as the Nabobs, Rajahs, Khans, and other petty princes, gradually become independent of the Mogul, Tartar, and Persian sovereigns, who, at various epochs, had invaded these vast and beautiful regions.

From this period, the privilege of the Company was renewed from time to time, with all those formalities which, in England, always accompany the promulgation of laws. Sometimes it was stipulated that the charter should be understood to last until it was formally revoked, but that the Company should be informed three years before such revocation; at other times, a certain number of years was stated as the term of its duration, at the end of which it was again continued, the Company being only compelled to make certain sacrifices, which it generally contrived to render merely nominal.

Up to the year 1753, the territorial possessions of the Company and its Indian sovereignty, extended only over a few cities, or rather forts, such as Madras, intended to protect a small surrounding territory. But about that time Dupleix, who commanded the French in India, a daring, able, and unscrupulous man, gave the first loose to that ambition, which, if it did not excuse the complexion assumed by that of the English, served at least as a pretext for its development. Madras, at that time the principal establishment in India, had capitulated to a handful of French soldiers: Dupleix infringed the articles of capitulation, declared himself the ally of an Indian prince then at war with another, and taught the English that Macchiavellian policy, of intermeddling in all the wars of the native princes, to destroy one by the other, from which they afterwards drew so many advantages. On all occasions they were the declared enemies of those who were protected by the French. Lord Clive, a man of considerable ability, commanded the forces of the Company about the middle of the last century: he succeeded in subduing not only the French but the Hindoos also who were protected by them; and, as nations seldom check themselves in the midst of success, the English were driven forward in the career of conquest. Their power, thrown into the balance in all quarrels which arose, generally determined their issue in favour

of such princes as they protected. They shared the spoils of the vanquished; and the conqueror, owing them his crown, became their vassal, until such time as they were enabled to strip him of his dominions in his turn.

Tippoo-Sahib, sultan of Mysore, the last native prince whose power they had reason to fear, fell beneath the ruins of Seringapatam, his capital, when it was taken by assault in 1799; and now the power of the Company extends along the course of the Ganges beyond Delhi; over the whole peninsula of India, if we except a few points on the Malabar coast, still subject to the Portuguese, or to petty Musulman princes; certain provinces possessed by the Mahrattas, and the places where formerly stood Pondicherry and Chandernagore, which were given up to the French in 1814; and which serve no purpose, unless it be to conceal the commerce carried on by French privateers with the British possessions.

On the first opportunity these strips of territory would fall into the power of the English Company, which is well aware that whenever the English Government may authorize it, they may be taken possession of in a moment. It is mistress of all the remainder; and its dominion may be considered as confirmed from the Indus on the west to the Burrampooter on the east; that is, from countries that border on Persia, to regions which form the frontiers of China; and from south to north between the Indian seas and the mountains of Tibet. Not that the English or their agents actually administer the affairs of this vast extent of country. It is divided into a great number of principalities, governed under different titles by Nabobs, Rajahs, or other petty princes, who all, directly or indirectly, hold their authority of the English, and rule according to their good pleasure. They may be considered, as fiscal agents, who give up to the Company a portion of the tribute which they extort from their subjects. When they appear not sufficiently submissive, others are put in their place. The Company has however in its own hands the actual administration of several large provinces, in which it maintains sufficient forces to make itself respected. Its capital is Calcutta; where all those establishments that commonly surround the seat of government are seen; numerous civil, military, and judicial functionaries, and many rich Europeans, who on their own account have commercial relations with other countries both in Asia and Europe. The Europeans of that city commonly reside in sumptuous buildings, and display a magnificence truly Asiatic. They imitate, nay surpass, the rich Hindoos in luxury. The population of Calcutta amounts, it is said, to about six or seven hundred thousand; the greater part Hindoos, weavers and little merchants, who live in small cottages. Add to these, servants and bearers of palankeens, who are very numerous, and, being sober, cost little to their employers.

Such is the situation of the Company in India. But in its relations with the mother country, it can only be considered as an intermediary of the English Government over that part of the world. In proportion as it has extended its authority and its imports, the Government has always shared in the increase, although the Company has never failed to pay whatever troops the Government has placed at its disposal. It considers itself invested with the rights of sovereignty, and consequently of raising taxes, although for a time it gives up the exercise of those rights to the

Company. Since 1767, when the conquests of Lord Clive had changed a commercial company into a political power, it was agreed the Company should pay 400,000*l.* sterling annually to the Government; but these payments have been but imperfectly realized, under pretence that the Company had incurred great expense in reducing the native princes; so that in 1773, far from being able to pay any portion of the revenue collected in India, it was compelled to borrow of the Government, or rather of the nation under the guarantee of Government, 1,400,000*l.* sterling. In 1785, it demanded a certain time to pay off the custom-house dues then owing to the Treasury, which amounted to considerable sums. And in 1812, the Government again borrowed for the use of the Company, about 3,680,000*l.* sterling.

All these embarrassments, and other causes into which it is useless to enter, have gradually placed the Company in entire dependence on the Ministry. Its Directors, assembled at London, seem to administer by their servants the dominions of the Company, because they pay its agents; but in 1784, the minister obtained leave of the Parliament to erect a permanent council bearing the name of the Board of Control, composed generally of the Prime Minister and his creatures. With this council the Directors are compelled to concert respecting all appointments to places of high trust, as well as all operations civil and military. It is this Board, therefore, which governs in reality.[1] The independence of the Directors is reduced to what concerns mere commercial matters. The nomination to all offices as well in Europe as in Asia, or the confirmation of all such nominations, adds considerably to the means of influence and corruption possessed by the Crown. It is estimated that the Company actually maintains in India, 15,000 civil agents, of which 3,000 are European; 160,000 soldiers and officers, of whom 20,000 are Europeans, and 25,000 sailors; which altogether amount to 200,000.

It now remains to discover what advantage the East India Company or the mother country have derived or will derive from the possession of this colony. And first, taking as our guide the latest and best calculations, we find that in 1798, in spite of four years' peace, the revenue of British India amounted to no more than 8,040,000*l.* sterling. The expenses, including the interest of the debt, amounted in the same year to 8,075,000*l.* sterling; making an excess of expenditure of 35,000*l.* Under the government of Lord Wellesley, the evil was prodigiously increased, in spite of the subsidies which he extorted, and the territory which he added to the British possessions. When his administration

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[1] To the English reader, it can hardly be necessary to state that this is an error. The Board of Control cares only to secure its share of the patronage: and when a Governor is to be appointed, as in the case of Mr. Lushington and Sir John Malcolm, they will fight a hard battle to carry their point for their favourite; but in all other matters, if the Directors yield to them in this, the India Company may do what they please; and, instead of a check to their abuses, may be sure to find an encouragement to further oppressions in the assenting conduct of the Board of Control. The very name is in disuse at the India House, both in their correspondence and conversation; and it is now the fashion to say, the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India. If any one should desire to see how little the whole body really does, we would advise him to call any day of the week at what is called the India Board, in Cannon-row, Westminster; and he will find an immense building, with halls and porters, and passages and private rooms, in abundance: but the silence and desertion that every where prevails, speaks volumes as to the total uselessness of its existence.

terminated, in 1806, the revenue amounted to nearly 15,400,000*l.* sterling; the expenditure, still including the interest of the debt, to nearly 17,680,000*l.* making a deficit of upwards of 2,280,000*l.* sterling. It is a question among English political economists, to know whether the increasing *deficit* in the finances of the Company arises from the expenses of its government, or losses occasioned by the nature of its commerce. These latter are more difficult to be understood, because no account of them is furnished to the Board of Control. Nevertheless, it is thought that the commerce with China produces considerable gain, but still insufficient to balance the losses sustained in its other branches. One proof of this is, that when the Company presented an address to Parliament in 1808, craving its assistance, the Directors laid before them an estimate of all the imports and exports from 1797 to 1807. This estimate proves that the exports exceeded the imports by nearly 5,680,000*l.* sterling, in eleven years; or a deficit of about 440,000*l.* annually, which added to its other losses, amounts to 2,720,000*l.* yearly loss.

These calculations are extracted from Adam Smith, from Colquhoun, and from a most excellent work on the National Debt by Robert Hamilton; but above all, from Mr. Mill's excellent History of British India, published in 1817.

After this exposure, it will not appear surprising that the East India Company is so prodigiously in debt, both in India and Europe; especially as, in spite of its losses, it has never ceased to pay to its stockholders a dividend of 10½ per cent. In 1805, it confessed a debt, amounting to 6,000,000*l.* in England, and about 25,600,000*l.* in India; making a total of nearly 31,600,000*l.* sterling. But I observe that it fixed the amount of this debt only after having deducted certain sums upon which it considered itself in a condition to reckon with certainty. Now, if these sums are nothing more than bad debts which it is impossible should ever be paid, they cannot be placed in the balance to diminish their actual debt. What are we to think, for instance, of the value of forts, warehouses, magazines, &c. which it reckons in its actual stock? For, besides that such things would not be worth to any other person, what they cost the Company, which formed the basis of their valuation, they are not, in the hands of a government, articles of disposable value, as they might be in those of an individual. When an individual, upon an estate worth a hundred thousand crowns, makes improvements to the amount of fifty thousand crowns, he may flatter himself on account of the money he has laid out, that he shall sell the land for one hundred and fifty thousand crowns. The improvements are alienable, because the estate is. But a government has only the usu-fruit of its possessions. When they pass to the government that succeeds it, the latter makes no account to the former for the improvements, or public establishments, it thought proper to make. These establishments are thought to have been made for the benefit of the public; they continue to pay to the public the interest of the sums laid out in their erection, by the services they render it. The new government is fully authorized to say to that which preceded it, "It is not you; it is those whose affairs you administered, that furnished the funds for these establishments; you owe them the enjoyment of them; we do nothing more than execute your obligations; we are not to pay you the principal of a fund for which we pay others the interest."

Other debts of the Company are not more capable of being realized than the ones we have mentioned. For example: the Company reckons in its active stock about 1,720,000*l.* laid out in its expedition to Egypt, when Bonaparte was master of that country. Now this debt was incurred much more for the sake of the Company than for that of the English Government, who does not acknowledge the debt. The Government of Great Britain would have more reason to demand from the Company the defraying of the expense incurred by Nelson's fleet, and the expedition which wrested Egypt from the French. At least, these pretensions destroy each other.

Such, also, is the sum of 2,000,000*l.* due to the Company from the Nabob of Arcot, and the Rajah of Tanjore; these princes will not be much inclined to pay these debts to the Company, which has since conquered their country, and deprived them of all the means of payment. Now all these debts amout at least to 16,000,000*l.* sterling! which, not being to be deducted, as the Company pretends, leaves the principal of this debt nearly 48,000,000*l.* sterling.

We are, therefore, authorized to consider the East India Company as a sovereign and commercial association, which, gaining nothing, neither by its sovereignty nor its commerce, is reduced to borrow large sums annually, in order to distribute to its stockholders an appearance of profit.

Such are the real results, founded on facts and avowed calculations, of this famous sovereignty of the English in India. The Company loses by it, unless it means to shift all losses upon its creditors. The Government loses by it, in the first place, the sums advanced, the loans it is compelled to afford the Company, or at least guarantee; added to the very considerable expense of the colonial establishments intended to protect the English in Asia; viz. those of the Island of St. Helena, of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the Mauritius. According to Lord Valentia, that of the Cape alone costs about 260,000*l.* sterling annually. Excepting vanity, what advantage does England gain by all these losses? that is, what profits does it derive from the establishment of its Company and sovereignty in India? Are they the dividends paid to the stockholders? But supposing they were paid, not from loans, but altogether from profits realized, is it to be imagined that *free merchants,* who would carry on the trade if the Company did not exist, would not realize any profits on the merchandise of the East, which they would furnish to England and the other nations of Europe? It is more than probable that, all things balanced, they would derive somewhat more than $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the funds they would employ in this commerce. This profit, therefore, is not to be considered as arising from the establishment of the Company. If the Company did not exist, it could not borrow wherewith to pay its dividend; and the equivalent of this dividend would, nevertheless, be received by English merchants.[1]

The same calculation must be applied to the profits made by the English

[1] A company that borrows a million to portion out amongst its stockholders, withdraws so much from the capital of the country; that is, from sums which have been accumulated, and might be employed in forwarding industrious undertakings; and this million is employed by those stockholders who receive it, as a portion of their income, in expenses which produce nothing. It is, therefore, to be accounted mere waste, similar to that of which a prodigal individual is guilty who gradually encroaches upon the principal of his fortune to pay the interest of his debts.

manufacturers of goods sent by the Company to India. Supposing the Company were suppressed, free traders would transport the same merchandise to India, and allow to manufacturers the same profits. These profits, therefore, in no way depend upon the establishment of the Company, or the losses which it sustains. In like manner also must we reason respecting the merchandise of India, supplied by the English to the other European nations. Were the Company annihilated, these supplies would not be the less wanting. So likewise in regard to the custom-house dues, said to be paid by the Company on its importations. The only difference which a monopoly introduces into this part of the business is this, the Company constantly owes a portion of these dues, which it will never pay; whereas individuals would always discharge such dues immediately, because to them the Custom-house gives no credit.

To sum up all, it is pretended that the fortunes accumulated by individuals employed, whether justly or not, more than counterbalance the losses sustained by the Company, and the nation which supports it; and in truth, if there were no Company, if there were no British sovereignty in India, there would be no persons employed in that country. It may be said, indeed, that, independently of the principals, a free trade would have its agents; but, I speak candidly, their gains would be small compared with those of the Company. This indemnification therefore is real. The Company loses yearly, or causes the English nation to lose, nearly two millions and a half sterling, more or less; but it enables its agents to gain, in the same time, somewhat more, probably, than half a million. This, therefore, is the amount of what is added to the riches of England by its famous East India Company; without its assistance, England would not purchase an annual gain of half a million, with an annual loss of two millions and a half!

Even of this half million of gain, however, we must reckon only that portion which is brought from India, without requiring any return; that is, fortunes transmitted to England to be there placed at interest; for as to what is received and spent in India, it adds not one farthing to the wealth of England.

I may here observe, that those offices which allow those who fill them to accumulate large fortunes, to be transmitted to England, are not numerous in India; for one truly lucrative, there are a hundred producing but middling gain, which is spent in the country itself. Warren Hastings, it is true, carried home with him immense sums, with which he purchased attestations of innocence from the English Court, and the venal majorities of the two Houses of Parliament; but Warren Hastings had been Governor-General for thirteen years; and during his reign, the most favourable opportunities had occurred of stripping the native princes, and committing extortions on the people. Besides, (setting aside all considerations of pure morality and just policy, which agree but ill with such shameful actions as these,) even should the sums carried home to England by individuals, equal the two millions and a half of loss, which, we have seen, that England must set down to the account of its Indian sovereignty, it is a fine piece of management to extract from the coffers of the state, that is, of the nation, splendid fortunes for individuals to consume at their ease in their dwellings. Are there discoverable in such conduct any seeds of national greatness?

In order to discover the origin of a nation's riches, we must not con-

sider its external relations; it must be sought for in the bosom of the nation itself. It is the active and judicious industry of the English; it is the order and economy of their principal adventurers; it is the protection they always find in equal laws—that are the mines from whence they have derived their treasures;[2] and these mines are within the reach of all nations.

It may be asked, what will be the fate of the British power in India? To suppose oneself in a condition to give a positive reply to such a question, would, doubtless, argue extreme temerity. No one can penetrate the darkness of the future; but we may look upon certain events as more, and certain others as less, probable, and on some as altogether impossible. On each renewal of the charter, the British Government and the Company, through a confused instinct of their position and interests, have gradually tended towards the emancipation of commerce, and the substitution of the sovereignty of the State in place of that of the Company. The last charter, dated 1813, which is to expire in 1834, states, that by procuring a license from the Company, every British subject may trade to India. This license they cannot refuse; and should they make any difficulty, the Board of Control would decide.[3] The China trade only has been exclusively reserved to the Company.

We see, therefore, that the Indian trade, properly so called, is no longer in its possession, and that even the sovereignty is slipping from its hands. It has more influence in the China trade, which is profitable, because tea, and certain kinds of silk and nankeen, can be obtained only in that country; which compels the English buyers to lie at the mercy of the Company: but very shortly none but the English will purchase from it the merchandise of Canton; for other merchants, the Americans particularly, will be able to furnish them to other nations at a cheaper rate. The English themselves will become tired of paying extravagant prices for these commodities; and to augment the product of the customs, the Government, in all probability, will throw down this last retreat of monopoly. I should not be surprised if, at the expiration of the charter, in 1834, it were no more renewed; and if India were governed by a Viceroy, and the Company's debt added to that of the nation.

In that case, the Company might continue to traffic, in concurrence with the rest of the nation, as a mere commercial association, and would probably crumble to pieces by degrees, for want of being able to maintain a competition with free trade. If these events have not happened sooner it is because private interest, in this case, as in all others, has prolonged the duration of abuses. The function of Director of the East India Com-

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2 India, the very country of which M. Say writes, is a melancholy exception. This source of wealth, protection of property from known and equal laws, has there no existence, as far as the English settler in the country is concerned: for he may be turned out of his house and home, and all his property be broken up and destroyed, without his offending any known law, and without others suffering the same punishment for the same fault. What is condemned in one is rewarded in another; and none can know whether his turn of arbitrary punishment may not come next.

3 Here is another error. The Court can, and do refuse: and when application is made to the pretended Board of Control, to set aside the refusal which they are authorized to do, they play their cards into the Directors' hands, and confirm, instead of annulling, the refusal, and that too without assigning any reason whatever for so doing.

pany, is a place of great emolument, and one that gives an extensive patronage; that is, gives to those who hold it the privilege of nominating to various offices both in Europe and Asia, and many favours to bestow, a great part of which the Director reserves for himself and his family. The members of the Board of Control are also paid highly. On this account, interested men are willing to see the banks of the Ganges ravaged by oppression, the Company's debt daily increased, and the commerce of the nation obstructed in its movements.[4]

Nevertheless, since the superior functionaries of the Company, and the members of administration have begun to keep watch on each other; since terrible complaints have been heard in the House of Commons; since numerous publications have explained to the nation the real state of things, and the nature of its true interests, abuses have sensibly diminished. The British administration of those vast countries appears to have gained a new character. It has begun to protect property;[5] justice is equitably adiministered in all those provinces immediately under English rule;[6] and, appeals to the superior courts having been rendered easier, the Rajahs and tributary princes have been compelled to observe something like equity in their proceedings. A European police, repression of crime, and trial by jury are gradually introduced.[7] The English have absolutely renounced all pretensions to meddle with the prejudices of the Hindoos, or to attempt their conversion to Christianity.[8] They even prefer that they should remain attached to their own opinions. They are either Musulmans or disciples of Bramah. Now Islamism renders men resigned and docile; the religion of Bramah, by consecrating with inflexible rigour the institution of castes, is favourable to subordination.

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[4] This is a perfectly faithful picture, both of the fact and the reasons of the case:—but in what a degrading light does it exhibit the men who are eternally professing their love for their country, and their desire to improve mankind!

[5] Property is *not* safe under the English administration: nor can it ever be so, until the odious power of tearing a man from that property without trial, or even hearing, is abolished. The value of many descriptions of property depends entirely on its vigilant superintendence; and to remove, by violence, any man from such a property as this, is, in effect, to destroy the property itself. This, however, is the state of things in India.

[6] Justice is *not* impartially administered in the countries subject to English rule; and it is not too much to say, that under the existing system of the Zillah and Provincial Courts, it is quite impossible that it should be so. It was solemnly asserted, in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal, and has never been denied, that in the East India Company's Courts in India, justice was notoriously put up to auction, and sold to the highest bidder!

[7] The Trial by Jury existed in the "Pancheyt" of the Natives before the English were known in India, and is not so prevalent now as it was then. The Trial by Jury, as used by the English, is not only making no progress whatever among the Natives of India, but it is denied to the British themselves in all civil cases; and it therefore often happens, that a single Judge, highly subservient to the Government, will be called on, by his mere dictum, and without a Jury, to decide on questions of property between Government and individuals, to the amount of thousands of pounds sterling at once!

[8] This is not correct. The English take no pains whatever to improve the temporal condition of their unhappy subjects. They fleece them of all they can spare in this world, and delude the people of Europe with a show of being very attentive to their destination in the next. But they really care for nothing but gain; and, in their estimation, that is the best religion for their subjects, which enables them to be oppressed with the least probability of resistance; and to live on the smallest possible sum, so that the surplus may be the greater to be wrung from them for their Treasury.

The most perfect toleration, therefore, exists in British India; and if we add that peace reigns in those vast countries, formerly torn to pieces by the dissensions of a hundred despots; that industry is protected, and that every one may now enjoy the fruit of his labours and amass capital in security, we shall be compelled to acknowledge that the condition of Hindoostan has never been more happy.[9]

It has sometimes been said that this colony, like so many others, will one day render itself independent; but it has not been sufficiently considered that India is not, properly speaking, a colony; that is, the English have never driven out nor destroyed the aborigines.[10] The Hindoos still remain what they were under Aurungzebe; and probably are more numerous and industrious. They might, therefore, be masters of their own country, if they desired it.[11] What are forty-five thousand rulers,

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[9] It would be worth while to ask the Natives of India themselves about this. Sir John Malcolm says they are all discontented, and ripe for revolt. Mr. Russell presents a frightful picture of their misery; and we have reason to know, from the best possible evidence, that the Natives generally are so far from being happier now than at any former period, that there are not ten in a hundred who do not believe the contrary, whatever their fears may compel them, when asked, to express.

[10] It is by no means necessary, that the settlement of the English in India should lead to the immediate extermination of the Indians themselves, unless it be supposed, that when the English came among them, the country was already peopled up to the utmost capacity to bear, and that there was no room even to increase, either from within or without, the means of subsistence. A million of Englishmen might settle in India, and, instead of diminishing, they might, by improved government, cultivation, manufactures, &c. add a million to the native population also; and still prepare the means of subsistence for ten millions more. But, as every generation must die away and give place to another, is it not even desirable, on the score of happiness to the human race, that 100 millions of ignorant, superstitious, indolent, and enslaved beings, should be replaced by the same number of intelligent, reasonable, active, and free men? Is it better for humanity, that the United States of America should be peopled as it is; or that the Cherokees and Chickasaws should come back again, and let their wig-wams be erected on the ruins of the Capitol at Washington, and their dismal swamps replace the elegant and healthy squares of Philadelphia? Either the colonization of barbarous countries by civilized nations is a good or an evil. If it be a good, we ought immediately to encourage it in India;—if an evil, North America should give back her population to Great Britain—South America should pour her republican children into the lap of her bigoted and besotted mother, Spain—and India itself should yield up her train of English adventurers who go to drain all the wealth they can from the country, without leaving even a trace behind them of that which would cost them nothing but pleasure to impart, their arts, their sciences, and their intellectual attainments, by which alone they made their conquests and retained them.

[11] Such is the meaning of M. Say's words; but the English reader who shall seek for any such meaning in the translation just published, will be disappointed. It is possible that, as it conveys a persuasion of the power of the Hindoos to drive us out of the country, the translator may have been desirous of drowning the ideas in nonsense; for in another passage of sinister import he becomes at once ignorant of the French, and suppresses the sentiment. The reader shall judge. "Les Indous," says the author, "sont encore ce qu'ils étaient sous Aurengzebe; peut-être même plus industrieux et plus nombreux. *Ils seraient donc les maîtres de leur propre pays, pour peu qu'ils en eussent envie.*" No such thing! says the translator; but, beginning at *ils seraient, &c.* he renders it—"They were then masters of their own country, however little attachment they had to it"! This is what is called *translation.* In the other passage alluded to, the circumstance of Warren Hastings bribing the court and parliament is omitted, or lost in general assertion: the translator merely saying he expended part of his riches "in securing his acquittal."

absorbed in a population of seventy millions? But it is a mild and laborious population, which is very far from understanding how much national independence and good political institutions are capable of adding to the sum of each individual's happiness. The Asiatic people are like their cattle, who little think how possible it is to exist without masters; and when fortune sends them such as are tolerable, they are happy without knowing why: and suffer, when the contrary happens, without seeking to procure those guarantees which might ensure them a better condition.[12]

Should some foreign prince or usurper cause himself to be followed, through force or persuasion, by a certain number of partisans, these partisans would have fewer means of resisting the British forces and intrigues, than those princes who governed the country before the English, and who nevertheless were constrained to give way before the superiority of European tactics and English policy.

Even a European army would appear under great disadvantages in India. It would not, as has been pretended, find a people enraged against its rulers, to second its efforts.[13] The enemies the English had to contend with were rather the princes than the people of India; and there are no longer any independent princes. A European army could only be sent there by land; and let the slowness, expenses, and loss, which must necessarily attend the march of an army for such a distance be reckoned! Without counting up the nations it would have to combat on the way, what men, horses, and artillery, would there not be lost in burning sands, impassable marshes, bridgeless rivers, to attack on its arrival a well established power, defended by an army of 160,000 men, armed in the European manner, and in a condition to receive by sea all such reinforcements and ammunition it might stand in need of!

In the last place, should the British who are in India attempt to render themselves independent of the mother country, and to govern the country for themselves, where are their means of success? The British public in India is composed of about twenty thousand soldiers, as many agents of the Company, or of the Government (which is the same thing); and about four or five thousand independent persons, divided by immense distances from each other, and occupied in providing for their own private interests. The greater part of these Europeans have no other object than to return to Europe, to enjoy what they have acquired by industry or

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12 They are not so insensible of improving their condition as this. Individuals in India make as many efforts as those in Europe to change their poverty for riches; and when they succeed, they are as anxious to gratify every other desire, natural and artificial. Man is nearly the same every where: and, at all events, the application of new circumstances would give, even to Native Indians, that energy of which they are now supposed to be deficient.

13 Without disguising the difficulty of getting a foreign invading power into India, either by sea or land, it may be safely asserted, that whoever would give the Natives of India a greater share of the power and wealth which they ought to enjoy in the country of their fathers, would be received by them with open arms. The gratitude of a whole nation is never very strong: that of so mixed a people as the Indians must necessarily be extremely weak: added to which, their deficiency of that sense of gratitude, even as individuals, has been remarked by all who have lived among them. They would change their present rulers for better, with the same readiness as any servant in the country would quit the house of one master, where he was but poorly paid and meanly treated, for that of another, where his pay and consequence would both be largely augmented.

injustice, and by no means wish to close the path to this enjoyment. The partisans of the insurgents would consist of the mere remnants of the military and civil services, who might be willing to renounce their country, and fix themselves in India. The fidelity of the sepoys, disciplined and commanded by Europeans, would waver between the British or Europe and those of Asia, and the weakness caused by these divisions might open the eyes of the natives, and lead to their common expulsion; unless the forces sent out by the mother country should take advantage for themselves of the chances of success afforded by this dangerous disorganization.

All things being considered, the emancipation of India appears to be impossible;[14] but ought we to desire, for the interest of the human race, that the nations of Europe should cease to have any influence over Asia? Ought we not, on the contrary, to desire that that influence should continue to increase? Europe is no longer what it was in the times of Vasco de Gama and Albuquerque. It has reached that state in which Asia need no longer dread its dominion. What with its despots and its superstitions, Asia has no good institutions to lose, and may receive many good and useful ones from the Europeans.[15] The latter, on account of the enterprising genius that distinguishes them, and in consequence of the astonishing progress which they have made in every branch of human knowledge, are undoubtedly ordained by destiny to subjugate the world, as they have already subdued both continents of America. I do not say they will conquer it by force of arms: military preponderance is, and always must be, precarious and subject to accident; the Europeans will subdue the world by the inevitable ascendency of knowledge and institutions that operate without ceasing. They are now no longer necessitated to employ force against the original inhabitants of America. Asia will require more time, on account of its immense population, and the inert force which tenacious and immoveable manners oppose to every kind of innovation. But the constant action of principles is sure to triumph in the end. The religion of the Magi has given way to Islamism; that of Bramah has been stripped of half its dominions;[16] Islamism will decay in its turn—for every thing decays. Maritime communications

[14] We hope and believe this is not true. It would exceed the limits of a note to go into the whole argument; but we could not suffer it to pass without a dissent.

[15] This is undoubtedly true; but Mr. Adam assumes it as a peculiar merit, that the East India Company's Government have been especially cautious in maintaining these pernicious institutions of Asia, and abstaining from the introduction of those of Europe; and even the Edinburgh Review (in its last Number, in an article on Sir John Malcolm's Central India) joins the senseless cry against Innovation, and laments that we have done so much as we have done to encroach upon the wisdom of ancient days!

[16] With the exception of Ram Mohun Roy, and about fifty other intelligent Hindoos, who have emerged from the darkness of superstition by the force of reason alone, there is not, perhaps, one follower of Bramah less now than there was when the English first went to India: neither do the Mohammedans decrease more sensibly. The great agent by which both, however, would be made to disappear more rapidly than by any other, would be by the immediate and extensive Colonization of India by Englishmen. This is the "one thing needful," without which nothing of importance, in the way of benefit or improvement, will ever be done; and with it every thing may be expected. The Continent of America, though discovered but yesterday, (to speak comparatively,) is more powerful, more wealthy, more virtuous, and more happy, than the Continent of

become every day more easy. In our times, voyages to Bengal are performed with half the labour, and in half the time that they were in 1789. The other routes to the East will undoubtedly become shorter and more practicable. The emancipation of Greece will open the way to that of Egypt; and civilization gaining ground, will smooth the obstacles that stand in the way of the intercommunication of nations; for the more men are civilized, the more clearly do they perceive that it is their interest to have a free communication with each other. It is possible thence to foresee what this world will one day become; but time is a necessary element in all great revolutions.

JEAN BAPTISTE SAY.

STANZAS.

WEEP not for me, though I have seen
 The dream of boyhood fade;
Weep not for me, though I have seen
 The brightest turn to shade.
What though the memory of the past
 Should ever lour o'er me,
It were not just the curse should cast
 Its shadow over thee.

I would not in thy beaming eye
 One tear of woe should rest;
Nor that the echo of a sigh
 Should sear thy gentle breast.
'Tis not for thee, or such as thee,
 To meet the world's fierce hate;
To stand 'twixt me and misery,
 Or stay the bolt of fate.

The lash of spite, the sneer of scorn,
 The friendship false as hope can be,
Are sternly met, are proudly borne,
 Or hurled at those who gave them me.
But this my proud heart will not bear,
 Although to other feeling dead,
To see within thine eye a tear,
 And know for me, that tear is shed.

D.

Africa, which contained the Egyptians, the earliest civilized nation of which we have any record. And why? The one has been extensively colonized by a free people; the other has not: one is filled with freedom and intelligence throughout its whole extent; the other is fringed with petty despotisms all around its edge—from Algiers to the Cape of Good Hope—and its interior desolated by slavery in all its horrors. Let Asia be but colonized as America has been, and she will soon be as great, as virtuous, and as happy.

ON THE NEGLECT OF LIVING GENIUS.

"Genius is most honoured in the Bust."

It is a common complaint that genius, during its lifetime, is treated with slight regard, or even with manifest indifference; but that as soon as the grave has closed over it, mankind are as ready, as they were before slow, to crowd in with their tributes of homage and respect. They will encircle with no laurels the living head, but are always officious to plant a cypress over its tomb. They will weep "melodious tears" into the urn which contains the ashes of departed worth, and erect a splendid monument to its fame, but they will avert their eyes from its earthly sufferings, and allow it to languish in unparticipated grief. It is degraded now, to be glorified hereafter. Such is the language of common imputation. It is proposed in the following paper to examine the justice of these opinions, which, though generally taken for granted, we have long suspected to have in them more sympathy and feeling, than reason or truth. It is a charge which has been brought against mankind in nearly every age of literature; and if entirely just, is certainly a serious one. The question of its absolute truth has often presented itself to us, and we shall therefore proceed with a short inquiry into the causes, as well as, more particularly, the *extenuating* circumstances of the fact—that literary merit is seldom acknowledged or appreciated during the lifetime of its possessor. For a practice so general, and in periods of great literary refinement, it seems but natural to conclude there must be some important reasons. We do not pretend therefore to question the reality of the event; for the history of literature, and more particularly that of our own country, would abundantly establish it:—but assuming it as incontrovertible, we would only inquire how far it may be accounted for by a consideration of the nature of those causes which have produced it. There has ever been a great outcry raised by the friends and admirers of genius on this point; but the imputations have generally been made at random, attended with much violent and hasty feeling, and without any reference to those accompanying circumstances which might in a great degree have diminished the seriousness of the charge. We are among those who think that a mode of conduct in which men constantly agree, must, notwithstanding unfavourable appearances, have its foundation in nature. Upon this principle therefore, with all our enthusiasm for the cause of mind, we are compelled to think, that if during their lifetime, men of exalted genius have been treated with indifference and neglect, it must be attributed to causes emanating chiefly from themselves, and partly from the natural constitution of things. What these causes are we shall now see,—and if it can be shown that the fault is generally referrible to the complainants themselves, we imagine that a new and juster view of the argument will in consequence be taken.

In looking into the private lives of authors, one picture is uniformly presented to our sight. We behold them striving with, and surmounting, the greatest difficulties in the pursuit of their favourite studies. To an imaginative mind, their progress through life is embodied under various allegorical forms. They are seen in multitudes, like an army, scaling with daring foot and steady eye the citadel of Fame. But Death is the

great defender of the edifice, and most, ere they can reach the top, are by that giant hurled headlong from the battlements. Then again they appear like a vast assemblage of forms swimming in a dark and tempestuous ocean, but yet, amid the roar and raging of the elements, keeping their eyes firmly fixed upon one point—what is it? Over yon distant rock shines the moveless star of immortality. Now from these constant appearances of great minds struggling with the difficulties of life, it has been unfairly inferred, that those troubles have been superinduced upon them by the indifference with which the world has beheld their labours. But before we come to this conclusion, let us look a little into facts.

Unfortunately there appears to be in the natural construction of the intellectual character, independently of that indifference to amassing wealth which is perfectly consistent with it, a strong tendency to be indolent and careless in all affairs relating to worldly interests. Their impulse is too often, not only to fly the allurements of riches, but to rush wilfully into the arms of poverty. Who does not know that, give genius a thousand a year, and it will be in complete distress before the year has expired? In this view they seem like a sect of religionists who had taken for the substance of their creed, (in the Quaker style) the chapter in the New Testament, which directs us to have no thought for the morrow, and compares us to the "lilies of the field." And they certainly have given it a literal interpretation in their practice if not in their belief. It has been remarked that the poets of our own country furnish the most melancholy examples. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to turn to Dr. Johnson's Lives, which contain relations of human wretchedness seldom surpassed in the history of mankind. We will however advert to a few of them. There is one that occurs to our recollection, which most particularly illustrates the above opinion—that the misery of genius is generally self-created. We need only mention the name of Richard Savage. Every advantage which patronage and liberality could afford, was repeatedly in his possession. But had his opportunities of independence and comfort been fifty times as great, there is little doubt but that they would have been equally neglected. His life and end were miserable; and justly claim from the lovers of genius the "tribute of a tear." But our sympathy should stop here; and we ought not to be led by our excited enthusiasm to reprobate the public for what the public had no hand in producing. Chatterton and Dermody, are two others of the same stamp. The life and history of the former are well known. All of us are aware how numerous were his friends—how bright his occasional prospects—but unhappily, how much too great his eccentricities were for either. Thomas Dermody, the Irish poet, is an individual whose remarkable history is not so familiar to the generality of readers,—indeed we have often been surprised that his name and works are not more frequently mentioned. In regard to his poetry it may be said, that though in his riper years he made no proportionate advances, yet in the prematurity of his powers, he has never been equalled. There are pieces written by him at the ages of ten and twelve, which neither Milton, Pope, nor any of our best poets, as far as we know, ever equalled at the same age. As authenticated evidences of almost infantine genius, they are, without doubt, most highly wonderful. But his life is yet more astonishing than his poetry. It has been published by a person[1] who

[1] Raymond.

knew and assisted him from the first, and by whom the unparralleled eccentricities of his character have been minutely related. In affording an insight into one of the most extraordinay minds that ever existed—a mind that combined the great and little in almost equal proportions—we think it one of the most interesting pieces of biography in the language. He died in a small hovel in the country, when two of his friends, who had been endeavouring to trace him, just arrived in time to witness his last gasp—of *literal starvation.* In some elegiac stanzas which he wrote on himself shortly before his death, there is one most affecting verse, which we shall beg leave to quote. The second line describes the condition of, more or less, all the worshippers of the sacred Nine.

> O place his dear harp by his side,
> *His harp alas! his only hoard;*
> The fairy breeze at eventide
> Shall trembling kiss each weeping chord.

How different his fate might have been, had he possessed the commonest share of prudence, his history will sufficiently show. The only exception we know to this general line of conduct was Henry Kirk White, who, in opposition to the ususal waywardness of genius, made the utmost of every opportunity which fortune presented to him. His success was proportionate; for, when he died, he was advancing in the direct path to a certain and honourable independence.

So far we have considered the misfortunes of genius as originating in themselves, and not at all in the neglect of contemporaries. We have viewed them as weaving the web of their own misery, and obstinately refusing the proffered interference of others. But it is too true that this has not always been the case with the children of the Muses and the heirs of Fame. They *have* often been neglected, and their mighty claims upon public sympathy entirely overlooked. It would be absurd to deny that mankind have been unjust in a number of instances, and that the unavoidable sufferings of the persecuted have been great. It, therefore, remains to be seen whether there are not many circumstances connected with this occasional practice of the world generally overlooked, which, had they been attended to, might in a great degree have lessened the apparent magnitude of the offence. We profess ourselves to be the most devoted admirers of intellectual power, and our natural feelings would lead us to espouse its cause, whenever it can be shown that it has not met with full appreciation. But we do think that, in the present argument, there have been seldom those impartial opinions originated which would conduce to a right view of the subject. There has been too much hasty censure and intemperate invective thrown out by literary men themselves, when, in their writings, they happen to touch upon the point. We will now trace a few of those circumstances which might be urged to palliate the conduct of the public in those instances in which it has really exhibited an indifference to the manifestations of mental greatness.

We would mention, in the first place, the immense distance which exists between a great author and his general readers; which vast distinction renders it so difficult for the one to estimate correctly, or at least not until after a considerable period, the productions of the other. How long did Milton's Paradise Lost take in estimating? Was the fault in the hearts or capacities of his readers? It was clearly too great

for immediate comprehension; and if Milton lived to get only ten pounds for his work, the fault lay with him for striding on so far before his age that he dwindled before it in the awful distance. So it is at all times difficult for the public to rate a literary production properly at its first appearance. Time is required;—many years:—but in the mean while the author is pining in obscurity, and gradually lapsing into that heart-broken and hopeless state, which, to a soul once fired with ambitious dreams, is like that fatal lethargy preceding death—a state from which there is no awaking. Nothing is more certain than that literary merit *will* receive its due estimate and reward; but it is among the evils attending the profession of letters, that merit and the want of it can hardly ever meet with immediate discrimination. The sentence in the end will be rigid justice, but the court are a long time sitting. There is a certain day of retribution to all authors, when the goats shall be divided from the sheep; and this day generally arrives in the next generation, which views through a clearer atmosphere, unclouded by prejudice and partiality, the affairs and actions of the preceding. The good and bad of literature—the husk and the grain—lie mingled and confounded together till then; but a superior writer should assure himself that the hour of eternal separation will come, though it may not be during his own life-time. It is not difficult to account for this. Men of the world have other concerns of nearer interest and importance to attend to, and it is seldom that their time allows them to take any minute observation of the literature of their own day. It is only literary men themselves who, possessing that extreme familiarity with works of taste, are enabled to discover at a first glance the solid pretensions of worth, from the quackery of ambitious vanity. But even they are subjected to the prejudices of their age; and private dislike and personal envy too often keep back the opinion which would otherwise have been fraught with justice. No men are more under the thraldom of littlenesses and unworthy feelings than literary characters; and, by the sparing manner in which they afford their praises and votes to contemporary authors, are often the direct causes of the neglect with which some of their brethren are visited. This is especially the case with those who have what is called *the ear of the public*, who are enabled to instil into it what opinion they please; and who lead it about, like a bear at the end of a rope, whithersoever they will. In the present day the influence of such persons is immense. Their orbits, in which they may be seen constantly revolving, are the principal Magazines and Reviews; and not unfrequently their favourable notice of a writer is attended with instant elevation, whilst a reverse account sinks him again into the depths of obscurity. The public intrust to these persons the task of judging for them, and watching over the interests of letters; but if they abuse the confidence reposed in them, they, and not the public, are answerable for the evils which result. In the case of the late poet, John Keats, and the unworthy treatment which he met with, who was to blame? the Public or the Reviewers? If the latter had done him justice, the approbation of the former *must* have followed. And yet it may be in a future age that the public of this will be reproached with his neglect and premature death, when the blood-hounds of Blackwood and the Quarterly, whose delight it is to start and run down all game which they judge may afford tolerable sport, ought to be held up as the real perpetrators of the deed. It is unfortunate that

there should be in the anonymous nature of modern criticism such great temptations to falsehood, and the gratification of party feelings. There is too little responsibility to ensure honourable conduct. A critic in these days, being fearless of exposure, seldom hesitates a moment between his private feelings and his public duty. Although he may know that the temporary triumph he gains over his author will not be confirmed by posterity, yet he dreads no detection whenever the tables shall be turned.

It was not so when Addison wrote his Spectators. He was conscious that he was writing a work which would endure, and to which his name would be lastingly affixed. With this persuasion he was naturally guarded in his opinions, well knowing that he should be branded by future times, if the judgments he delivered had not their foundation in truth. Thus his well-known criticisms on Milton are dictated by a spirit of candour and anxious justice, which, at a time when Milton's merits were far from being generally acknowledged, does equal credit to his discernment and integrity. But such is our opinion of the arrogance and flippancy of modern criticism, that we firmly believe, that had the Paradise Lost appeared in these times, the chief part of our periodicals would have fallen upon it tooth and nail:—a Leviathan in the world of waters, it would have utterly astonished and confounded the shoals of diminutive fishes who swam round to take a view of it! We should have had great talk of the unnatural machinery of the poem—the absurdity of its celestial relations—its forsaking all human sympathies and interests—and soaring into supramundane glories and abstractions, where we have no possibility of following.

We hear a good deal said about the poorness of the trade of authorship; but it is a great mistake to suppose it is so bad a one. The fault lies in the professor, and not in the profession. If genius kept its accounts with the world, with one quarter the correctness of the dullest bookkeeper in the city, it would have little reason to complain of the smallness of its profits. It is the habit of looking at the *result* only of things which in this instance, as in so many others, has generated the erroneous opinion. Men observe that the pursuit of letters is seldom or never attended with any pecuniary advantage to its followers, and thence immediately conclude that the trade itself is a bad one. We do not mean to say that the winds and tides are always fair for a writer to steer himself into the snug harbour of independence; but, in most cases, we are confident that poverty might at least be avoided, and in a great number, respectable opulence be obtained, by a proper use of the opportunities which presented themselves. It is to be remarked, however, that the chances of unavoidable poverty to men of letters were much greater in former periods than in the present time. That strange characteristic feature of the present literature of Europe, which we term periodical writing, has served an important purpose amid all its evils—that of finding means of occupation and support to hundreds of inferior minds, who, for want of sufficient power towards the production of original works, must have otherwise lived and died in distress. So that the dreadful relations we have been accustomed to hear, of the miseries of authors in the times of Pope, Addison, and Johnson, we need not fear to have repeated. In those days, if an author had not genius enough to produce a *book*, there was no other outlet for his talents —no other field for such powers as he really possessed to exercise them.

selves. But now, mediocrity itself may obtain its reward—in money, though not in fame. Ten guineas per sheet will keep poverty out of doors. Any one possessing moderate talents may, by enlisting himself under the banners of some one of the magazines, ensure himself a permanent commission. Periodical writing, by its diffusing a general restless ambition for literary distinction, creates a great many bad writers, but at the same time it supports a number of good ones. Here, at once, are its evils and its benefits.

The singularities and eccentricities of genius are proverbial, and it would be common-place to dwell upon them: but it must be owned that they have often been the direct occasion of its neglect. Friendship and patronage have frequently been checked in their relief or munificence by the disgust which has followed an observation of these perversities. How difficult is it for men of the world, who have generally so much of the practical spirit in them, to put up with the waywardnesses even of superior natures—to see their liberality squandered, and their exertions rendered ineffectual. We have thought sometimes that there ought to be a Greenwich Hospital for decayed authors; but we have seen so much of the misery of sound ones, that unless a retreat could be provided for both, we hardly think that either should in fairness be done. In worldly matters, men of genius ought to be treated as children, or at least as minors, and they would then be prevented, like dissolute rakes, from idly squandering their means. If it were possible, they should be freed entirely from all attention to the petty concerns of life, that they might be enabled more steadily to fix their contemplation upon the starry glories of the firmament of thought. There is little doubt that, were this the case, our literature would flow through a purer channel, and the mind's creations be brought to a greater degree of sublimity and perfection. Leisure and opportunity would then combine with genius to bring out the treasures of nature; and the skill of the artificer would be much more effectual if the cries of necessity did not hurry him at his work.

We now think that the point which formed the object of our inquiry has been sufficiently illustrated. We trust we have shown that the world is not always so unjust to the claims of contemporary merit as has been often asserted and believed—that the misfortunes commonly observed to follow, like its shadow, the literary character, are almost always referrible to itself, and to those constant habits of inattention to worldly interests which are the natural manifestations of minds habitually employed in higher objects, and the investigation of abstract truth—and that from the existing order of things, as well as from the principles of the human mind, genius ought not to expect the immediate recognition of its nobility. It should always consider the numerous impediments which lie in the way of direct appreciation; and if its first appearance on the stage is not hailed with enthusiastic applause, let it not be thrown back upon the solitude of its own heart, (as is so often the case), and, like the night-flower, close up for ever the leaves of its gay hopes and bright expectations in the fancied neglect of a too thoughtless world. The lowest performer in a real theatre may always obtain the shouts and plaudits of the gallery: and thus it is in literature. There are many authors who are willing to be content with the boisterous shouts and shrill catcalls of the mob part of the public, which can be obtained at an easy rate, and who are therefore never in danger of experiencing the feeling of which we have been speak-

ing, as so fatal to superior minds. But it is not so with genius. Nothing short of the full acknowledgments of equal or refined minds will satisfy its ardent longings for a pure and lasting fame. And thus, if it do not obtain this, it is dead to all else. It plucks forth its golden arrow, and with a life-and-death desperation, points it at the eagle towering from the mountain—but if the bird drop not, the bow falls from his hands, and the enthusiasm necessary for a second attempt, is gone for ever. This at least has been the fate of thousands. But the natural constitution of things cannot be altered to adapt itself to the wishes and expectations of man;—and so it will ever be in literature, that though literary excellence must always meet with ultimate acknowledgment, yet from the influence of the causes just mentioned, it can seldom, during the lifetime of its possessor, receive its adequate reward.

LINES TO MRS. ———, IN INDIA, ON PERUSING HER MS. POEMS.

FROWN not, sweet Minstrel! though a lower Muse
Would lift her voice of praise—nor yet refuse
The simple tribute of a guileless heart,
That loves thy worth, and owns thy tuneful art;
That can admire and feel thy lay's sweet flow
Of sorrow-breathing music,—and the glow
Of loftier song. Oh! let this strain endear
Not the young poet, but the friend sincere;
Claim not in vain one blessing from thy breast,
And love shall own his warmest purpose blest.

Yet could I sweep like thee the magic lyre,
Or my soul burn with aught of kindred fire,
No cold distrust my numbers should restrain,
When worth and talent claimed a plausive strain.

But oh! forgive, whom no such glories crown
With holier wreaths than prouder bards might own,
If, all unskilled to raise a worthy song,
He leaves the themes that not to him belong,
Content if proved, while all devoid of art,
Thy fond idea is twined within his heart!—

And though unskilled to turn the glowing line,
In poesy's sweet path unmeant to shine,
I still may hope thou wilt not all despise,
The heart that glows with friendship's energies;
That gratitude can warm, and kindness move;
That swells with admiration and with love!

LORD HASTINGS—SIR CHARLES METCALFE—MR. ADAM—AND THE CONTRACTORS FOR THE HYDERABAD LOAN.

The sensation created in India and in England, by the first mention of the transaction here adverted to, is sufficient proof of the importance attached to the subject in both countries. The exaggerated and erroneous reports and impressions that have from time to time prevailed, as to the parts taken by the several individuals engaged in the affair, evince the intense interest which has been excited, and prove the efforts that have been made by friends and enemies to give to the whole such colouring as would best suit their respective purposes.

We had resolved, at a very early period, to hold ourselves as free from bias, and as open to conviction, on this question, as circumstances might admit: to lend a cautious ear to all that was said on both sides: and to wait patiently for an opportunity of examining the whole of the evidence for ourselves. In India this was impossible; as the Government of that country take especial care that no more of their transactions there shall see the light than they think fit: and even in England it was quite as difficult to get at the real merits of the case, until the papers lately produced on the subject were made public.

Our readers will remember that, on the return of Lord Hastings to England, a proposition to grant him the pension usually given to Governors-General on their retirement—and which had been bestowed on men possessing much fewer claims to that reward and distinction than his Lordship had been acknowledged even by the Directors themselves to possess—was negatived, on the ground, that certain pecuniary transactions at Hyderabad, in which his Lordship was supposed to have lent his influence, for the purpose of promoting the corrupt gains of others, if not of actually himself participating in them, required to be more fully inquired into; the parties objecting to such grant contending, that the insinuations affecting his integrity, which had arisen out of these transactions, ought to be successfully repelled before the Court could entertain the proposition of extending to the noble Marquis the common bounty which had hitherto been commonly bestowed.

To those who know the personal character and peculiar feelings of Lord Hastings, with respect to contempt for gain, which had been carried by him to a chivalrous and highly-blameable extent, to the prejudice of those who had just claims on his greater attention to the honourable acquisition of wealth, the bare suspicion of his lending himself to a corrupt transaction, in the shape of a loan, for the purpose of deriving pecuniary benefit as his reward, was revolting in the extreme; and, accordingly, no sooner was the insinuation publicly broached, than a host of friends sprung up to defend him from its degrading imputations. The chairman of the Court of Directors was asked a few plain questions, which any man might have safely answered: but, like Lord Burleigh, in the play, he contented himself with evincing his profound wisdom by maintaining an impenetrable silence, a mysterious immobility, disturbed only by an occasional shake of the head. The four-and-twenty oracles over whom this high-priest of the temple presided as chief, were not all equally imposing and profound. Some, thinking their duty as honest

men, not inferior to their duty as directors, gave their opinions with becoming frankness, and repelled with scorn the insinuated imputations on Lord Hastings's integrity. The majority, however, were clearly disposed to encourage the impression of dishonesty; and, as is usual, they prevailed.

This gave rise to subsequent motions for information, in which Mr. Kinnaird, Mr. Hume, and Sir John Doyle, took the lead. The ground was debated inch by inch. The Directors already possessed all the information required, and had made their decision. True, however, to themselves, and to their secrecy-promoting system, they wished to deny to others the same ready access to the grounds on which they had come to their conclusion; and accordingly the struggle was unusually severe. They were beaten, however, on their own ground; and taught to feel, as they deserve, that they were the servants of the Proprietors, to whose will they owe the salaries and patronage which make their places an object of so much desire. They were compelled to produce the greater portion of the papers that were moved for, relating to the administration of the Marquis of Hastings; and, among others, all those involving the pecuniary transactions between the government of the Nizam, and the firm of William Palmer and Co. merchants and bankers, at Hyderabad.

We have selected this portion for our earliest perusal; and when we state that the papers on this one branch of information alone, fall little short of a thousand folio pages, we shall not be accused of want of industry, when we assure our readers, that we have read with care and attention, every page of the whole, from the beginning to end.

No art has yet been discovered, by which it is possible to condense even the outline or substance of one thousand pages into ten, even where the subject is easy and agreeable. But if Mr. Adam, who had been a party to the discussions from the commencement, and received the information in single letters and papers laid before him from time to time, at convenient intervals, could say, as he has done, of one single despatch only, (and that but a small fragment of the whole compilation), that its contents were "too voluminous, various, and intricate, to enable him to *attempt* to judge correctly of their details;"[1] what may not *we* be permitted to urge on the same score, who have the whole mass presented to us at once, in such an appalling form, and of such forbidding bulk, as absolutely to deter all but the parties personally interested, and the few with whom zeal or a sense of duty is more predominant than a love of ease, from even running over the list of the separate papers, which of itself is sufficient to fill a moderate-sized octavo volume!

This, however, is exactly what the Indian Government abroad, the Court of Directors at home, and all other individuals and public bodies interested in concealing their acts from public scrutiny, find most conducive to the secrecy and silence they desire. If the facts and reasonings developed in these papers had been suffered to transpire as they occurred in India, and the journals of that country had been permitted to make them the subject of scrutiny and discussion, the real state of affairs could not long have remained concealed. Thousands in that country would have been ready and willing to have given to the contending parties the benefit of their information; and every thing would

[1] Mr. Adam's Minute, p. 701 of the collection.

have been so completely sifted, that no fraud or subterfuge could have withstood such an ordeal. These discussions, however, were carried on between the Courts and public functionaries of India, with the secrecy of trembling and apprehensive despotism; and the members of the Council Board, who were divided into factions, and made the Council-room ring with their cabals and dissensions, were yet desirous of imposing on the uninitiated, and encouraging by the deceptive suavity of their exterior a belief of unanimity, where nothing but discord prevailed.

But, supposing that India were an unfit scene for the publicity of such discussions as these, (which we are very far from conceding,) the evil of protracted silence, and accumulated masses of information to be disclosed at once, would have been much lessened by gradual and progressive publication in England. Persons interested in Indian affairs in this country, though fewer in number and much more deficient in the requisite information than persons in India, might at least have become familiar with the questions in dispute, and have thus been qualified to pronounce an opinion on their merits or defects. But this would not suit the views of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to India. They desire to withhold all information on the government committed to their charge, whether here or in that country; they hate the press in both, and they hate discussion every where. The state of their affairs is sometimes wrung from them, like blood drawn in reluctant drops, by Parliament: and the Proprietors, by whose capital and whose votes they live and hold all they enjoy, are sometimes indulged with partial disclosures of that which they ought at all times to know fully; but this is only when it is not possible to force the alternative. In all such cases, however, the next best thing to withholding information entirely, is to give it forth in such masses as to deter persons from entering on its examination. Who, but actual members, would ever read the debates in Parliament, if, instead of being reported day by day, they were only published at the end of each session? Who, besides lawyers, would read the records of our courts of justice, if they were printed only once a year? And who, but the actors in the scenes themselves, would read even the despatches of our naval and military commanders, if they were never to transpire until they were all compiled into one immense volume at the close of the war? If these objections would oppose themselves on subjects in which the whole community, more or less, may be said to take an interest, how much more forcibly must they operate when applied to the affairs of so distant a country as India, in which it is difficult to get any one, except the few who are connected with it by peculiar ties, to take the least interest whatever? The consequence is obvious:—when papers appear in such immense masses, comprising the history of discussions extending through ten years at least; from their appalling size, added to the uninviting nature of the details themselves, men shrink from the task of perusing them; and the pondereus volumes are laid by among the rubbish of other unread folios, to be for ever after buried in dust and oblivion.

We shall do our best, in the present instance, to prevent this fate attending the compilation in question. Should we not succeed in prevailing on others to follow the example we have set, we shall at least have the consolation of having done our duty. For the present, however, we must content ourselves with stating only the leading features of the case, and adding our impressions as we go along, reserving for a second, or perhaps

even a third, article on the subject, a more complete exposition of its details.

In the year 1814, when Mr. Henry Russell was the representative of the East India Company at the Court of Hyderabad, there was established in that city, by consent of the English Government, a banking and mercantile firm, the parties in which comprised two British-born subjects, two Indo-Britons, or descendants of British and native parents born in India, and one native Indian, a subject of the Nizam. This house conducted a very extensive business throughout the greater part of the Nizam's dominions, as well as at Aurungabad and Hyderabad; and it was generally understood to be benefiting the country by its extension of commerce as largely as it was producing profit to the individuals concerned in its property and management.

The condition of the territories and the character of the government of the Nizam was at this period notoriously most deplorable. In consequence of years of oppression and misrule, the resources of the country had become quite exhausted, and the financial difficulties of the state were increasing with every succeeding year. The Nizam himself is admitted by all parties to have been a gloomy and miserable despot, unhappy in himself, and the source of much unhappiness to those around him. He possessed a large private treasure, equal, it is said, to two millions sterling, and jewels not surpassed by those of any sovereign in the world. He regarded all these, however, as his own personal property, and, like most other monarchs, would not suffer his private hoard to be touched for the relief of even the most urgent distresses of the state.

The nominal minister of the country was a person named Munoor-ool-Moolk, who was suffered quietly to enjoy an enormous revenue of his own, on condition of his not interfering with matters of state; and the real minister was a certain Rajah Chundoo Loll, whom friends and enemies unanimously admitted to be the most clever man in the Nizam's dominions, and into whose hands the English authorities had stipulated to confirm the exercise of all real power, because they knew that he was more favourable to the interests of the English themselves than to his own master. The state of Hyderabad was, in short, under our protection; which means, that we had determined to cripple its native rulers and people as much as possible, to get all the wealth and power of the country ultimately into our own hands. This protection was evinced in setting aside both the monarch and his prime minister to make room for a tool of their own, who was to act at once as a spy upon the conduct of his sovereign, and a traitor to his interests, whenever they stood in the way of the East India Company, which Rajah Chundoo Loll was bound to prefer; and on the fidelity of his devotion to which, his place and power at his own master's court entirely depended. This it is, in India, to be under British protection!

Rajah Chundoo Loll, having a difficult game to play, namely, to satisfy the greedy avarice of a selfish and dissipated sovereign, to supply the wants of the nominal minister, whose real power he wielded, to maintain his popularity with the troops by regular payments, and not to oppress the cultivators beyond the mere brink of resistance, as well as to keep on good terms with the English Government in India, had no easy task to perform; and having no more public virtue than his supe-

riors, whatever means were most likely to effect his ends, were readily adopted by him.

It should be stated, that the firm established in the city of Hyderabad, contemplating a great extension of its transactions both with the government and people of the Nizam's dominions, and well knowing the general insecurity of property in a country where every thing depended on the will of a despot, and where no regular tribunals of justice existed, applied to the Supreme Government of Bengal for its especial sanction, and requested it to authorize the exertion of the Resident's influence for their security and protection. This application was made through the Resident, Mr. Henry Russell, who accompanied its transmission to the Supreme Government with the expression of his conviction, that a firm of this description established at Hyderabad could not fail to prove a source of general convenience and benefit to the country. The application was readily complied with; Mr. John Adam, then Secretary to Lord Hastings, conveying the entire approbation of his Lordship in Council to the parties, and assuring them in the most formal manner, of every proper degree of countenance and protection.

This happened in the year 1814. Soon afterwards, Sir William Rumbold, Bart., who had married a ward of Lord Hastings, and was then in India, holding the office of a magistrate in Calcutta, was invited by the members of the Hyderabad firm, to join their establishment: they, no doubt, promising themselves benefit from the connexion, and offering to him the advantage of considerable gain without much risk or labour, from the ordinary operations of the banking and agency business to be carried on by the house, of which he would receive his share. That this union, so far from originating with Lord Hastings, or even with Sir William Rumbold, as has been insinuated, was contrary to the wish and advice of the former, and wholly unsolicited by the latter, is fully proved by the correspondence that passed on this occasion, and that there was nothing peculiar in such a reciprocal interchange of certain gain for supposed fair advantages of connexion, may be inferred from the notoriety of such associations in every house of banking and agency business in India, in almost every one of which are to be found partners, invited by the rest of the firm, and admitted among them without contributing the smallest portion of capital, sometimes without contributing much of either labour or talent, but bringing with them what is deemed a full equivalent in the fair and honourable influence of an elevated or extensive circle of relatives and friends.

In 1816, a memorial was forwarded from Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad, to the Supreme Government of Bengal, stating, that in consequence of the protection which they were understood to enjoy from the British power, and the consequent security of all transactions between their house and the natives of the interior of India, the greatest advantages had already arisen to all engaged in such commercial dealings: but as some doubts had been suggested, as to whether the license of Government, authorizing them to act as bankers and merchants generally, would apply to their money transactions with the government of Hyderabad, in which they could hardly avoid being incidentally concerned, they prayed that the Governor-General in Council would, pursuant to the power vested in him by Act of Parliament, exempt them from the penalties to which British subjects, lending money to native Princes

without the especial permission of the Governor-General, might be rendered liable. They asked this, for the purpose of removing all doubts of the legality and security of their proceedings; any uncertainty as to which could not fail, of course, to affect their credit, and impede the operations of business accordingly.

The memorial was referred to the then Advocate-general, Mr. Strettell, to obtain his opinion thereon; and he having decided on its being perfectly legal for the Governor-General in Council to grant such a license to lend money, as well as to trade, a formal instrument, authorizing them so to do, was drawn out, and transmitted to them forthwith. On the subject of the highest rate of interest at which money can be legally lent in India, it may be right to add, that the absurd statutes against usury, now condemned by every man of even ordinary understanding in England, are held to extend to India; but instead of five per cent. forming the maximum, as here, the highest rate is limited to twelve per cent. This, however, is understood to apply to transactions taking place within the British dominions only, and not to transactions in native states, where no such prohibitions are binding; but where silver and gold, like any other articles of purchase and sale, are allowed to have their value determined by the only proper standard—supply and demand: and the rent of money is no more fixed than the rent of a house, or an estate. The license, therefore, granted to the house of W. Palmer and Co., by the Government of Bengal, to enter into pecuniary transactions with the Government of Hyderabad, did not contemplate any limitation of the rate of interest; but left them as free in that particular, as in the charge of their commission, or any other description of profit.

In the year 1820, the first great money operation of the house commenced; and it was this: The troops at Aurungabad and in Berar, hitherto under the charge, and actually paid by the brother of Rajah Chundoo Loll, whose name was Rajah Govind Buksh, had become very clamorous for arrears of pay; and the minister, with the consent of the resident, Mr. Russell, entered into an arrangement with the house of W. Palmer and Co., by which they engaged to make punctual payment of two lacs of rupees per month, or twenty-four lacs per annum; having assignments, by tunkahs, or bills on collectors of the revenue, for thirty lacs annually—twenty-four to meet the principal, and six to cover the interest, charges, and deficiencies arising from the failure of the collectors to meet the bills drawn on them, to their full amount. This operation went on for some time to the advantage of all parties concerned. The Bengal Government, however, began to feel jealous of this exercise of what appeared to them something more than mere commercial power, and accordingly made many inquiries on the subject. The answers of the Resident gave them every reason to believe, that the money was advanced by the house of W. Palmer and Co., at a much less rate of interest than it could be had from any native money-lenders of the country; and the strongest testimony was afforded to the most material facts, namely, that the troops were, subsequent to this arrangement, much better paid, and consequently much less turbulent and dissatisfied than before.

This matter was the cause of much hot contention and strife, both in the Council at Calcutta, and in the correspondence that took place at Hyderabad; but, upon a careful scrutiny into the details, we find

nothing to invalidate the testimony of Mr. Russell, that the whole transaction was fair and honourable, and that it was productive of undoubted good to the parties for whose relief it was principally intended, the troops of the Rajah Gunga Govind Buksh.

At this stage of the business there are some highly amusing specimens of the talents of the several members of the Bengal Government, which we regret we cannot exhibit in extracts, as they deserve, from the several minutes and letters placed on record; among others, Mr. Sherrer, the Accountant-general, reads a lecture on the political effects of the measure, which proves nothing but the high sense he entertains of his own importance. Mr. James Stuart is quite "alarmed" at the idea that native bankers would not lend two lacs of rupees per month, to a sovereign, for whose fulfilment of his contract they could have no security but his caprice: and all this is mixed up with the constant profession of opinions in favour of "reform," and detestation of "monopoly"—professions which sound strangely enough from servants of a Company that hate reform, and cling to monopoly as their last refuge.

In July 1820, Rajah Chundoo Loll addressed a letter to Mr. Russell, the Resident at Hyderabad, stating the great difficulties under which he laboured for want of money, the impossibility of his raising any more from the native bankers, and the impossibility of his going on with the affairs of Government without it. He proposed, therefore, to solicit a loan of sixty lacs of rupees from Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., on assignments of revenue, in the same manner as the Aurungabad contract for two lacs per month had been met. The Resident approved of this arrangement, testified his conviction of its advantages to the Nizam's state, and forwarded an application to the Supreme Government in Bengal, for their sanction, previously to its being negotiated.

Much discussion took place at Calcutta on this subject: Lord Hastings and Mr. Fendall being in favour of extending the protection of the British Goverment to the loan, and Mr. Adam and Mr. Stuart being opposed to it. The minister, Chundoo Loll, had been hitherto paying twenty-four per cent. interest on all the money borrowed by him from natives, for the use of the state; the new loan was to be granted to him at sixteen per cent.; and the avowed purport of it was to pay off old arrears, and reduce establishments to the extent of twenty-five lacs per annum at once, and more at subsequent periods.

On the subject of extending the guarantee of the British Government to this transaction, a great number of minutes are recorded, most of which are well worth reading. Those of Lord Hastings are characterized by great dignity, fine feeling, and a high sense of honour: those of Mr. Fendall borrow much of the merit from those of the Governor-General, and are expressed with much good sense. Mr. Adam's are scarcely marked by more wisdom than his celebrated manifesto on the press: and Mr. Stuart's exhibits the petty jealousy of a rival shopkeeper at the growing opulence and increasing prosperity of a neighbour, whose good fortune he envied, and therefore endeavoured to obstruct. All his objections are to the excessive rate of interest, for so he considers sixteen per cent., in a country in which he is the first to lament the total insecurity of property, at the same time that he himself was making twelve per cent. at least of his own money in Calcutta, on a security as ample as that of the British funds. It should be observed, that at that very period,

some houses of agency in Calcutta were paying twelve, fifteen, and even eighteen per cent. for money for short periods; that the Company had a loan open at ten per cent., which, with premium, rates of exchange at the different treasuries, and other advantages given to the lenders, afforded to them a bonus of six or seven per cent., in addition to such interest upon the sums advanced. In point of fact, the complaint about the rate of interest was altogether unfounded; and as to the notions entertained by Mr. Adam, of the "evils of a combination among the monied interest," for the purpose of supporting W. Palmer and Co. in their "monopoly of the money market," it is as if Mr. Canning should complain of the combination of the members of the Stock Exchange in London, to support Mr. Baring or Mr. Rothschild, in any loan they might contract with the British Government. The idea is worthy of such a source, and exhibits, in a true light, the extreme ignorance even of mercantile and monopolizing transactions in this late Chief over the factories of the traders to the East.

After many contests at the Council-board, propositions for advancing the money wanted, from the treasury of the Company, and other disputed points, in which the dignity and good sense of Lord Hastings are apparent throughout, the Advocate-general was consulted—more discussions arose, and the affair ended in a letter being addressed to Mr. Russell and to W. Palmer and Co., authorizing the loan, which was accordingly effected.

It is necessary that we should pause here for a moment to relate what passed in England in the mean time. The first letter from Bengal, communicating the fact of the establishment of the house at Hyderabad, under the sanction of the British Government, had reached England; and very shortly afterwards, in May 1820, the Court of Directors caused an angry and insolent letter to be addressed to their Government abroad, condemning entirely the act of their extending their countenance or protection to the house of W. Palmer & Co. at Hyderabad, and ordering it to be instantly revoked and withdrawn, as well as prohibiting all interference whatever, in the event of any dispute arising between the Nizam and the house as to the settlement of their accounts. The injustice and cruelty of such a proceeding as this, towards an establishment, set up under the specific guarantee of the British Government abroad, and in a country where the sudden withdrawal of such guarantee would have the effect of depriving the house of all credit whatever in the eyes of the natives, must strike every one who reflects on it for a moment.

Lord Hastings, however, on the receipt of this despatch from England, ordered that immediate communication should be made to Palmer & Co. of the Court's determination, strictly interdicted them from all future pecuniary transactions with the Nizam's government; but had the communication made as privately as possible, to prevent the injury which its public communication would inflict on their credit, and for the same reason abstained from giving it a retrospective effect. Mr. Adam and Mr. Stuart now each violently opposed to all Lord Hastings did, recommended an immediate stop being put to the whole, by taking the loan out of the hands of Palmer & Co. and transferring it to their own. Mr. Fendall supported Lord Hastings, and deprecated the idea of such a transfer, principally on the ground of its being calculated to excite the jealousy of the Nizam, and to give him alarming apprehensions of our intention to take the whole of

his country gradually from him, this being the end generally of our benevolent interference with foreign states, whenever we commence by professions of a desire to befriend them. Another letter from the Court of Directors in England, dated in November 1821, was despatched to India, and a more ludicrous specimen of ignorance as to the first principles of political economy—of folly as to apprehending consequences from causes which could not have produced them—of jealousy as to profit made by others in which they themselves desired to share—of alarm as to a monopoly being enjoyed in a matter in which no monopoly could exist—of incredulity as to fact—of false reasoning and lame conclusions—of "sound and fury, signifying nothing,"—we will venture to say is not to be found in the annals of the Court, let it have been written by whomsoever it may. The Directors can have no idea of the contemptible figure which they make in the eyes of other men by such disclosures as these, or they would never, under any circumstances, permit them to be made. A body of bloated monopolists, wringing from the pockets of millions of their own countrymen the most extravagant profits on their trade in tea, an article of necessity to the poorest family in the land, and grinding their native subjects to the dust by the unremitting pressure of taxation, complaining of a "monopoly of money" enjoyed by a house of business in the city of Hyderabad! and deprecating the fair profits of a trading establishment that has no exclusive privileges, and cannot make a single rupee of gain without the free consent of the parties contributing to it!! Can they be so blind as not to see the folly of this? Again; their reiterated assertion here has been, that the government of India always has been despotic, is now despotic, and always must continue to be despotic. They spurn the bare idea of responsibility to the public over whom they rule in India, and who are the parties most deeply interested in the excellence or defects of their system of administration. They withhold all knowledge from those most deeply interested in obtaining it, and they put down all public discussion because of the pretended ignorance of the people; thus denying to them the materials of knowledge, on the very ground which might with much more reason be urged as their strongest claim to its possession. All this is notorious; yet what do they say when certain matters which *they* desire to know are kept from them by the *Supreme* Government of India? They must speak for themselves. In alluding to such information being withheld, they thus address their Governor-General in Council—a man, with all his weaknesses, as much their superior in this controversy as any man the most ambitious of triumph could desire:—

Your apology for the suppression of the particular information in question, (namely, that it would be subjected, by publicity, to the comments of persons liable to form all manner of false deductions, from total ignorance of the habits of the country, and of every concomitant particular,) if admitted in one case, cannot be rejected in any other supposable case whatever.[1] It is the language not of a responsible, but of an irresponsible government.[2] It amounts to the assumption of a power to do what you please, and to communicate to us just as

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[1] Yet this is the plea on which they, the Directors themselves, uniformly object to the publicity of their own proceedings, and the discussion of the affairs of their own and their Servants' government in India!

[2] The Directors are themselves the very persons, who, by calling their government a despotism, declare it to be irresponsible.

much of what you have done as you may see fit. And on what ground does this assumption rest?—That we are not qualified to draw right conclusions from the information which is laid before us; but that from ignorance of all we ought to know, it is not only unnecessary, but unsafe, to put us in possession of the materials of knowledge.—p. 79.

Never was there any thing more perfect than this. If we had been feeing the Directors as counsel in our cause, and urging them to put forth all their strength in order to show the absurdity of withholding knowledge as they themselves are continually doing, because of the pretended ignorance of those before whom it was to be laid, when that ignorance is the strongest reason why the knowledge should not be withheld, we could have had nothing better than the foregoing to establish our position. We are therefore grateful for this passage, and can truly say with the Merchant of Venice:

"I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word."

The letters of the Directors—themselves the most bigoted advocates of concealment and irresponsibility whenever *they* are asked for disclosures, and reminded of their own accountability to others—exhibit innumerable choice *morceaux*, of the most opposite principles, when they are desirous of obtaining the same concessions from *others*. Indeed a large and interesting volume might be filled by their perpetual self-contradictions in this respect. Let one or two brief specimens suffice:

Wherever concealment is practised, the party practising it cannot reasonably complain of the inference (even though erroneous,) which may be drawn from it; inasmuch as he was not only competent, but bound in duty to have precluded such erroneous inference by a candid disclosure of the facts of the case.—p. 375.

It is a self-evident proposition, that in proportion to the extent of power vested in any individual, ought to be the strictness of responsibility for its due exercise, and the checks upon its abuse.—p. 390.

If the end of any system be such as we have no right to compass, we cannot stand justified in pursuing a course of measures inevitably leading to it, however good may be the intentions by which they are dictated, and however considerable may be the immediate benefit derivable from them. Power without check, and agents exempt from responsibility, constitute a certain guarantee for bad government.—p. 392.

"I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word."

We must quit, however reluctantly, the rich field which these pages present, for the gleaner of scraps worth preservation for their curiosity, and proceed with the narrative; though we hope to return, again and again, to gather up a few, at least, of these scraps, which deserve to be selected from the mass in which they now lie buried.

After the last letter adverted to had been received from England, the party in Council most strenuously opposed to Lord Hastings, which was formed by Mr. Adam and Mr. Stuart, gathered confidence, and pushed their opposition still farther. In the mean time, Mr. Russell left Hyderabad for England, and Mr. (now Sir Charles) Metcalfe was sent to that Court as Resident.

On reaching his post, he appears to have found the house of Palmer and Co., collectively, and the partners of that firm individually, in possession of a much greater share of consequence and influence than he considered compatible with his dignity as representative of the British Government at this Native Court. It is evident from all his proceedings,

that his jealousy on this point was excessive. He complains that access to the Residency was sometimes impeded by the train of elephants and servants belonging to the gentlemen of the firm of W. Palmer and Co. They lived in too much state to please him: they had as many tents and attendants as the British Resident himself, an equality not to be forgiven; and, in short, their whole proceedings were evidently looked upon with an evil eye from the beginning. We had always understood and believed Sir Charles Metcalfe to be one of the mildest and most amiable of men: but the present only adds another instance of the many we have seen before, that personal character and good conduct at one period, however excellent, is no guarantee whatever against character and conduct of a totally opposite nature at a future period. Sir Charles Metcalfe may have commenced his career with the best intentions—there is no ground to deny him that: but the bursts of ungovernable passion which characterize nearly all his subsequent proceedings and correspondence, show that his mind became daily more and more imbued with hatred of the parties, as well as jealousy of all their transactions; and the letters which passed to and from Calcutta and Hyderabad, for a period of nearly two years after his becoming the Resident of the latter city, exhibit more of fretful peevishness, overstrained and exaggerated statement, and groundless and unwarrantable deductions, than would be thought possible by those who have never read them.

Sir Charles Metcalfe's proceedings were so highly objectionable to Rajah Chundoo Loll, the minister of the Nizam, that he thought it necessary to present a letter of complaint or remonstrance, through the First Assistant at the Residency, Lieut. Barnett. It remained unanswered and even unacknowledged; so that he forwarded a letter, enclosing copies of his neglected remonstrance, to Calcutta, in the hope of obtaining redress. Would it be believed that this act of a minister of an independent prince, whom the English contrived to get into his present place because of his avowed attachment to the British power, should have been condemned as presumptuous and highly reprehensible?—Yet such was the fact. He had tried the "regular channels," as they are called, and his remonstrance had received no notice; he addressed the higher power, and he is then told that his conduct is insolent and unpardonable, because he did not send his complaint against the Resident through the hands of the Resident himself,—a channel he had already attempted, without having received even the most distant encouragement to hope for success!

It should be mentioned, that while Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. held assignments on the revenue for the payment of the principal and interest of the debt, none of their servants were employed in any manner to assist in the collection. Their assessments were always made by the minister himself, and the collection by his own officers. But scarcely was Sir Charles Metcalfe seated in his new place, than he began to take the actual management of the country into his own hands; and so forcible was the impression among his own officers, of this being his wish and intention, that a Mr. Hislop, a young cornet of the King's 13th Dragoons, *supposing* his captain to have authority from Sir Charles, and *supposing* himself to have authority from his captain, for neither of which suppositions had he the least ground beyond what he saw doing by those around him, actually entered a village, the settlement of the revenue of which had been but recently made by the acting prime minister of the country him-

self, broke up the established settlement, and introduced an entire new one of his own, among a people, of the value of whose tenures, and of the nature of whose engagements with each other and with the state, it requires years passed in the study and practice of the revenue laws and usages of the country, to have even a moderately accurate conception!

Sir Charles Metcalfe, though fully aware of the views of the British Legislature at home, and apprized of Lord Hastings's views on the spot, as to the decided injustice as well as impolicy of our farther interfering with the government of our native allies than giving them all the assistance of our influence and advice,—advocates direct interference, by putting the whole country under British managers; and mentions, as an illustration of its advantages, that ninety villages had been repeopled in a very short space of time by a Lieutenant Clarke—not like Ireland is said to have been done, all by the founder's own hands, but simply by the promise of protection. A Captain Clarke was also employed, according to Sir Charles Metcalfe, "in the resuscitation of the districts on the Wurda," which he himself intended to visit—after they were raised up, of course.

In the midst of these discussions, Sir Charles Metcalfe obtained the accounts of the house of Palmer & Co., by which it appeared that the debt due to them by the Nizam was increasing; and that there was a bonus of eight lacs (afterwards explained by the parties receiving it) granted to Palmer & Co. for raising the money on an emergency, which they did on high terms and great risk, before the guarantee was complete, in order to satisfy the pressing wants of the minister. The Supreme Government of Bengal express their surprise and dissatisfaction at this; and although Sir C. Metcalfe, in his letter of March 1821, acknowledges the benefit which such a house as that of Palmer & Co. must effect in that country, and thus indirectly furnishes the strongest arguments in favour of the extensive and immediate Colonization of India by Englishmen, they determine to take the loan out of the hands of Palmer & Co. and transfer it to their own.

The injury which this would effect to a mercantile and banking concern like that at Hyderabad, was felt and acknowledged at first by all parties. They had drawn their capital from other highly productive employments, to vest it in this; they had obtained money from other persons, to fulfil their engagements, on payment of even higher interest in some cases than they received; they had made great outlays in the beginning, hoping for compensating profit towards the end:—and a sudden transfer like this could not take place without deeply affecting their credit, and injuring their general business as merchants and traders in India. They ask a compensation of a lac and half per annum for four years, on which they acknowledge their readiness to relinquish it at once.

Discussions of great length followed this, and minute upon minute is recorded by all the members of the Council, at the substance of which it is impossible even to glance, after the length to which we have already proceeded. They chiefly turn, however, upon the question of an interference with native states: Sir Charles Metcalfe and his supporter, Mr. Adam, contending for this interference, not merely as a right, but as a duty imposed on us by our supremacy in India; a state which entails a singular union of obligations,—that of protecting the people from oppression, and the rulers from revolution: though the very act of doing the one is sure to incur the risk of the other following. Whoever protects a

people from oppression, must encourage resistance and revolution; and whoever protects rulers from revolutions, must encourage oppression. To protect both equally and at the same time is impossible. Sir Charles boldly avows the most democratical doctrines; maintains the rights of man; defends the doctrine of resistance; and says, "the only refuge of a people, intolerably vexed, is in emigration or insurrection." Who is to be the judge of the vexation being intolerable does not appear: but if the people, (and they must be the best judges) then the right to revolt whenever men are dissatisfied, is clearly admitted—a position that we do not mean to dispute, particularly when emanating from so high an authority as this. It will be useful to the English reader to let him see what, upon the confession of this distinguished individual himself, is the actual conduct of the Government in India towards the native state of Hyderabad, about the welfare of which the East India Company profess so much solicitude, and which they desire to be considered as taken under their more especial care and protection. He says,

> At present, by imposing a Minister on a Prince, and supporting that Minister during pleasure (which is the conduct we actually pursue by forcing Rajah Chundoo Loll on the Nizam) we make the sovereign subject to his servant; we make the minister tyrant over his master: we patronize a virtual usurpation; and if the man, whom we choose for our own purposes, be a vicious ruler, (as this is acknowledged to be,) we sanction by our countenance all the evils of his misrule.—p. 219.

The letter which Lord Hastings addressed to Sir Charles Metcalfe, in reply to this, dated Oct. 25, 1822, is one of the highest interest, and would deserve, like many others from the same pen, to be reprinted at length, were it possible to find room for it here. He combats the notion of our right to interfere because we are supreme, as being a mere claim of the right of the strongest; and on the subject of the Resident's anger at Chundoo Loll's complaining of his conduct through another channel, the Marquis says, "to require that application for complaint should come through the hands of those complained against, would exclude complaint altogether." This is undeniable; but, unhappily for the whole Indian nation the British Parliament has even sanctioned an order of the Court of Directors, which enjoins that no complaints or appeals of their native subjects, against their Governments abroad, shall ever be sent to them except through the hands of the Governments themselves: and the constant plea upon which the discussion of public complaints through the press in India was opposed, was the very ground now so justly deprecated by Lord Hastings, namely, that complaints against secretaries, and other public functionaries of government, in India, ought to be made through the regular channels; or, in other words, through these very functionaries complained against, themselves. Such are the weaknesses and inconsistencies of human nature!

We commenced with a hope that we should be able to conclude what we wished to say, on this subject, in the course of a single article: but although we have already far exceeded the limits usually assigned to any one topic, we have only arrived at the commencement of the war which was literally waged upon the house at Hyderabad, by Sir Charles Metcalfe, Mr. Adam, Mr. Stuart, and, subsequently, by Mr. Fendall and Mr. Bayley also. The history of that persecution, for it appears to us to deserve no other name, is too curious, and too instructive, to be omitted, or

given in half a dozen lines. We shall, therefore, reserve this for a second article, and arrest our pen here, as a convenient halting place, having brought the affair up to the period when it was resolved to take the pecuniary transactions between the Government of the Nizam and the house of W. Palmer and Co. out of the hands of the latter, and transfer them to those of the East India Company's Resident; or, in other words, robbing a British house of business of the fair and just advantages, which it was enjoying from capital embarked in certain undertakings, with the knowledge, consent, and guarantee of the Indian Government; robbing also all the constituents of that house, among whom were hundreds of their own distinguished and meritorious officers, who had made certain sacrifices to furnish the house with funds for the purpose of fulfilling its engagements, and for the legitimate use of which they were fairly deriving the benefit of larger interest than was to be obtained in the Company's own dominions. The apparent motive of all this seems to have been a desire on the part of the Government, at home and abroad, to get the loan and its advantages into their own hands, to exercise an unwarrantable political influence over the affairs of the country, and to crush individuals who appear to have become obnoxious to them merely from the estimation in which they were held, and the power and influence which this gave them, at a Court where the Resident seemed to think that "two suns shine not in one hemisphere," and determined, like the Turk, "to bear no brother near the throne."

There will of course be much public discussion of all the questions involved in this matter hereafter; so that the public of England will hear more of it from others. But we cannot close even this imperfect outline of the first portion of the narrative, without saying, that throughout the whole affair, the character of Lord Hastings appears to the highest possible advantage. We have never shrunk from exposing his weaknesses, when they needed such exposure; and on the concessions which he made to the importunities of his colleagues on the subject of the Indian press, we have said enough to show that we are not unconditional admirers of his Lordship's public career. We hope, however, to receive equal credit for sincerity, when we say that we have risen from the perusal of these Hyderabad Papers with the highest opinion of the integrity, right feeling, and sound reasoning of the Marquis of Hastings, in every instance in which he was opposed to his colleagues. There is not the shadow of a ground for believing that he was even influenced in the most remote degree in what he said or did on this subject, by any reference to the personal interests of the parties concerned in the house itself; and as to any participation, direct or indirect, of personal advantage to himself, from any thing that was sanctioned by his authority, it appears to us, that his character is as free from any ground of imputation of this nature "as is the driven snow from stain." His best friends could not render his fame more essential service, than by compiling a volume of his admirable minutes and letters from this voluminous collection, and circulating them extensively among all classes of society.

The part taken by Sir Charles Metcalfe and Mr. Adam, though equally free from all suspicion of corrupt motive, as far as personal interest is concerned, is marked by very opposite qualities indeed to that of Lord Hastings.

The conduct of the Court of Directors has been haughty, insolent, unjust, and alternately distinguished by the most pompous affectation of oracular wisdom, and the most silly display of ignorance and imbecility, forming, as usual, an exhibition which cannot fail to make them appear ridiculous in all eyes but their own.

And lastly, a British house of business, that is acknowledged even by its most bitter enemy, Sir C. Metcalfe, to have done abundant good in the country in which it was established, and is shown by Mr. Henry Russell, his predecessor, (of whose excellent letter to the Court of Directors we shall have much more to say hereafter) to have been productive of the most essential benefit to the Nizam's government, and to all classes of people living under it,—is broken up and destroyed, by a series of measures which we shall expose in detail, and which has driven it to bankruptcy and ruin; hundreds, nay thousands, of innocent individuals, who have not only had no share in these transactions, but who have the most powerful claims on the East India Company's protection and assistance, are reduced to beggary and destitution by the acts of their Government, and punished with the utmost severity for transactions with which they could have had nothing whatever to do.

The Directors may smile in secret over all this wreck and devastation, of which they and their servants abroad have been the willing and consenting instruments. But we trust the British public at large will not fail to treasure up these records of their iniquities for the day of trial, when it will be to determine whether the finest countries of the earth shall longer continue to be subject to the curse of an insolent, an oppressive, and an irresponsible monopoly of acknowledged despotism.

STANZAS.

Yes! I have loved and valued thee,
Nor guile, nor thought of guile were mine;—
But oh! since thou canst faithless be,
I'll grieve not for a heart like thine!

Lady—when first thy bright blue eye
Met and controlled my raptured gaze,
Mine was the fond and pleading sigh
That fervent adoration pays!

Could I have known, what now I know,
Its beam but kindled to betray,
In vain had shone the spurious glow
That led a trusting soul astray.

'Tis not an eye of brightest hue
Can woman's nobler spell impart;—
Unchanging love, and feeling true,
Forge the strong fetters of the heart!

D. L. RICHARDSON.

ON THE RECOVERED MS. OF MILTON, NOW IN THE PRESS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I observed in a late advertisement, that "early in the ensuing year will be published," in the original and a translation, the recovered MS. "Joanni Miltoni Angli de Doctrina Christiana," which, among scholars and divines, has justly excited no small curiosity.

The last thoughts of Milton, in the maturity of age and judgment, when, as Waller happily says, "leaving the old," we "stand upon the threshold of the new" world, while

> The soul's dark cottage, batter'd and decay'd,
> Lets in new light through chinks that time has made:

the latest conclusions of such a mind on such a subject as that *de Dei cultu*, would be, indeed, a valuable discovery. Such, however, is, I fear, scarcely to be expected, should the recovered MS. prove, as generally supposed, to be the same of which Phillips writes, as you have correctly quoted him, (ii. 250,) and to which Toland thus referred, in 1698, in his Life of Milton (ed. 1761, p. 136): "He wrote likewise a *System of Divinity*, but whether intended for public view, or collected merely for his own use, I cannot determine. It was in the hands of his friend, *Cyriac Skinner*; and where at present is uncertain."

Phillips evidently describes not an original argumentative treatise, but a compilation, or, in his own words, "a perfect system of Divinity," which Milton had "thought fit to collect from the ablest of divines, who had written on that subject." These, no doubt, were several, though the biographer names only *Amesius* and *Wollebius*.

The first of these theologians, *William Ames*, has an article in the *Biographia Britannica* (i. 171). He was "famous for his casuistical and controversial writings; but much more so abroad than in his own country." Becoming obnoxious at Cambridge for his *puritanical* notions, he resigned his fellowship at Christ Church about 1611, and withdrew into Holland, where for twelve years he filled "the divinity chair in the university of Franeker." Thence he retired to Rotterdam, where he died in 1633, at the age of 57, just as he had "determined to remove to New England." He is described as "a strict Calvinist in doctrine, and of the persuasion of the Independents." Among the numerous and very learned works of *Ames*, the *Medulla Theologica* appears, by its title, to have been most adapted to Milton's purpose. He might also have consulted the *Lectiones in omnes Psalmos Davidis;* and being then a strict Trinitarian, would probably approve the treatise *De incarnatione Verbi*, published in 1626, "against the Socinians."

John Wollebius, the other theologian named by Phillips, was "a native of Basil," who died in 1629. His *Compendium Theologiæ* was published at Cambridge in 1642, and is described as "a curious and valuable little tract, which has been translated into several languages." This was, doubtless, the work of *Wollebius*, to which Phillips has referred.

Milton appears to have returned from his travels in 1640, at the age

of 32. He, probably, soon commenced the occupations of a tutor, including "the Sunday's work," of which Phillips has given an account. Now the circumstances of Milton's life appear to justify the supposition that these employments of a tutor had ceased, at least, before 1650; nor is it probable that during his latter years Phillips continued to be his uncle's inmate, or so much at his disposal as to become his amanuensis, through the bulk of no less than 735 pages; and Toland (p. 3,) speaks of his acquaintance with "a person that had been once Milton's amanuensis," evidently neither of the nephews. I hope I may be mistaken, but I cannot help suspecting that this MS. so unexpectedly discovered, will be found to contain the earlier notions of Milton, adopted from the learned Calvinistic authorities of that age, and not his matured and latest opinions on theological subjects.

Even a cursory examination of Milton's writings would be sufficient to show that his earliest pieces incidentally discover an unqualified acquiescence in the *orthodox* opinions of his time, especially on the subject of the Trinity. Thus, towards the conclusion of his treatise *Of Reformation*, (1641,) his earliest publication, he utters the following sublime if not *scriptural* invocation:—

> Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next thee I implore, Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! And Thou, the third Subsistence of Divine Infinitude, illumining Spirit! the joy and solace of created things! One *tri-personal* Godhead!

Yet in the *Paradise Lost*, the poet, as I believe Bishop Newton admits, approaches *orthodoxy* only at the distance of *High-Arianism*. There occurs no language which can be fairly construed into an invocation of a Trinity; and in b. iii. 213—221, the poet appears to represent the angels as wanting the will rather than the ability to make the atonement, a notion comporting with *Arian* theology, though directly opposed to the *orthodox* dogma of an infinite satisfaction. But I find myself becoming too scholastically theological, especially for a work devoted to other valuable purposes, and must solicit your excuse. The poet, however, thus introduces "the Almighty Father" appealing in man's behalf to the compassion of the celestial assembly:—

> Say, heav'nly powers, where shall we find such love,
> Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
> Man's mortal crime; and just, the unjust to save?
> Dwells in all Heav'n charity so dear?
> He ask'd, but all the heav'nly choir stood mute,
> And silence was in Heaven: on man's behalf
> Patron or intercessor none appear'd,
> Much less that durst upon his own head draw
> The deadly forfeiture and ransom set.

In Milton's latest treatise, *Of True Religion, Heresie, &c.*, published in 1673, only a year before his death, he thus writes, as he assuredly would not have written in 1641:—

> The *Arian* and *Socinian* are charged to dispute against the Trinity. They affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to the scripture and the apostolic creed. As for the terms of Trinity, Triunity, Co-essentiality, Tripersonality, and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions, not to be found in scripture, which by a general protestant maxim is plain and perspicuous, abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words belonging to so high a matter, and so necessary to be known; a mystery, indeed, in their sophis-

tic subtleties, but in scripture a plain doctrine. Their other opinions are of less moment. It cannot be denyed that the authors or late revivers of these sects or opinions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious men—perfect and powerful in the scriptures, holy and unblamable in their lives.

In connexion with these variations in the theological phraseology of Milton, may be not unsuitably adduced the well-known circumstance of the omission, in his latter years, of all attendance on public Christian worship, as if no longer finding any such worship in which he could conscientiously unite. His nephew Phillips is, I believe, silent on the subject, but Toland has the following passage, (p. 139):—

He ever expressed the profoundest reverence to the Deity, as well in deeds as words; and would say to his friends, that the divine properties of goodness, justice, and mercy were the adequate rule of human actions; nor less the object of imitation for private advantages, than of admiration or respect for their own excellence and perfection. In his early days, he was a favourer of those *Protestants* then opprobriously called by the name of *Puritans.* In his middle years, he was best pleased with the *Independents* and *Anabaptists*, as allowing of more liberty than others, and coming nearest, in his opinion, to the primitive practice. But, in the latter part of his life, he was not a professed member of any particular sect among Christians: he frequented none of their assemblies, nor made use of their peculiar rites in his family. Whether this proceeded from a dislike of their uncharitable and endless disputes, and that love of dominion, or inclination to persecution, which he said was a piece of popery inseparable from all churches; or whether he thought one might be a good man without subscribing to any party; and that they had all, in some things, corrupted the institutions of Jesus Christ, I will by no means adventure to determine; for conjectures on such occasions are very uncertain; and I never met with any of his acquaintance who could be positive in assigning the true reasons of his conduct.

Bishop Newton, in his Life of Milton, (p. lxxv.) remarks, that, "in the latter part of his life, he was not a professed member of any protestant sect of Christians: he frequented no public worship, nor used any religious rite in his family." Yet he acknowledges, that "he was full of the interior of religion, though he so little regarded the exterior;" as if, to adopt the language of Dr. Hartley, happily disciplined to "walk with God continually," and "to sanctify the most ordinary actions by a perpetual dedication."

While "fond of the theme, and narrative with age," I have thus intruded upon you, Mr. Editor, much farther than I designed, and perhaps not sufficiently considering other important, and especially *oriental* occupations of your pages. But Milton is a subject which it is not easy to quit, and his name belongs to the whole civilized world, unless there be a region where exist any civilized barbarians who

——— Drop the man in their account,
And vote the mantle into majesty.

A few months will decide upon the conjecture I have ventured to propose, and discover to us either the *Milton* of 1641, happily proving the practical value of Christianity, that best *viaticum* for the arduous journey of life; yet perhaps too readily acquiescing, on controverted dogmas, in what "the priest and nurse had taught," or the *Milton* of a later day, obeying the apostolic injunction to "prove all things;" and devoutly offering to the Christian scriptures the appropriate and alone worthy homage of a rational interpretation.

N. L. T.

LINES WRITTEN DURING ILLNESS.

With withered hopes and growing cares,
I stand upon the edge of life;
My mind, grown weary, now despairs
Longer to bear the ceaseless strife,
  Which from my cradle e'en till now
  Fate has sustained to lay me low.

Well, I give way—my spirit bends,
For scarce one saving hope remains;
And Grief her wing of jet extends
Along my couch to point my pains,—
  For I had nourished dreams of fame;
  But now they vanish as they came.

Where is the bliss of life, to one
Who shuns the senses' aid to crave,
(The world and all despised,) alone
To be Imagination's slave?
  Around him Destiny lets fall
  Her dreary, joy-excluding pall;

I have not felt it—never yet
Has one unsullied month of bliss
Checquered my hours—the sun had set,
Which ever it presides, to this
  Delightful world when I did come,
  Never to find or peace or home!

And yet I have been loved, and known
What 'tis to raise in human breast
Visions of bliss:—but they, too, gone,
I sink in solitude to rest:
  A friend or two perchance may stand
  To lift my pain-struck, faltering hand.

I go to join "the many," there
On dim Cocytus' dreary shore,
Where all that's wise, or great, or fair,
Must pass in deepest silence o'er.
  There stand the shades of Rome and Greece
  To hail me in that place of peace!

Yes, there, on Acheron's wide banks,
The bard of Ithaca and Troy
Stands high amid the bay-crowned ranks,
The untimely Manes of a Boy
Who would have sung, to greet with smiles,
And welcome to the blissful isles.
  Farewell, thou weary world, farewell!
  I scent the meads of Asphodel!

Bion.

EXPLANATION OF SOME INDIAN NAMES FOUND IN THE GREEK HISTORIANS.

[*From the 'Indische Bibliothek' of M. Schlegel.*]

The Sanscrit scholar is often asked to explain the names of persons and places, as well as those of the productions of art and nature, which are found in Greek authors, as taken from the Sanscrit language. This, however, is not always very easy to be done. In judging of such attempts, we must take into consideration the defects of the Greek alphabet, the reluctance of the Greeks to introduce into their language unusual combinations of sounds, and their inclination to give to Indian mythological names, even by changing them, a signification in their own language. Thus Megasthenes, as Sir William Jones has observed, changed a name of the river Souas, which is either *Hiranyavâhus, the gold-armed*, or *Hiranyavahas, the gold-carrier*, into 'Ερασνοβόας, *the lovely-sounding*; had he known the signification of the word, he would have felt inclined to call it Pactolus.[1]

Sometimes also we may understand why the explanation cannot be given; as, for instance, when we hear that the philosopher Calanus was not really called so, but that the Macedonians only gave him this name from a word in frequent use; or that Alexander, only consulting his own inclination, completely changed the name of Panjab, one of the five rivers, because the real name did not sound sufficiently classical for his campaigns, in which every thing used to be assimilated to the deeds of Bacchus and Hercules.

From the examination of Indian words in Greek authors, incontrovertible proof may be deduced, that the Sanscrit language, in its most peculiar niceties, was, three centuries before the Christian era, so established, as we find it in the most ancient Indian writings. It is true, we should feel ashamed to prove such a position; as, however, the antiquity of Indian works has been attacked with the bold confidence of ignorance, we might be excused giving it. Furthermore, if an explanation of names be completely accomplished, perhaps we might succeed in finding out some historical aid, though the greatest caution must be observed with regard to this subject.

The following interpretations are an attempt for the furtherance of the above-mentioned great object, and are offered to the consideration of the learned in the Sanscrit language.

Ξανδράμης—In Diodorus, lib. xviii. cap. 93. *Xandrames* was, in the time of Alexander the Great, King of the Prasians and Gandarites. *Chandramas*, in the Sanscrit, is the more complete name of the moon, which is also called *chandra* only; *massa*, by itself, signifies *a month*.

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1 Pactolus, a river in Lydia, in which, according to the Grecian mythology, Midas washed himself, and after which period, it is said to have rolled golden sands. The Greeks called it Chrysorroas.

——— ubi pinguia culta
Exercentque viri, Pactolusque irrigat auro.—*Virg.*

(in Greek μεὶς or μῆς). Very frequently the Indians use, not only patronymic derivations and other composites of names of gods, but also the names of gods themselves.

Ἀμιτροχάδης—In Athenæus, lib. xiv. cap. 67. from Hegesander. *Amitrocales* is an Indian king, with whom Antiochus (probably the First), was upon friendly terms. *Amitra* signifies *enemy*, being compounded of *a* privat. and *mitra, friend.* One may already perceive that the latter part of the name must express the idea of victory or superiority. *Amitra-jit*, which signifies *conqueror of enemies*, is found in the " Genealogies" (Bentley's Remarks on Ancient Hindoo Æras and Dates, Asiat. Research. v. p. 338. Fr. Hamilton's Genealogies, Index); and, I believe, Ἀμιτροχάτης cannot properly be otherwise interpreted. The last syllable is from the root *Ji, vincere; Jita, victus;* but verbs, which are monosyllabically affixed, have in composition an active signification. This form wanted a Greek termination; the alteration is the slighter as the word increases in its other cases; for instance, accus. *Amitrojitam.* It is true, Ἀμιτρογίτης would have been nearer to the sound and nature of the letters. Where, in Sanscrit, the middle of the palatic consonants, viz. *ja*, stands, there the Greeks and Romans in the corresponding words usually have *g*: for instance, in Indian *janu, knee;* Gr. γόνυ; Lat. *genu.*

Σοφαγασῆνος—In Polybius, Exc. lib. xi. cap. 32. An Indian king with whom Antiochus the Great made an alliance. The Indian name is *Subhaga-sênas. Su* is a prefix, which corresponds in *signification* to the Greek εὖ. *Subhaga, happy, bene auspicatus; sênâ* fem. *an army:* the whole word, therefore, signifies *General of a successful army.* The short *u* of the Indians, the Greeks (to whom ου was always a diphthong) naturally expressed by an ο; for both aspirated consonants of each class, the Greeks having only one: *ph* and *bh* therefore are changed into φ. The names of kings and heroes terminating in *sêna* are very common in Sanscrit, and similar to those of the Greeks in στρατος. We find *Bhîmasênas* from *Bhîma, terribilis; Virasênas* from *vîra, vir,* &c. It is further to be observed that the Greek author preserves the quantity of the penultimate, and has expressed the Indian diphthong ê (which is composed and pronounced like the French *ei*) by η.

Κητεύς—In Diodorus, lib. xix. cap. 33, 34. An Indian warrior, of high nobility, General of Indian auxiliaries, who, in a battle between Eumenes and Antigonus, gloriously lost his life. *Kêtu*, nom. *Kêtus, an ensign, banner.* It is a common termination of compound names; for instance, *Chitra-kêtus*, signifies *having coloured ensigns;* the God of Love is called *Makara-kêtus*, because he has a sea-monster on his ensign. But *kêtus* also is found by itself as a proper name (Comp. Fr. Hamilton's Geneal.) The characteristic *u*, the Greeks have aptly expressed by the termination ευς, as otherwise they make Indian names to terminate in ις and υς.

Ξάθροι—An Indian nation mentioned in Arrianus, lib. vi. cap. 15. The cast of warriors is called in Sanscrit, both *Kshatriya*, and *Kshatra:* the latter form is easily recognized in the Greek. As Alexander found a state of Brachmans, (not to say that all were from the caste of priests; but so called because Brachmans were governors of the state,) he also found a state of *Kshatryas.* The present Rajputs, renowned for their bravery, call themselves from Rajaputtrâs, sons of kings, because they maintain that they are from the nobility of the caste of warriors. There

existed, therefore, as early as the time of Alexander the Great, in India, such independent states of Rajputs, ἔθνος Ἰνδῶν αὐτονόμων. In like manner, among the old Germans, the nation of the Eruler (Eorlas, according to Malte-Brun's ingenious conjecture), was nothing else but an alliance of the warlike nobility.

Σοροαδειος—The Indian God of Wine, in Athenæus, Epist. lib. i. cap. 48. according to Chares of Mitylene, who had written the history of Alexander. The Indians, it is true, have no god of wine; but the Greeks, always thinking of the passage of their god Bacchus through India, found it absolutely necessary to make one. Wine among the Indians is not, in general, so much regarded as with us; it is not more esteemed than other fermented or distilled liquors, as rum, arrack, &c. all of which seem to be of very great antiquity; but of which the use was wisely prohibited under pain of excommunication. Should any deity of the Indian Olympus be called God of Wine, the God of Waters, Varunas, would have the first claim thereto, as all spirituous liquors are called children of Varunas, *Varunatmaja*. In Σοροαδειος, I can perceive nothing but *Súrya-devas*, the God of the Sun, by whose rays, certainly, the grapes are ripened. Chares adds, ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ, οἰνόποιος. This misinterpretation can be somewhat explained by the Indian word *Sura*, which generally signifies a spirituous liquor, and from which, even in the "Cosmogony," the names of deities and non-deities (Sura and Asura), are playfully derived.

C. S.

SONNET,

Written on the Banks of the Ganges.

How fraught with music, beauty, and repose,
This holy time, and solitude profound!
A lambent lustre o'er the mountain glows,
With Love's sweet minstrelsy the woods resound.
Through the soft gloom yon sacred fanes around,
The radiant fly [1] its mimic lightning throws,—
Fair Ganga's [2] stream along the green vale flows
And breathes a calm and thought-reviving sound!
Such hour and scene my spirit loves to hail,
When nature's smile is so divinely sweet,
When every note that trembles on the gale,
Seems caught from realms untrod by mortal feet,
Where everlasting harmonies prevail—
Where rise the purified, their God to greet!

D. L. R.

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[1] The fire-fly. [2] The Indian name of the Ganges.

CRITICAL STATE OF EXISTING DISPUTES BETWEEN THE PERSIAN, RUSSIAN, AND BURMESE NATIONS, AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

Having received from various and authentic sources, and principally through private letters from individuals high in office in India, and many of them possessing the best information on the subjects on which they write, intelligence of more than ordinary interest, relating to the existing state of affairs in that country, we have thought it better to embody the whole in one article than to scatter the separate facts over a larger surface in the department of Indian News.

From one of our correspondents we learn that the present Burmese monarch has been recently in Persia, at the court of which country he was well received, and lived on terms of the most friendly intimacy with the Persian king and his ministers. It is confidently said, and generally believed in India, that the aggressions which led to the present war were but the first step of a concerted plan between the Persians, the Russians, the Nepaulese, and the Burmese, first suggested and matured at the Persian court, for the purpose of drawing off all our strength towards the south-eastern frontier, draining the north-western part of India of our best troops, and making an entry into that part of the British dominions the more easy. The probability of such a design on the part of the Persians, will be elucidated by the mention of other facts, which have come to our knowledge through equally authentic channels.

The predominance of French influence at the Persian court was, not many years ago, so marked as to render several successive embassies necessary to counteract it; and, after all, it was never completely overcome. The Russians succeeded as favourites; and in consequence of their continual hostility to the Turks, who enjoy the perpetual and unrelenting hatred of the Persians, from religious as well as political motives, they have constantly possessed much influence at the court of the latter, scarcely even interrupted by the occasional skirmishes between the frontier troops on the southern edge of Georgia. The English, on the other hand, from being known to pay much more honour to the Turks than to the Persians, from being understood to support the former against the encroachments of the Russians, and even to aid them by influence if not by direct supplies, in their attempt to resubjugate the Greeks, have been gradually declining in Persian favour. At Constantinople there has been for many years a nobleman as ambassador, with a splendid establishment and corresponding retinue. At Tabriz or Teheran there has been only an English Captain of Dragoons as Chargé d'Affaires, with a very moderate allowance. In the eyes of an Asiatic court, and semi-barbarous people, this distinction is almost insulting; and we believe that nothing but the strong desire felt by the Persians to possess as much as possible of the military knowledge of the English, induced them to bear this distinction so long with patience. There were stationed at Tabriz a few King's and East India Company's officers, who drilled their troops according to the European mode, superintended their equipments, exercised them in all the usual evolutions, and in short perfected them in European discipline. In addition to this, the Bombay government had complied with the Per-

sian king's request, in sending up a skilful working engineer from that presidency, with materials for forming an arsenal on an extensive scale. We happened to be in Persia at this period, inhabiting a wing of one of the royal palaces, with the engineer in question, Mr. Armstrong, and were consequently well acquainted with his occupations.

Under his superintendence a large arsenal had been already formed at Tabriz, in which brass cannon were cast, shot made, gun-carriages built, and all the apparatus of field and battering trains of artillery completed, from their own resources. The forests of Mazauderaun, on the shores of the Caspian Sea, furnished an abundance of excellent wood, and even coals; copper came in large supplies from the mines of Tocat; and iron and other metals were received from the borders of the Euxine: so that all they needed was a supply of able artificers, which Mr. Armstrong had then (in 1816) partly trained, and which are by this time, no doubt, completely independent of foreign aid.

Among the various highly interesting documents that have escaped from the secrecy in which they would otherwise have lain buried, had they not been published in the late compilation of Hyderabad Papers, there is a Political Letter of the Court of Directors to their government in Bengal, dated April 1815, which contains their deliberate opinions on the impolicy of thus teaching Asiatics our European arts and discipline; some parts of which are worth transcribing. They say,

'In our despatch of the 23d of December 1813, we apprized you of our intention at a future period to communicate our sentiments upon the subject of encouraging our allies to form regular battalions, disciplined after the European method, and commanded by British officers.

We have subsequently given to that subject all the attention which its importance required; and, upon full consideration, we are led to apprehend more danger from the extension of the European system of military discipline amongst the troops of the Native powers, than we can expect to derive [benefit] from their services.

To the superiority of the British discipline is to be attributed the establishment of the British empire in India;[1] and in proportion as that discipline is extended among the Natives not in our service, we must consider the power acquired as exposed to hazard.[2]

Whatever weight may be due to the opinions that have been brought forward in its support, the possible consequences of its establishment we deem of a magnitude sufficient to deter us from authorizing its further encouragement, particularly with reference to the artillery,—an arm in which it ought to be our policy not to extend the knowledge of the Natives.—p. 84, 85.

We shall not stop to comment on this open avowal of the East India Directors, as to their policy being to keep all others in ignorance and weakness, that they may be the better able to subjugate and enslave them; but merely state that, about the very period in which these instructions must have been received in India, the Persians were deriving from us all the advantages here commanded to be withheld. Soon after this, there was a serious dispute between Captain Willock, our Chargé d'Affaires, and the Persian Court, which terminated on his quitting the country; and from that period, we believe, the English have continued to be regarded there with a more unfavourable eye than ever.

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[1] This is a remarkable confession. It is then an empire of conquest and of force; and not, as it is so often hypocritically pretended, "an empire of opinion."

[2] In other words, they have the will, and only want the power, to drive us from the country.

It is now something more than a year ago, that it was resolved on, in England, and by the East India Company, that some distinguished individual of their service should be sent to Persia, as an ambassador, to renew our old friendship, and maintain a proper degree of influence at that Court. Sir John Malcolm was very naturally fixed on as a proper person for such an employment: his talents were highly estimated, not having then been submitted to the sifting scrutiny which they have lately had to undergo; his popularity was at its height, and he had established claims by two previous visits to Persia, in diplomatic situations, from the Supreme Government of India, and had left behind him a name almost universally esteemed by the natives of Iraun. Sir John, it is said, consented to fulfil the mission, provided he was sent from the King, as Sir Hartford Jones and Sir Gore Ouseley had been, before him; and not from the East India Company, whom the Persians had long since discovered to be a mere body of traders, holding their permission to rule India from the King, to whom, therefore, the Directors could not fail to be very inferior personages. It was determined, however, by his Majesty's ministers—Mr. Canning, as foreign secretary, of course taking the lead in such a question—that no royal commission should be given, and that the ambassador, whoever he might be, should only receive his authority from the East India Company. Sir John Malcolm said, at once, that no such embassy would succeed: he predicted that it would not only be unacceptable, but probably not be received at all, after they had been visited by royal ambassadors from George the Third, from Napoleon, and from the Emperor Alexander. He considered that any thing less than this would be an affront to the Court: that if the embassy were admitted at all, the envoy would not be respected, while he would be exposed to the hostile intrigues of the Russian imperial ambassador, under every disadvantage, and his position would be consequently painful and useless. In short, he refused to go without a King's commission, and contended, that he owed it to his country as well as to himself to persist in the refusal.

All this firmness was, however, in vain. The ministers would not relent from their purpose; and accordingly despatches were addressed to Lord Amherst, the present Governor-General of India, desiring him to select some able officer from the Company's service, to be sent from that country to Persia, on the East India Company's behalf, and on a more reduced scale than even former envoys had been allowed. The sum of 14,000*l*. a-year was the extreme limit to which the allowances were to extend; and out of this it was expected that the new envoy was to pay *all* the expenses of the mission and stay there. This would have been impossible at such a Court, where intrigues and bribery are more indispensable than even formerly, to make up the lost way, and to counteract the influence of Russia, which is there now all-paramount, and only to be neutralized by a powerful as well as popular ambassador, with a heavy purse.

A great canvass took place among the hungry expectants in Bengal, for this place. Mr. Henry Prinsep, one of the well-known six secretaries of the Government there, was thought to have the greatest claim, and he himself is said to have expected the appointment. Captain Abraham Lockett, the ex-editor of the Indian John Bull, is also said to have made sure of the place, from possessing Mr. John Adam's

interest; he having, subsequently to his editing the John Bull, been made the temporary Governor-General's temporary aide-de-camp. The former of these gentlemen is now, we believe, in England; and the latter, as a fit reward for the share he took in helping to defame the friends of freedom, in their contests with power at Calcutta, has been sent to Hyderabad, to assist Sir Charles Metcalfe in his reforms, the commencement of which was marked by the ruin of a British house of business at that capital of the Nizam's dominions.

Neither of these aspirants after place succeeded, however, in their wishes; the appointment being given to Major Macdonald Kinnier, an officer who had been as often in Persia as Sir John Malcolm, who has written a work on the geography of that country, as well as a Tour in Asia Minor, and who, upon the whole, was perhaps as fit a person as could be selected for the mission. Both himself and Sir John Malcolm are sons-in-law of the present Commander-in-Chief at Madras; and the former has held for many years the post of Town Major in the garrison of Fort St. George, at that presidency.

This officer had quitted Madras for Persia, with his establishment, (of whom, strange to say, Captain Willock, who had so recently left the Persian Court in disgust, was to form a part, being appointed first assistant to Major Macdonald Kinnier,) letters having previously been despatched to the Persian Court to announce his intended visit; when, on his arrival at Bombay, in the month of June last, in his progress to Persia, a reply reached the embassy from the Persian minister, stating, that his sovereign was not disposed to receive the mission from the East India Company, and desiring that no one might give themselves the trouble to come, unless he were a Royal ambassador.

If Mr. Canning and the members of the Board of Control had been as well informed on subjects of Asiatic policy as they ought to be, this mortifying and humiliating disappointment would never have taken place. But it is thought that the same cautious, and, we must add, crooked policy of the Foreign Secretary, which induced him to stand aloof at first on the question of the Pindarrie war, and hitherto on that of the Indian Press, suggested this course; and that it was principally with a view to save himself from the risk of being called upon to settle differences which might arise between the British and Russian ambassadors, that he wished to throw the whole burden on the shoulders of the East India Company; or at all events, to wait the issue of the experiment, and take the winning side. In this spirit, it is added, instructions were sent to India, forbidding the new envoy from corresponding with our ambassador at Constantinople, with the King's consuls in Syria or Egypt, with any officer under the Crown, with the Foreign Office, Board of Control, or even with the India House in England, making him responsible to the Bengal Government alone.

After the recital of the latest state of feeling between the Persians and the English, (and we have this information from Bombay, as late as the 23rd of June,) the reader will form his own opinion of the probability of the Burmese monarch, who had spent some years at the Persian Court, being on a good understanding with the Persians, Russians, and Nepaulese, as to his present measures. All our letters from the other quarters of India allude to the existence of strong symptoms of discontent in the Jeypore and Oudipore countries in the north-west; indeed this feeling

pervades all India at all times, but is prudently suppressed for the purpose of safety to the individuals, to whom it would be death to betray it. Great complaints reach us, from correspondents in every part of India, as to the weakness and folly of those with whom the war originated; and of the total ignorance of consequences displayed by them in their precipitate decisions. In the first place, the quarrel was altogether beneath the dignity of such a power as the British to notice: they might have put their eastern frontier in a state of defence, and defied the Burmese, at least till the rainy and unhealthy season was over. Instead of this, they assemble ships to convey troops to Rangoon, in the hottest weather, and in the stormy monsoon, making the invaded coast a lee shore; and rendering escape or retreat almost impossible. Rangoon had been captured, as might have been safely predicted; but it had been set fire to in several places, and was expected to be burnt to the ground when the last advices came away; so that, as a place of shelter and cantonment for our troops during the rains, which had yet some months to last, it would be useless: and harassing and active troops kept up a continual skirmishing with parties of our forces in the surrounding country.

On the land frontier the British had sustained a signal defeat, having several officers killed, some wounded, and others narrowly escaping with their lives, with a proportionate loss of men; but what was far more disastrous, a loss of reputation for invincibility, the great charm by which we really hold India; and whenever this charm is effectually broken, we may truly say, with the dishonoured Moor—

> Farewell the plumed troop, and the big wars,
> That make ambition virtue.
> ——Othello's occupation 's gone!

As an immediate consequence of the routing and defeat of the detachment on our eastern frontier, the British settlement of Chittagong is said to have been instantly abandoned, the English flying from it towards the presidency. It is added by others, that Dacca, the old Mohammedan capital, in the north-east of Bengal, had been taken by the Burmese; and by the latest accounts from Calcutta, the greatest panic prevailed even there. The European residents of that city are said to have been embodied into a militia for the defence of the town; a portion of the crews of the few ships that remained in the Hooghly had been disembarked, to strengthen their force; and daily apprehensions were entertained of a fleet of Burmese boats being in the river. Instead of desiring to banish from thence any Englishmen not having licenses to reside, the affrighted Lord Amherst and his wise councillors, with the staff on which he was so proud to lean for support, would gladly have received with open arms ten thousand unlicensed adventurers, with the blood of freemen in their veins, to help to defend them in the hour of need. Sir Edward Paget and Lord Amherst were quite at variance, as to the time and manner in which the war had been brought on, and still more so as to the military policy by which Mr. Secretary Casement had contrived to make the first operations so unsuited as to season, time, and place, and so uncertain, that no man could even imagine on the one day what would be likely to be ordered by the Military Secretary on the next.

It may be added, that a land warfare on the eastern frontier, and among the jungles, swamps, and overflowing banks of the Burrampooter,

from April to September, the hot and rainy months chosen for this campaign, is certain death to almost every European engaged in it. In 1793, the English sent an expedition into Assam; but we did not wait to keep it even one rainy season; and about 150 years ago, as the reader will see, on a reference to Dow's History of Hindoostan, a Mogul expedition, in the zenith of their power, went into that country; and after a series of sufferings and triumphs, nearly the whole of the army were cut off by disease, and the commander himself fell a victim with his troops. The passage will be found in a note below.[1]

Although we hope such a calamity as this will not befall our fellow-countrymen who may be detached on this service, we cannot help feeling

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[1] To the north of Bengal lies the rich province Assâm, which discharges the great river Burrampooter into the branch of the Ganges which passes by Dacca. The King of Assâm, falling down this river in his fleet of boats, had, during the civil wars, not only ravaged the lower Bengal, but appropriated to himself what part of that country lies between the Ganges at Dacca and the mountains which environ Assâm. His power and wealth made him an object of glory as well as of plunder; and Jumla (one of his generals) received an imperial mandate to march against him with his army.

Jumla, having filed off his troops by squadrons towards Dacca, joined them at that city; and, embarking them on the Burrampooter, moved up into the country which the King of Assâm had long subjected to depredation. No enemy appeared in the field. They had withdrawn to the fortress of Azo, which the King had built on the side of the mountains which looks towards Bengal. Jumla invested the place, and forced the garrison to surrender at discretion; then, entering the mountains of Assâm, defeated the King in a pitched battle, and besieged him in his capital of Kirganu. The vanquished Prince was soon obliged to leave the city, with all its wealth, to the mercy of the enemy, and to take refuge, with a few adherents, in the mountains of Lassa. In many naval conflicts on the river and great lakes through which it flowed, Jumla came off victorious; and the small forts on the banks fell successively into his hands.

Thus far success attended the arms of Jumla. But the rainy season came on with unusual violence, and covered the valley which forms the province of Assâm with water. There was no room left for retreating; none for advancing beyond Kirganu. The mountains around were involved in tempest, and, besides were full of foes. The King, upon the approach of the Imperialists, removed the grain to the hills, and the cattle were driven away. Distress in every form attacked the army of Jumla. They had wealth, but they were destitute of provisions, and of every thing necessary for supporting them in the country till the return of the fair season. To remain was impossible; to retreat almost impracticable.

The King had destroyed the roads in the passes of the mountains; and he harassed the march of the Imperialists with incessant skirmishes. Jumla, in the mean time, conducted his measures with his wonted abilities and prudence; and carried back his army covered with glory, and loaded with wealth, into the territory near the entrance of the mountains from Bengal.

Expresses carried the news of the success of Jumla to the Emperor. He acquainted Aurungzêbe that he had opened a passage which in another season might lead his arms to the borders of China.† Elated with this prospect of extending his conquests, he began to levy forces, and despatched orders to Jumla to be in readiness for the field by the return of the season. But the death of that General put an end to this wild design. Upon his arrival at Azo a dreadful sickness prevailed in the army, and he himself fell a victim to the epidemic malady which carried off his troops.—*Dow's History of Hindoostan*, 8vo. edit. vol. iii, p. 325 to 327.

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† It may be remarked that some persons have imagined our occupation of the Burmese dominions likely to lead us on even to China. It should be added that it is likely to bring the Chinese into a declaration of hostility against us at least; and not on that ground alone, though that would be sufficient, but because the Burmese are actually tributary to China, and send there a richly laden vessel charged with tribute every year.

great anxiety on their behalf, particularly under the long-protracted silence and general dearth of news from that quarter. We trust, however, that the certain result of the present difficulties in India will be to make many converts, both in that country and in England, to the doctrines which advocate the advantages of Colonization and a Free Press. What man is there in India, not excepting the most timid alarmist whose fears may be at the highest, who does not *now* wish that we had some thousands of sturdy British colonists, merchants, planters, mechanics, and others, scattered over the face of Hindoostan, as well as a large Indo-British population, attached to us by interest, placed on our north-western frontier, and doing the militia service of the country, while our regular troops are engaged in the south-eastern extremity of our possessions? What man in England, not excepting the most affrighted old Proprietor of India Stock, does not *now* wish that we had some really free presses in India, from the conflicting and severely scrutinized statements of which we might possess such accounts of public affairs as might be relied on? The fetters which now bind them all render it impossible to receive through that channel any accounts but such as are palatable to the Governors there. Defeats may succeed defeats; dissatisfaction and discontent may spread widely on every side; nay, open mutiny and rebellion may take place in the very heart of our dominions, and among our own countrymen too, and no one here may know any thing of the matter. We should like to know how the anxious Proprietors of India Stock approve of the new system of silence and despotism to which they have so recently given their sanction. Would it not be of some comfort, and tend at least to calm their apprehensions, if they had in their hands something better than mere official intelligence, sent through the "regular channels," and containing the reports of men on their own conduct? Would it not be better, also, that the Government of India knew what the people of that country, British as well as natives, really thought about the war there, where, if there were any thing exaggerated by an interested or opposing party, it would be exposed to general scrutiny, and contradicted or refuted in their own Gazettes? As it is, both proprietors and directors, as well as the English ministers and the English public, are all at the mercy of private letters from individuals, each telling its own tale, subject to no check against misstatement, and exposed to no contradiction.

As to the policy of our conquering the Burmese territories, and retaining them in our possession, we think it highly questionable, even were it much more easy than it is likely to be. We have already too much of territory in India, and neither a sufficiency of troops to defend it, nor of civil officers to administer and control its affairs, to say nothing of merchants to explore and bring into active use the immense resources of the country, or of agriculturists to reap the fruits of its almost exhaustless soil. The best policy, for many years, at least, would be to confine ourselves within the Indus and the Burrampooter, to act on the defensive only on our frontiers, to double at least the number of civil and military officers thoughout the country, to admit freely as many European settlers as could be induced to make India their abode, and to let the press, with the natural progress of information, and the powerful influence of public opinion, do the rest. Let us hope that the time is not far distant when this may be seen to be the wisest and best course to pursue.

THE MINSTREL OF WAR.

From their coverts the breezes
 Crept forth one by one,
And the waters, that slept
 Ere the light of the sun
Pour'd down on their bosom,
 Now frolicked along,
As if waked into motion
 By Annabar's song.

Sail on, gallant pinnace,
 The tremulous wave
That now bears thee to glory
 May yet be thy grave;
Yet sail on its bosom
 While young Annabar
Pours forth to the echo
 His carol of War.

" O Mars! from the splendours
 That burn on thy brow
Dissever one ray
 For thy victim below;
And oh! though he fall
 In his freshness and bloom,
May it burn o'er his ashes
 When pressed by the tomb!
I ask not for victory,
 Take it who may!
To be swift as the eagle,
 And bright as the day,
And brave as the lion
 Which roars in the net,
That, wounded and fallen,
 Is terrible yet;
This, this is my prayer,
 Thou God of the brave,
Whom heroes adore
 On the edge of the grave!"

On bounded the pinnace,
 Bright glittered his eye,
When the tower of the foeman
 Rose dark in the sky;
From its battlements winged
 Now a swift arrow came,
And its point steeped in darkness
 Young Annabar's name.

REVIEWERS REVIEWED—TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, Bombay, June 21, 1824.

Observing that, in your First Number[1] you have inserted an article respecting the Injustice hitherto done to Oriental Literature, I beg leave to point out a circumstance, connected with this subject, which is, I believe, unexampled in the mystery of reviewing. In the BRITISH CRITIC for March 1821, was contained a review of the Second Volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, which was written in a very impartial and satisfactory manner. But the sentiments then expressed seem to have been disapproved of by the Conductors of this Review; for, in May 1823, appeared a second critique of the very identical work, which had been reviewed twenty-six months before. That this did not proceed from accident, but from design, is rendered too obvious by the different style of criticism adopted, the nature of which will be best seen by contrasting the following sentences extracted from the two critiques:—

From the British Critic for March 1821.

If we do not admit that the present volume, put forth by the Literary Society of Bombay, offers quite as much amusement to the general reader as he will find in its predecessor, we may with safe consciences affirm that it exceeds it in research, and contains matter of more permanent value. To the most important papers we can hope to do little justice; and if the impression left by our review be otherwise than highly favourable to the contributors of them, it is because their communications have condensed into so small a space so much that is worth attention, that they seem to defy all attempt at abridgment.

It is to these two papers by Mr. Erskine that we have principally alluded in the commencement of this article. We have been able to offer nothing further than a most imperfect outline of their important contents; which would sufficiently demand attention in themselves, even if they did not call in question the judgment (upon the point debated) of a name ever to be approached with such deep reverence as that of Sir William Jones.

From the British Critic for May 1823.

It is no longer a matter of doubt that the field of Asiatic Literature is entirely exhausted, without having yielded to the European scholar one tithe of the fruit which it was expected to produce. The dreams of Sir William Jones have not been realized either in respect of science or letters. The poetry and history, whether of Hindostan or of Persia, have proved childish and meagre in the highest degree. The Mathematics and Algebra of the most learned Brahmins exhibit the mere elements of that sublime reasoning which establishes the rela-

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[1] The First Number of the Oriental Herald reached Bombay in May, and it probably arrived at Calcutta and Madras about the same period; but the most recent advices direct from these Presidencies are of an earlier date than this letter from Bombay, which is indeed the latest that has reached England, up to the time of our writing this, from any part of India. In a very short period from this, we may expect to receive communications from all the Presidencies, of which we shall not fail to make the earliest and best use that our space will admit.—ED.

tions of numbers and quantity. The boasted analysis of the Hindoos appears in the eye of European students as the very beginning of abstract arithmetic; and, in a word, the progress of Oriental antiquity in physical and moral knowledge, as well as in works of imagination and ornamental composition, are now found to have been greatly overrated. The mine, when it was first opened, looked extremely rich, and promised to cover the western world with a treasure equally new and precious; but a deeper search has only created disappointment, betrayed the inherent worthlessness of the metal, and accused the ignorant enthusiasm of those who first directed the zeal and hopes of their countrymen to an investigation so utterly unprofitable.—The great object, indeed, with most essay writers, and particularly with those who solicit a place in the memoirs of literary or philosophical societies, is to make a figure; and having in general very little to say, they find it necessary to be very saving of their topics, and to spread their ideas over as extensive a surface as possible.

It is rather humbling to find the penetration of the ablest men is so easily deceived, when influenced by the wishes, or obscured by the medium through which it acts. The work which was hailed by Sir William Jones, as the most fortunate event, which was to throw a gleam of light over the history of Iran and of mankind, has proved to be nothing more excellent than the paltry compilation of a migrating chronicler, superstitious, ignorant, and credulous, &c.

Of the Third Volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, the British Critic for September last [1823] observes—

We cannot say of this volume that it is either interesting or amusing. Confined by the plan of the society, or by the acquirements of its members, to a very limited range of investigation, these Transactions present such a degree of sameness and mediocrity, that the reader feels himself obliged to turn over page after page in quest of something that may gratify his curiosity, or reward his labour; and at length to find himself at the end unsatisfied or disappointed. The religion and antiquities of India no longer possess the interest which they once excited in the mind of an European: the absurdity of the one, and the uncertainty of the other, having completely exhausted the patience of the most resolute scholar, and mocked at the same time, his desire of knowledge by a repetition of the most monstrous and uncouth fables, and by an array of dates and epochs, which no extent of credulity could tolerate. The literature, too, of Hindostan, as we remarked in a former article, has been found of much less importance than the enthusiasm of its more early cultivators would have allowed them to anticipate; while the science of the East, even when aided and embellished by the more rational philosophy of Europe, is now admitted to consist of a few rude principles, unskilfully connected and illogically pursued.—As the labours of the Bombay Society appear to be restricted to inquiries which bear more or less directly on the illustration of Eastern manners, language, and religion, the barrenness of the field, and the tame uniformity of its views, are never relieved by the introduction of the richer and more varied discussions which respect European science and modern interests.

If this character of Oriental Literature be correct, it must be evident that its cultivation is a mere waste of labour, which can tend to no beneficial result. But were this "learned Theban" asked if he were acquainted with Arabic, or Persian, or Sanscrit,—or if he had ever read the works which have been written relating to the literature, science, and history of Asia, it is most obvious that he would be obliged to answer in the negative. For the whole tenor of his critique shows, beyond a doubt, that he is totally ignorant of the subject on which he decides so positively and dogmatically.

There is, however, a studied obscurity in the manner in which the Reviewer has expressed his opinion, because he has not pointed out the particular instances wherein research has ended in disappointment. Before, therefore, drawing such a conclusion, it would have been but just

to have specified those dreams of Sir William Jones which have not been realized. That accomplished scholar observed in his second Anniversary Discourse, that "although we must be conscious of our superior advancement in all kinds of useful knowledge, yet we ought not therefore to contemn the people of Asia, from whose researches into nature, works of art, and inventions of fancy, many valuable hints may be derived for our own improvement and advantage." But will any person at all acquainted with the subject assert, that sufficient data have been yet collected from which it can be reasonably deduced that the expectations of Sir William Jones were unfounded?

Had the Reviewer reflected for a moment, it must have occurred to him that inquires into the literature and science of nations can be only prosecuted with success by persons who have been accustomed to such researches from their youth, and who have leisure to dedicate to them. For had the learned men of Holland and Germany, who have thrown so much light on all that relates to antiquity, been officers, collectors, and judges, instead of professors, it is very evident that the world would have been deprived of their valuable labours. In this country particularly the want of previous preparation is the greatest obstacle to such inquiries; for an officer leaves school before he is fifteen or sixteen years old; civil servants prosecute their studies two years longer, but the advantages derived from Haileybury College are still problematical; and the longer time that medical gentlemen remain at home is of course applied to acquiring a knowledge of their own profession. But these classes form the chief part of Indian society; for the number of legal and mercantile gentlemen is very limited, and their peculiar avocations prevent them from cultivating Oriental literature.

Unless, therefore, the Reviewer can show that the innumerable works contained in the different languages of Asia have been carefully examined by persons competently skilled, his argument, that, because nothing valuable has been yet discovered in Oriental science or letters (were it even the case), nothing valuable can be discovered, must be considered as highly absurd. To decide this question, data are still required, and that Literary Societies are admirably calculated for collecting such data, the Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres are alone a sufficient proof. But in judging of such Transactions as are published in India, it ought never to be forgotten that the papers contained in them are written, not by professed Literati, but by persons denied the benefit of a complete education, deprived of access to libraries, and engaged in professional duties. To the merit, therefore, of "Literary Essays," such papers make no pretensions; and all that can be reasonably expected in them are, a certain degree of originality, grammatical correctness, and perspicuity. Nor is the value of such paper to be estimated by its own contents, but by a reference to the subject, which the information contained in it may tend still further to elucidate.

Your own knowledge, however, of Indian society, will convince you that nothing is more likely to discourage the exertions of these Societies than such criticisms as those in which this Reviewer has thought proper to indulge. You know well that there are many persons in this country who are perfectly capable, from their talents and acquirements, to communicate much valuable information, but who are prevented from writing by the dread of committing themselves. Hence encouragement is

absolutely requisite for drawing forth the latent talent which is widely spread throughout India; and a Reviewer, therefore, if he notice works or papers written in this country, and if he be a friend to the extension of knowledge, ought for the time to lay aside the sneer and the scalping knife, and to confine himself to the proper duty of criticism, the pointing out of faults when committed, and the awarding of praise when due. But it is evident that for the performance of this duty a competent acquaintance with the subject criticised is indispensable; while for the purpose of urging objections, and of censure, ignorance and prejudice are fully sufficient.

At the same time, this systematic attack on Oriental Literature, through the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, by the British Critic, seems quite inexplicable. For the incapacity of the writer of these critiques to perform the task assigned to him, even so as to conceal his utter ignorance of the subject, must be self-evident; and hitherto, whatever other faults might be ascribed to Reviews, the articles contained in them have at least borne the appearance of having been written by persons who were acquainted with what they were writing about. But an exception occurs in this instance; and, as it would seem, solely for the purpose of repressing inquiry into the literature and science of that part of the world, from which it is universally admitted that all literature and science originally proceeded. This must appear passing strange, and it must therefore be hoped in charity, that the conductors of this respectable Review will perceive the absurdity of their conduct, and that they will hereafter adopt a different style of criticism, should they think it worth their while to notice any other works on Oriental Literature.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GNOUS.

SONNET.

How dearer far than day, is day's sweet close!—
Its breeze is balm unto the wounded soul,
That feels a kindred peace—a mild repose
'Mid nature's soft tranquillity. The spells that stole
The mind from loftier aspirations—now
Are powerless and past—the cheated bosom blest
With transient calm, joys with a holier glow
Meanwhile each finer impulse of the breast,
Kindness with love and gratitude profound,
To Him who gave alternate morn and night—
The sun to wheel his life-reviving round—
And yon sweet Orb! to pour her glory bright.
These are the transports of thy votaries, Even!
These are thy charms, that win the soul to heaven.

D. L. R.

LETTER FROM MAJOR MOOR, ON THE CASE OF THE PARSEE MERCHANT OF BOMBAY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

Sir,—In your last Number you have given an article, under the title of "Fraudulent and Disgraceful Transactions in the Government of Bombay;" in the "practical illustration" of which you have introduced the case of Cursetjee Monackjee, a Parsee merchant of Bombay. Any one reading that article, must, I think, be impressed with the feeling that I (the then Garrison Storekeeper, Capt. Moor) was a participator in the wrong, alleged to have been done to Cursetjee Monackjee. I have, therefore, to request of you to admit into the pages of the next, or an early succeeding Number of your Herald, this my endeavour to exculpate myself from the charge thus made against me: and I trust to your sense of justice in not refusing to let the public hear, through the same medium, the defence of him, whom you have been induced to condemn unheard.[1]

You have seen fit to say (I omit that portion of the passage which does not immediately bear on what I have to complain of) that—

> Captain Moor applied to Cursetjee Monackjee, the unfortunate Parsee, and succeeded in purchasing from him, on the pretence of its being a private transaction and for private purposes, a large supply of rice at the then depreciated price, which was two rupees per bag less than the price agreed to be paid by the Bombay Government, for the supplies to their military department: and which, indeed, would have been paid, had it not been purchased under this pretence of its being for a private and altogether distinct purpose. Nevertheless, this rice, when bought, to the extent of 38,000 bags, was actually sent off through the military department of Bombay, to General Wellesley's army; by which the unhappy Parsee was literally defrauded of 76,000 rupees, on that transaction alone, every bag being had from him, on the understanding of its being a private sale, and for a private purpose, unconnected with their commissariat demands, at two rupees per bag less than the proper price; Captain Moor himself acknowledging, when the matter was referred to him by Government, that it was from motives of *policy* (so printed) he concealed the fact of the rice being required and supplied for the military department.—p. 197.

I lament, Sir, that I am compelled to ask you to concede to me so much space in your pages as may suffice to enable me to repel the insinuations, or rather the direct charge, contained in the paragraph just quoted, as well as in some others that I shall notice presently. You will perceive that my own exculpation is not all I aim at.

The transactions adverted to, occured in 1802. I then held the office

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[1] If we had a disposition to condemn the writer unheard, the same feeling would induce us to suppress all mention of his letter now. Nothing, however, can be more remote from our general wish and practice than this. We commented on the transactions, as they were described in the Judgment of Sir Edward West, and the Letter of the Parsee Merchant himself. Whenever the facts stated in these were erroneously set forth, the inferences drawn from them must be defective; but a judge can only decide on the evidence produced before him; and a public writer is as liable to receive imperfect or erroneous evidence as a judge; the situation of each in such cases is nearly the same: both can only pronounce on as much as they know.

of Garrison Storekeeper* and Commissary of Provisions at Bombay. Cursetjee Monackjee had a contract with that Government for the exclusive supply of rice for the military department,† as you have detailed in the above quoted page. I received orders, immediately from the Governor, to purchase a quantity of rice. It is very probable that I was at the time told for what purpose; for in the daily, indeed almost hourly intercourse which I had with the Governor, pending important supplies and services, and from the usual confidential and unreserved nature of our communications on such matters, it is not likely that such information was withheld from me, although I cannot positively say whether it was or not. The rice in question made a part, and probably no great part, of a requisition from General Wellesley for the supply of his army then about to approach hostilely the capital of the Mahratta empire. Every one must perceive the expediency of such important movements being kept from public knowledge: this movement imperatively required secrecy. On these occasions of supply, out of the usual routine of my office, I acted as confidential agent of the Governor. In the ordinary routine of official business, my orders came through the Military Board, under whose control my office was immediately placed. I am not aware that this variation in the channel of my receiving such orders makes any difference on the main point of alleged injury to Cursetjee Monackjee, as to the breach of contract. My orders were to obtain the rice on the best terms for the public service.[2] Had nothing farther been said than merely giving me the order to procure the rice, I should have resorted to the contractor, as I was in the habit of doing pursuant to my general instructions. It is likely that I brought to the notice of the Governor the price of rice in the market, in reference to the contract price, and the probability of remonstrance on the part of the contractor. At the time of which I speak, it is possible that the Governor and I were the only persons in Bombay who knew of the requisition or the cause of it. I do not except even the members of Government or the Secretary. On some occasions, when the Governor deemed secrecy of vital importance, I have been placed in this undesirable predicament.

Could I, under these circumstances, have told the contractor or any one, for what purpose the rice was wanted? He, no doubt, inquired anxiously, as the question involved a serious sum to him, and it is probable (I am compelled from the nature of the case, in regard to lapse of time, to speak often of *probabilities*,) that I postponed satisfying him on that point. The "motives of policy" on my part were public motives. As to my having "purchased it from him under pretence of its being a private transaction, and for private purposes," as has been stated, I posi-

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* Its designation was soon after altered to that of Commissary General.—*Capt. M.*

† I cannot quote the express words, whether "the Military Department," or "their Military Department," or what they were.—*Capt. M.*

[2] We never supposed that the concealment, from motives of policy, *originated* with Capt. Moor; but that he merely fulfilled the wishes of his superiors: otherwise we should have fixed the strength of our censure on him, and not on his masters, as we have done. The fault was not in his concealing the destination of the rice—that might have been extremely proper; but in the Government afterwards acting upon the understood notion that it was not for military purposes, and thereby depriving the Parsee of his claim to the full contract price for it, as such.

tively deny it. There was nothing "surreptitious" in my "mode of gaining this supply for Lord Wellesley's army." (p. 197.) The mere notion of such a thing could never have been entertained by any one acquainted with all the circumstances of the case. It would really be a ridiculous supposition. It was morally impossible that I could want such a quantity of rice for private purposes. If I had obtained it under such a pretence, the fact of its issue for a public purpose, a fact not to be concealed, a fact as open to Cursetjee Monackjee as to myself and twenty or thrice twenty people in and about my office, where Cursetjee himself usually passed part of every day, would in due time have thrown the useless falsehood in my face. He must have known it was for a public purpose, although, under my necessary reservation, he could only suspect it was for an immediate military purpose. Your view of this point of the case is, I admit, in part borne out by a passage in Cursetjee Monackjee's Letter to the Bombay Government, to which I shall presently farther allude.[3]

At the time of which I speak, that of purchasing the rice, or rather of receiving the order (for some days may have intervened), I think I can say that I had never seen the contract between the Bombay Government and Cursetjee. It was of no consequence, perhaps, whether I had or not. With the technical construction of its clauses I had no concern. Whenever the contractor saw or suspected a breach of contract, to his harm, he probably remonstrated with me, and enforced his remonstrance by producing his contract. Finding that I could not redress the alleged injury, his remonstrance, in due time, came of course under the notice of the Government.

The supplies of provisions, through my office, for distant armies in Egypt. &c. had been very great; and probably were so for the approaching army under General Wellesley; for which, although at a great distance, precautionary depôts were now, on his requisitions, under formation. For some articles Government had contracts; others I purchased in the best way I could. It appears that on this occasion I resorted to Cursetjee Monackjee for the rice in question, as a person who would supply me as cheaply as any one; leaving the construction of his contract and the alleged breach of it to the law officers, if called on, of Government.

Here let me state, that if you, or any one, suppose pecuniary considerations to have influenced me on this occasion, you are wrong. Whether I received the rice in question from Cursetjee Monackjee as contractor, or by purchase (in what you call "this surreptitious mode"), or bought it from any one else, or did not receive or purchase it at all, made

[3] This is all that we desire to be conceded to us. If, by private purpose, be meant unmilitary purpose, or any other use which occasioned it not to be a commissariat supply, so as to cause to the contractor a loss of his proper contract price, this, as far as the Government was concerned, was not merely a deceptive concealment, but as the sequel proved, a positive injury. We never supposed for a moment that Major Moor bought the rice on his own account, or that he could have derived any profit whatever from the transaction. It was the parties subsequently refusing to pay the contract price who were chiefly to blame. And if our first view of the case was borne out by Cursetjee Monackjee's Letter to the Bombay Government, we have fulfilled our duty to both parties in stating it to the best of our knowledge.

not the difference of a rupee to me. I gained nothing by the measure; and contemplated no gain, in whatever manner it was carried into effect. My buying it from Cursetjee Monackjee, was so far doing him a piece of service, as he would at any rate gain his mercantile profit on the supply, whatever might be the result of his remonstrance as to the alleged breach of contract. Would it not have been extreme folly in me, if, conscious of having a deed of darkness in hand, to the injury of Cursetjee Monackjee, to have bought the rice from him, in a "surreptious mode," or in any mode? I can take upon myself to say positively, that in my mode of purchasing this rice, it was done as openly, and as fairly, and unsurreptitiously, as any purchase I ever made.[4]

When I examined the contract, I probably found it not so specific in its provisions as it might have been; in so far, at least, as not bearing on the precise point at issue. Whatever my opinion of it might have been, I had no motive for concealing it from any one. The subject may have been discussed twenty times between the Governor and me; but it is not likely that my opinion on the technical construction of the contract was officially asked, "when the matter was referred to me," (p. 139); and I "expressed my opinion that had I indented on the contractor for the whole of the rice, he would have been entitled to 110,000 rupees," (p. 274.) Such matter, so referred, was not the legal tenor of the contract; but, most likely, a call for a report of the difference or saving to Government, arising from my having purchased the rice at the market price, as ordered, instead of receiving it on the terms of the existing contract; a report easily made, being little else than a question of two and two.

It is in this place that I wish to offer something in explanation of the source of this alleged injury to Cursetjee Monackjee.

If, as I have stated, there was a deficiency of clearness and precision in the terms of the contract, and a doubt was raised as to its real tenor, what step could the Bombay Government have taken, when the remonstrance from the contractor reached it, but that which it did take—namely, to call on the established law officers of the Government for a professional opinion on the case? And what was that opinion? "That as the rice in question was not supplied for the use of the Bombay Army, and as the supply to that army only could have been in the contemplation of the contracting parties where the contract was made, no obligation existed binding the Government to take rice for the Madras Army from the contractor."

This, I believe, was the substance of the opinion given by the law officer—and if so, could the Bombay Government give a sum of public money in the teeth of that opinion? What would have been said at the time? Had the Governor prepared such a thing, some member of Council would in all probability have protested against it—for a portion of responsibility rests with each assenting member of Council. But if not, what would the Court of Directors have said when the subject came under their scrutinizing eye? They would have said something to this effect:—"You have lavishly given away a large sum of public money. In a doubtful case as to the legal construction of a clause in a contract,

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[4] The observations contained in the preceding note 3, may be repeated here. No supposition of private gain to Capt. Moor was ever entertained by us:—the gain was to the East-India Company; the loss to the Parsee.

you very properly took the opinion of established law officers, and you have acted in the teeth of it. You ought to have acted in accordance with it, and have left the contractor to his remedy." Would there have been any thing unjust or unreasonable in such an animadversion?[5]

I do not mean, either, to cast the blame on the original framer of the contract. It was drawn up as usual by the Company's Attorney, I dare say in the usual form that had for a series of years been found sufficient on similar occasions, of frequent recurrence. But here a novel circumstance arose, certainly not in the contemplation of the contracting parties; to send a supply from Bombay to the Madras army. Among all the numerous contracts for supplies to Government, through the means of native contractors, I question if in any one such a circumstance is provided for.

Endeavouring thus to do away any portion of the alleged "fraudulent and disgraceful transaction," from the then Governor of Bombay, I am doing only what I conceive to be due from me to the memory of that excellent man. No one who knew him will believe that he would intentionally wrong any one. Above all of the English in India, he was known as the friend of the natives. Very few Englishmen are held in such grateful remembrance by them. I never can silently hear his character impeached. In the case before us, I am convinced that he acted conscientiously from a sense of duty—and that no portion of the harsh epithets used by you can attach to him.[6]

In your report of the trial of the cause arising out of this question, the Judge is made to say, (p. 269) that "the plaintiff has been treated throughout the whole of this business most unjustly."—Again—"Reviewing the whole transaction, I cannot but say that this individual has been treated most shamefully." (ib.) This is, I admit, reasonable ground for your adopting the same opinion—and so believing, I cannot but commend your zeal in endeavouring to assist the injured individual in obtaining redress.[7] But I cannot accord in the advisableness of using such harsh epithets towards others who do not, I think, deserve them.

It might be also reasonably inferred by you, from some passages in Cursetjee Monackjee's letter to the Bombay Government, given in page 270 of your last Herald, that he felt himself injured by the part taken by me in this matter. The passages to which I allude are in the 3d, 18th, and 23d, paragraphs, and it is to these that I adverted in the latter part of the 5th paragraph of my present letter.

Few natives of India understand or write English so well as Cursetjee Monackjee. Still he is not equal to the composition of that letter; nor is he critically aware of the bearing of those paragraphs on me.

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[5] The worst part of the transaction is this, however: that after it *has* been decided, by competent law authorities, in an open trial, and by a full bench, that the Parsee has a just claim for damages, the Bombay Government refuse to pay him. Where is their reverence for the laws in this? Alas! with them and their honourable masters, they respect the law authorities only when they are on their own side: when adverse to them, they can contemn the law as well as other men.

[6] Major Moor himself admits that every member of council has a voice in such matters as these. We applied no epithets individually to any one: we spoke of the Government collectively; and to them as a body (for we know not who were for or who against the measure) all our observations must be taken to apply.

[7] This is all for which we desire to have justice done to us. The rest is matter of evidence entirely.

If he was, I am pretty sure that he would not have allowed them to stand. So far from his considering me his enemy on this occasion, I believe directly the reverse to be the case; and justly: for thinking him to have been aggrieved, I have from first to last wished justice to be done towards him; and whenever it has been in my power to do more than wish, have interested myself in his behalf.[8]

The Judge is made to say—"those who composed the Government during the whole of the transactions are passed away. I am unwilling to speak harshly of those who are gone." (p. 269.) But in the common acceptation of those terms it is not so. Except the Governor, all the then members of Government are I think living; and most of the officers also under Government, who had any thing to do with the transaction. The Commander-in-Chief, ex-officio, President of the Military Board, and two Members of Council; the other two members, the Advocate-General, on whose opinion I presume the Government to have acted; the Adjutant-General, a Member of the Military Board; the Chief Secretary to Government—all these gentlemen are now in Europe. The then Secretary to the Military Board, since Chief Secretary to Government, is now a member of Council at Bombay. The Company's Attorney who drew up the contract, "has passed away, and is gone."

I may, I think, venture to say, that if the question could be put to the survivors of the above official gentlemen, they would one and all, to the best of their recollection and knowledge, say that the part taken by me has all along been friendly to Cursetjee Monackjee. You have used (p. 209) the name of one of the most honourable of men, Sir Charles Forbes. He was at Bombay at the time. He has from that time to this known my sentiments on this matter. He can tell you that we have often conferred on it in Cursetjee's behalf. Even within these few weeks he can tell you that I have applied to him for documents which I believed to have been in his possession, and obtained them, that I might promote, if I could, Cursetjee's cause, should it unfortunately come before the King in Council. Sir Charles and I, it is true, have not always agreed as to the most advisable measures for Cursetjee Monackjee to adopt to obtain redress: but our views, and wishes, and endeavours, tended to the same point—obtaining justice for the man that we thought aggrieved. The results thus far do not, I admit, appear to prove the accuracy of my previous opinion, or the wisdom of my advice to the plaintiff, on the point of resorting to a Court of Law.

I may farther, and as the strongest evidence, refer to Cursetjee Monackjee's own letters (notwithstanding the bearing of the passages in that above referred to) for his unoffended feeling toward me. He cannot divest himself of the notion that I am a person of some influence in England; and almost ever since I have been here, say 18 years, he has by frequent letters acquainted me with the progress of his measures, views, hopes, fears, &c.—asked my opinion and advice how to proceed, and earnestly solicited a continuance of my friendly regard and assistance, both in this and in other affairs. His last letter to me is of the 1st of February 1824, accompanied by a copy of his letter given in your last Number, to the Bombay Government (p. 270), in view to my as-

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[8] We have the best reasons possible for believing this to be strictly true.

sistance, should the adjudicated point be brought before the King in Council.

It may not be proper on this occasion to *name*—but such of the Directors of the East India Company as I have access to, could testify how warmly I have advocated Cursetjee's cause personally and by writing, when it has been before the Honourable Court. I do not say that such advocacy is altogether correct; but its frequency on very many occasions almost conceals its probable impropriety.

When no question of business has been stirring on either side, we have been in the habit of interchanging an annual letter, expressive of old friendship, and existing good will. I may add that our acquaintance commenced officially, and ripened into esteem and friendship from the zeal and integrity which he ever manifested, when such manifestation was of import to me and to the public service. We acted together daily, perhaps for years after the purchase which has given rise to this lengthened process, with undiminished cordiality; and finally parted in the same friendly feeling. I am glad to perceive that his Lordship the Recorder, quoted the testimony which I appear to have officially given to the character of Cursetjee Monackjee—"of his being a most faithful and zealous servant." (p. 269.) I have said the same of him on all occasions.

To conclude—Let me assure you that, as far as my knowledge and belief extend, the number of your Herald to which I have so often referred, contains the first and only shadow of blame ever imputed to me, from the first moment of the transaction to the present, by any person whatever—and you cannot wonder at my anxiety to repel such imputation; though you may, with me, lament the length to which I have been led to trespass on your columns. Trusting, however, that you will endeavour to find room for my letter,

I have the honour to be,

Sir, your obedient servant,

Oct. 4, 1824. ED. MOOR.

In a concluding note on this Letter, which we insert with great pleasure, as helping to do justice to more parties than one, we shall embrace an opportunity of supplying and correcting some few errors, not noted in Major Moor's Letter, which bear upon the case.

It was stated that Sir Anthony Buller, the Recorder at Bombay, awarded 47,000 rupees, with simple interest at 6 per cent.; and it was added by us, that supposing the principal to have been correct, the award ought to have been with compound interest at 9 per cent. We have since learnt, that the latter was the award which the Recorder really intended to give, and that this view of the case was admitted by him to be just, but sitting on the bench with the Mayor and Aldermen, who constitute with him the Recorder's Court, he was overruled by the majority, and their opinion consequently prevailing, formed the verdict of the Court.

With regard to that part of the proceedings which occurred under Sir Edward West's Recordership, the following additional circumstances have since come to our knowledge. When the decision had been given by this Judge in favour of the Parsee merchant, the Bombay Government wished to move for a new trial, on the ground that their own Advocate-General, Mr. Norton, had not brought forward the strong grounds of their case. The Recorder expressed his willingness to grant a new trial, if good grounds for such a step could be shown, but rejected the ground here set up as totally inadmissible: as indeed it must appear to every one; for if the dissatisfaction of a losing party with the conduct of their counsel were a sufficient reason, there would be no end to the demands for new

trials in every possible case. He is understood, however, to have signified his readiness, notwithstanding the rejection of the claim to a new trial, to give the whole case a rehearing in chambers, if both parties should voluntarily apply to him for that purpose, to let the Advocate-General renew his defence, and to sit as an arbitrator in the case, on the understanding that in so doing no further proceedings would be urged in Court. The Native, however, was satisfied with the verdict: and the Bombay Government, being dissatisfied, determined to appeal. We sincerely hope the result will be, that the Parsee will obtain even the amount of interest which Sir Edward West thought it necessary to deduct for the reasons before given.

It has subsequently also come to our knowledge, that the Parsee alluded to in Parliament, as threatened with being sent off the island, if he did not relinquish a profitable bargain that he had made with the Bombay Government, was not the injured Cursetjee Monackjee, but another equally respected individual, who, like the former, had been of the greatest service to the British interests in that quarter, and who received insults and threats for his reward. There are no doubt many others, besides these, known to residents in India: but till the press of that country is free, and subject to the laws only for whatever it may publish, we can only hear of acts of oppression by accident and by degrees.

As a typographical error of some consequence, it should be noted, that at p. 192, of our last number, in the contrasted parts of Mr. Elphinstone's letter, on one side, the words, "It would be likely to inflame the Natives," and on the other side, the words, "which is the very essence of freedom," ought to have been included within brackets—thus [ ], as being, not the exact words of the writer, but consequences following the arguments advanced by him; as may be seen in p. 244, in Capt. Seely's arguments, close of No. 1.

SONNET.

There is exulting pride, and holy mirth
In Freedom's kindling eye! Her radiant smile
Illumines now this glory-haunted isle,
The Queen of nations! Halo of the earth!

Impassioned orisons are breathing forth,
And lofty aspirations! Phantoms vile,
That chill the feeble spirit, and defile
The springs of thought and feeling in their birth—

Fade in the morning beam, and lose the power
That made us willing slaves! Fair Reason's light
Is bursting through the clouds that darkly lour,
And hide the face of Heaven! O'er the night
Of slumbering millions—oh! transcendent hour!—
The sun of Liberty is rising bright!

D. L. Richardson.

REMARKS ON A LETTER CONTAINED IN THE ASIATIC JOURNAL.

In the last number of the Asiatic Journal was inserted a letter from a correspondent, under the signature of Justitia, relating to the claim of Mr. Marjoribanks, and the debate which had already taken place on that subject at the India House. The dastardly conduct of the writer of that letter would scarcely entitle him to the courtesy of any notice whatever from our pen. It is for the sake of others, however, rather than himself, that we condescend to advert to it at all.

He commences his epistle by saying that he attended the Court of Proprietors in person on the 22d September. Had this been really the case, he possessed a full opportunity of expressing openly, and with all the responsibility of an honest man, whatever sentiments he might have entertained on the subject. But he knows well that he dared not, at the peril of what he evidently regards with much care, have openly uttered in person what he has so *bravely* ventured to do under the cloak of secrecy and concealment. He says also, that he should be unable to attend the Court on the day fixed for the then ensuing debate, and *therefore* he adopts this mode of putting his sentiments on record. But the masked slanderer should be told that anonymous accusations are no substitute for what honest men would freely utter in their own persons, and the eyes of all the world; and the bare assertions of Justitia, of whom no one knows any thing but that he is afraid to avow himself openly to those whom he accuses, can have no weight whatever, when compared with the delivery of his sentiments by some known and responsible individual in the Proprietors' Court. If Mr. Kinnaird or Mr. Hume were obliged to leave London, and desired to place on record what they would wish to say at any approaching debate, they would not do this anonymously, any more than members of the House of Lords entering a protest against certain proceedings which they could not attend in person, would do so under a fictitious name. Where mere difference of opinion only is expressed, there can be no objection to anonymous writings, as opinions are valuable or worthless without reference to the name or character of those who entertain them; but when serious accusations affecting character are preferred, the man who adopts the secret and irresponsible channel of anonymous communication to effect his purpose, must be a base and unmanly wretch, unworthy of the confidence of his fellows.

It is not our intention to touch here upon the merits of Mr. Marjoribanks's case; the second debate, a full report of which will be found in another place, entering into that question fully. We shall confine ourselves merely to such parts of this writer's letter, as appear to us to require more immediate notice, for which purpose we shall make a few short extracts, and comment on them as we proceed.

> With regard to Mr. Buckingham (says the writer) a very few observations will be sufficient to show the absurdity and weakness of his arguments. He commences his speech by *profanely quoting* a portion of sacred writ, for which he had not even the apology of its being at all apposite to the exemplification he desired to draw.

It is somewhat unfortunate for the reputation of the Asiatic Journal,

as a faithful reporter of the debates that take place at the India House, that, on turning to the report of the debate on this occasion, at page 412, of the same number that contains the letter from which the preceding extract is given, not a word of this allusion to "sacred writ" occurs, nor is even a hint given of the reason why the reporter has omitted it. At page 310 of the last number of the Oriental Herald, the reader, if he be curious in this particular, will see the passage adverted to by the writer, and passed over by the Asiatic Journal reporter. It was not, however, as the former asserts, a quotation of "a portion of sacred writ;" and as to its being "profanely" introduced, we can only say that the assembly to which it was addressed, must then have been extremely insensible of the profanity, as it was listened to with great attention, and did not incur even the most gentle murmur of disapprobation from any quarter whatever. In the minds of some men, however, any use of the scriptures, which goes to convict them of impropriety or inconsistency, is called "profane;" and if even a clergyman should be reminded of his duty, when about to inflict a wound on the reputation of another, by the quotation of some passage against "backbiting and slandering," he would no doubt call it a profane and unholy perversion of the sacred text. This is probably not far from the true state of the case in the present instance. The writer continues—

He (Mr. Buckingham) denied the supporters of the grant any *right* to *rest* their *belief* on the *character* of Mr. Marjoribanks; "for," said he, "*public character is nothing:*" and cited a lamentable case to prove that a man might at one time hold a good character; but that was no surety that it would continue.

What is meant by the first part of this sentence—a right to rest belief on character—we do not clearly understand: the expression is certainly not a happy one; and may mean either less or more than it conveys. But the assertion which follows, of our having said "public character is nothing," is a glaring and unpardonable falsehood:—the expressions used were these, "Amongst all the fallacies by which men are deceived, none is more prejudical than this, that reputed good character is a guarantee against all possible misconduct;" and again, "to set up reputed high personal character as a reason why no scrutiny should be permitted, and neither acts nor motives inquired into, is a fallacy of the most pernicious kind."—Let this serve as a specimen of the veracity of the writer in question, who could torture such expressions as these into the assertion he has founded on them.—The writer continues:

This perhaps is a specimen of Oriental logic; but I would ask Mr. Buckingham whether, in hiring a servant, character does not weigh with him? and when for a series of years an unimpeached character has been maintained, it is a presumption that the party cannot descend to the base arts that have been so liberally charged upon Mr. Marjoribanks?

We do not know the distinction between Oriental and Occidental logic; but if it be as wide as the distinction between this writer's assertions and the truth, it must be great indeed. In reply to the question asked, we may safely reply, that in hiring a servant, reputed good character would have its due weight; but it would not prevent an inquiry into the justice of such servant's claims, if he were subsequently to present to his master a demand for wages while he had been absent for two or three years on an excursion of pleasure with his friends in some distant country. This is a parallel case; and if no excellence of character would prevent a

master from inquiring into an unjust demand in one instance, so neither ought it to do so in another. The "base arts" which are said to have been charged on Mr. Marjoribanks, are simply these: that *he* believes he has a fair claim for remuneration on the Court, while other persons think he has no such claim, and each tries the question by reasons to be shown on either side in a debate. No one, that we ever heard of, imputes more to Mr. Marjoribanks than this: that his demand is unsupported by sufficient grounds; and whoever believes this, is bound as an honest man, to resist them. The stab of the assassin in the dark, is seen in the short sentence that follows; and which is appended to the extract given before, as if to close the sentence with more effect. It is this—

> But Mr. Buckingham (says the writer) cannot be ignorant of the value of character, or *to*[1] the evils which its loss entails.

The writer of this base and unfounded insinuation, would not have dared to utter this sentence in open Court, and in the face of the individual whom he thus secretly calumniates. Mr. Buckingham's character has been more slandered than that of any man perhaps who ever resided in India; and it is more than probable that this calumny proceeds from the pen of one hackneyed in the trade, and well prepared for his vocation by a long course of secret practice in the East. But Mr. Buckingham has at least this satisfaction, which it is not the good fortune of all men to enjoy, that after one of the most severe ordeals to which any man's character could be subjected, in a country where high premiums of reward were offered for the most bitter and rancorous calumnies that could be invented and applied, he came through a discussion of many months, and a legal investigation of a Court of Justice, without a single stain; while his calumniators were pronounced guilty, from the bench, and made to pay the penalty of their crimes by the sentence of the law. If this be "to know the evils which the loss of character entails," we are proud of that knowledge; but if the writer means his base insinuation as applicable to any other event than this, we fling the imputation back into his teeth with scorn, and tell him plainly, he is an unmanly dastard, who dares not support his accusation by his name.

LINES,

Written by moonlight on a pillar of the Ruins of Rajhmahal, in the East Indies.

Hail, stranger, hail! whose feet may haply stray
'Mid paths of Time, where Ruin marks his way,
When sullen moans the solemn midnight bird,
And the gaunt jackal's harsher cry is heard;
If thine the soul with pious impulse fraught,
In Fancy's vision rapt, and holy thought,
To thee these mouldering walls a voice shall raise,
And sadly tell how earthly pride decays,
How human hopes, like human works depart,
And leave behind—the ruins of the heart!

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[1] So printed in the Asiatic Journal.

RIGHT OF THE NATION TO ABOLISH AT ONCE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Oct. 25, 1824.

WHATEVER opinions may be entertained with regard to the freedom of the press in India, there seems to be but one opinion as to the public advantage which must follow from a full and free discussion of East Indian politics through the medium of the English press. The public obligation, therefore, to the Oriental Herald, is of no small extent, which, during its short existence, has introduced so many subjects of real national importance, and respecting which, the nation cannot remain much longer quiescent.

I shall feel flattered by obtaining your permission occasionally to contribute to so patriotic a purpose.

There is one misapprehension, however, into which yourself, as well as Mr. Hume and some of the most enlightened speakers in the India House, have been betrayed, and which it is absolutely essential to remove, before any decisive propositions can be laid down, or any really useful discussion take place:—I mean the erroneous supposition that the present Charter must of necessity continue to the year 1833; or to the end of its present nominal grant. Such is not the law with respect to *charters*. The legal term of their existence, is their continuing to operate for the public good:—this is the declared object of all such grants, as well as the declared condition of their duration.

Upon the law of this subject, as well as upon a series of facts, bringing the East India Company within its rule, I may trouble you hereafter; suffice it for the present to say, that the General Court has uniformly professed to receive its charter but on condition of its continuing to be consistent with the general good of the nation;—that so far back as the year 1793, the late Lord Melville, in arguing for a renewal of the charter, expressly laid it down as constitutional law, that his Majesty's Ministers would at all times feel at liberty, and, indeed, consider it their bounden duty, to advise its revocation, should it appear to them that the national interest required it.

The late Earl of Buckinghamshire, who negotiated the renewal in 1813, was more explicit on this head, and gave the Chairman of that day, and those who waited upon him, clearly to understand, that Government would feel at liberty, at any period of the stipulated twenty years, to recommend to Parliament any alteration in its terms, whether regarding principle or practice, which an alteration in the times might seem to require. Some change in the fundamental principles of preceding charters, at that time took place; others were debated; and several direct departures from the charter, as it came out in 1813, have since been insisted upon by Government, and quietly submitted to by the Company.

The recognition of his Majesty's territorial right over every part of the dominions of the Company, was for the first time insisted on in 1813; the charters of 1784 and 1793, professedly waived that consideration as matter of doubt. The putting an end to the anomaly of a "Merchants' Army" was at first insisted on, and at last only conditionally

submitted to on the part of Government. The conferences, discussions, and debates of that day, are all in print, and may afford matter of reference, as we shall advance in the consideration of this most important subject; and help to satisfy Parliament and the Public whether, since 1813, or, indeed, for a much longer period, the great interests of the British and Indian Empire, or the sordid and selfish purposes of a handful of individuals, have been most consulted?

A Calm Observer.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

Having received this letter at the late period of the month indicated by the date, and after the greater portion of our present Number had gone to the press, we have displaced other matter, previously prepared, in order to make room for its immediate insertion,—conceiving its views to embrace a subject of the very highest importance. We have neither space nor time to say more at present, than to express our great obligation to the intelligent writer, and to assure him that we shall look with no ordinary anxiety for further contributions from his able pen.

THE PIRATE.

His red flag flies
O'er the dark blue wave,
And his vulture prow
The rough waters lave;
There is crime on his brow
And blood on his hand,
And many have fallen
'Neath his bullet and brand.
Yet one is weeping who knew him, when
He lived and loved with his fellow men.

Alas! that day
Is gone for ever,
Its brightness again
Can cheer him never:
The light that he followed
Is feeble and dim,
And the grave is hollowed
Both for his and him.
For she that hath wept will weep no more:
The moment of anguish for ever is o'er.

A corse now swings
With the midnight air,
And the day-winds play
'Neath the raven hair;
'Tis the spiller of blood,
The scourge of the main,
He will ne'er on the flood
Hold his riot again.
He hangs o'er the waters—and none will shed
The tear of sorrow for the murderer dead.

D.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, Sept. 29, a Special General Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House, for the purpose of confirming the resolutions agreed to at the former Court, held on the 22d September.

The minutes of the last Court having beed read,

Mr. S. Dixon rose and said—I observe that a word is made use of in the report of the proceedings of the last Court, which, in my opinion, there is no occasion to retain. I allude to the term "considerable;" debate which is said to have preceded the adoption of the motion relative to Mr. Marjoribanks's allowance, and I cannot see what necessity there is to characterize the debate in any way.

The Chairman.—I think it will be admitted by every person who was present, on the occasion alluded to, that the debate which took place is entitled to the term "considerable," but as the hon. Proprietor objects to it, it shall be struck out.

The Chairman then said—The object for which this Court is summoned, is for the Proprietors to confirm the three resolutions agreed to by them at the last Court, the two first unanimously, and the last after a good deal of discussion, in which much acuteness was displayed on both sides. As an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) who is not now in his place, has signified his intention of demanding a ballot on the last question, I shall not trouble the Court with any observations on the subject, but shall merely perform the duty which is marked out for me, by moving that the Court confirm the resolution of the General Court of the 22d September, approving the resolution of the Court of Directors of the 7th of July last, granting a pension of 300*l.* per ann. to Mrs. Francklyn, formerly the widow of Major General Stevenson of the Madras Establishment.

This motion was carried unanimously.

The Chairman.—The next question in order is that of the grant to Mr. J. Marjoribanks, but as it has met with opposition, I shall defer it, in order to afford every opportunity for its discussion, and will proceed to the resolution which appoints Mr. R. M. Leeds to the post of steward and purveyor at the Company's Estate at Addiscombe. [Some interruption was here occasioned by General Thornton rising with the intention of addressing the Court.] I beg leave to intimate to the gallant General that I am at present in possession of the Court, and to assure him that at the proper time he will have an opportunity of speaking. I now move that the Court do confirm the resolution of the General Court of the 22d September, approving the resolution of the Court of Directors of the 21st July last, appointing Mr. Robert Martin Leeds purveyor at the Military Seminary, and steward of the Company's Estate at Addiscombe, with a salary of 400*l.* per annum.

General Thornton.—I do not rise to speak to the question, but to remark that in consequence of the Chairman having transposed the order of the resolutions, I shall not be able, when the motion respecting Mr. J. Marjoribanks is brought forward, to move, as I intended, that the Court proceed to the other order of the day; as there will then be no other order, I shall thus be obliged to move the adjournment of the Court.

The Chairman.—The gallant General must, I think, admit that the course I have adopted is the most courteous and convenient to all parties; and his object will be as well attained by the proposition of a motion of adjournment, as by his intended amendment. We could not, I think, proceed on a better plan.

Mr. S. Dixon.—Sir, as a gentleman has so recently pledged himself to attend, in order to call for a ballot on the question of the grant to Mr. J. Marjoribanks, and—

[As Mr. S. Dixon was speaking, Mr. Hume entered the Court, and the hon. Proprietor immediately resumed his seat.]

The Chairman.—The hon. Proprietor, who has just entered, is informed that out of courtesy to him I have altered the order of the proceedings, and have deferred the resolution respecting Mr. J. Marjoribanks till the last, and have just put the motion on the appointment of Mr. R. M. Leeds.

Mr. Hume.—I conceive that some misunderstanding exists respecting this appointment. It was incidentally asked at the last Court, whether the salary of 400*l.* per annum to be granted to Mr. Leeds, was distinct from the profits he would realize in the articles he supplied to the establishment? Now, as I understand the matter, the salary is to be limited to 400*l.* a year, and the contracts which Mr. Leeds is to make are to be done at the lowest possible charge, so as to leave him no emolument.

The Chairman.—The hon. Proprietor is quite correct in his conception of the question. The salary of Mr. Leeds will be 400*l.* a year, besides a cottage free of rent and taxes, with coals, candles, and stationery, and he will receive no emolument from any other source. Forty acres of grass land will be placed under

his control, for the produce of sheep, oxen, &c.

Mr. Lowndes.—I have a great aversion to the use of the term "steward." The "unjust steward" is spoken of in scripture, and I wish the word could be left out of the resolution. Why should the gentleman not be called merely "purveyor"? It is absurd to style a man a steward who has only forty acres of land to look after. How will Mr. Coke of Norfolk, with his 70,000*l.* a year, laugh at your "steward," who has to superintend forty acres of land! To apply such a term is to attach a vast deal of importance to a trifling matter. Whatever the reporters may say, I am determined to speak my mind boldly and openly. Let them misrepresent me as they like, I defy them to say that I ever betrayed my public principles. I do not know why individuals should take liberties with what I say in this Court. But I do not mean to confound all reporters together; some of them are gentlemen who have been at the Universities, and know how to conduct themselves properly. I would not mention these persons in the same breath with other low and grovelling reporters connected with the public press. [Interruption.] I have a right to feel indignant when I am so misrepresented in some of the papers, ministerial as well as opposition.

After an observation from the Chairman, which we could not collect, the motion was agreed to.

GRANT TO MR. MARJORIBANKS.

The Chairman observed that the subject which now remained to occupy the attention of the Court, was the confirmation of the resolution of the last General Court, with respect to Mr. Marjoribanks's claim. He would therefore move that this Court do confirm the resolution of the General Court of the 22d September, approving the resolution of the Court of Directors of the 14th July last, granting to Mr. James Marjoribanks, of the Bengal Civil Service, the sum of 69,026 rupees.

General Thornton.—Sir, I will not occupy the time of the Court for many minutes on this subject, because it occasioned much discussion when it was last before the Court. On that occasion every point was so well handled by my hon. friend, the Member for Aberdeen, that it will be unnecessary for me to trouble you with many observations. I will attempt at once to get rid of the business by moving that the Court do adjourn. It appeared to me from what was stated at the last Court, that there was no ground whatever for maintaining that Mr. Marjoribanks was compelled by necessity to come to England. It appears to me that it was more a matter of choice than of necessity, and therefore I am of opinion that this motion for confirming the resolution of the last Court ought to fall to the ground. I am willing to do any thing that is proper in favour of Mr. Marjoribanks and his family; but the proposed proceeding does appear to me so fraught with inconvenience and danger, that I feel bound to oppose it by moving the question of adjournment. It is clear that Mr. Marjoribanks might, if he had thought proper, have conformed with the quarantine laws. He obtained permission from Lord Charles Somerset to go on board another vessel, but of that permission he did not choose to avail himself. (Hear.) I wish to know whether the servants remained at Table Bay after Mr. Marjoribanks sailed for this country? If they did, why then could he not have remained also? Since he has not thought proper to pursue that course, we must come to the conclusion that there existed a strong temptation for him to come to England, to which he yielded. I am sorry for it; but Mr. Marjoribanks must be answerable for his own acts. I wish to get rid of the question in the civillest manner possible, namely, by a motion of adjournment. It is necessary to make a stand on the present occasion, to check attempts of a similar nature. (Hear.) If we do not do so, it is impossible to say where the evil will terminate. (Hear, hear.) As the most courteous and convenient mode of treating the question, I move "that this Court do now adjourn."

The amendment having been seconded,

Mr. Lowndes said—Sir, I do not comprehend the reason of throwing so many obstacles in the way of granting this sum to Mr. Marjoribanks, to which, had he remained at the Cape, he would have been unquestionably entitled. (Hear.) This motion will not deprive the Company of a single shilling more than they would have had to pay if he had stayed at the Cape. If there has been a little coquetting on the occasion—if Mr. Marjoribanks has manifested a desire to visit his native country, and took as an excuse the circumstance of an answer not having been returned to a certain letter, there is still not ground for refusing this grant. The excuse put forward by Mr. Marjoribanks may not be the most valid, but we should in cases of this kind make an allowance for the feelings of human nature. (Hear, hear.) I put it to the gallant General himself, whether, if he was at the Cape of Good Hope under the circumstances in which Mr. Marjoribanks was placed, and felt an ardent attachment for his friends and relatives at home, he would not be anxious to pay them a visit? There was, it is true, some temptation; but when the coffers of the Company will not be

affected, I should like to know why there should be all this difficulty:—

> "Why should all this difference be,
> 'Twixt Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee?"

How does Mr. Marjoribanks's staying at the Cape, or coming to England, make such a difference? It is nothing to us where he spends his time. In fact, we ought to rejoice if a servant of the Company restores himself to health by coming here, and to consider the indulgence as due to him. According to the statement of an hon. Proprietor, (Mr. Buckingham) to whom I listened with much pleasure on a former occasion, it is usual for persons to proceed repeatedly to the Cape from India, and to claim allowances on their return. Indeed he (Mr.B.) had mentioned the case of one individual who had gone backward and forward four times. What difference could it have made if this gentleman had come to England instead? None, in my opinion; only, it seems, if he had done so, he would not have received any allowances on his return. I cannot discern the justice of this distinction. The consideration that things would be the oftener called for, the more easy of attainment they were rendered, should not make us sluggish in doing that which is just. I wish the hon. Proprietor, (Mr. B.) as he appears to have the interest of the country so much at heart, would lend me his aid in abolishing pensions of every description. My plan is to deduct from every man's salary a percentage, from which, when any individual retires from service, he shall receive an annuity.—[The hon. Proprietor here resumed, and continued for some time his remarks, and again indulged in an episode on the misconduct of reporters, in which he had been before interrupted by the Chairman.] I have been a proprietor of East India stock for twenty-five years, and must certainly, I think, be allowed to understand the subjects which are generally discussed in this Court; and yet the reporters make me talk nonsense. Are we to suffer reporters to come here to put nonsense into the mouths of Proprietors? I hope that, in future, those gentlemen will father their own squint-eyed, bandy-legged, hump-backed bantlings, and not lay them at my door.—[The gravity of the Court, which had for some time exhibited symptoms of yielding to the humour of the worthy Proprietor, could not withstand this last sally, and was for some time convulsed with laughter.]—I have recommended one of the papers in which I have been misrepresented in several places, and I have been the means of having it taken in by thirty or forty families. Mine is a very hard case, I think, to be abused both by the opposition and ministerial journals. But this circumstance shows that I am an honest and independent man. If I make an indifferent speech, I think common humanity should induce these gentlemen not to make it appear worse than it really is. If a portrait-painter were to select all the defects of a person's face, he might make a faithful likeness, but it would not be an agreeable spectacle for the individual or his friends. The word "report" is often synonymous with a lie; and it really seems as if the word "reporters" was derived from that source; for they frequently publish a pack of lies. Last session, Mr. Wilberforce complained of the reporters misrepresenting the speeches delivered in the Houses of Lords and Commons; and if misrepresentations of my speeches continue to be published, I shall probably feel myself under the necessity of insisting that the reporters for those papers in which the misrepresentations appear shall be excluded from the gallery. They have no right to thrust themselves into every public meeting; it is a matter of indulgence for them to sit here, and I want them not to abuse it. I hope, however, that they will never be prevented from sending forth to the world fair reports of discussions on public subjects; for there is nothing I dislike more than secrecy. But we must guard against the licentiousness of the press. We all know that water is a very good thing, and yet it may become a curse. This is the case with the press. The liberty of the press is a great blessing; but its licentiousness is a shocking evil.

Mr. Lush rose to order.—For the last half hour the hon. Proprietor has been indulging in this kind of declamation, which is entirely irrelevant. I hope that he will either stick to the question himself, or give way to some other gentleman who will.

The Chairman.—The hon. Proprietor complains that he is misrepresented by the papers, and he certainly could not choose a fitter opportunity of commenting on it. But he has, I should think, said enough on that point to set himself right with the Court.

Mr. Lowndes.—I shall bow to the authority of the Chair, and hope, if I have indulged in vehement language, the Court will take into consideration the provocation I have received, and make some allowance for the feelings of human nature. The treatment that has been dealt out to me is enough to make flesh and blood complain. I am an advocate for the freedom of the press—I hope it may last for ever—but I maintain, the strongest enemies it has to cope with are those who encourage its licentiousness, and make it a vehicle for abuse and misrepresentation.—[The hon. Proprietor here touched upon the subject of the grant to Mrs. Francklyn].—Those who

form improvident matches should be the sufferers for their want of prudence. I do not mean to deny to ladies the liberty of marrying a second time, but they should secure—not a QUOD PRO QUO, as the newspapers had it, making me even speak bad Latin, but a QUID PRO QUO. The hon. Proprietor sat down repeating his admiration of the liberty of the press.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM.—Amidst much that was irrelevant in the observations of the hon. gentleman who has just sat down, there were two remarks that had strict reference to the matter in discussion; and as one of these apparently made some impression on the Court, from its being hailed with the cry of "hear," I feel desirous of offering a few observations on it, while it is fresh in their recollection. The hon. Proprietor, in attempting to apologize for what he evidently considered to be a yielding to temptation on the part of Mr. Marjoribanks, called upon the Court to bear in mind the feelings of human nature, which had created in this gentleman a desire to visit his native country. The wish is, undoubtedly, a natural and an amiable one; but the right to carry it into effect, upon any occasion that may offer, is a very different question. In a former debate, I alluded to the case of Mr. Wilkinson, who, time after time, felt it convenient and agreeable to release himself from the labours of his office, and to seek health or pleasure in successive voyages to the Cape of Good Hope, where, however, he was content to remain, without proceeding further. But this is not the case with Mr Marjoribanks. He has chosen to proceed to England, knowing that this was beyond the limits prescribed to all who expect the continued receipts of their pay during their absence; and yet he comes to this Court to ask for the whole of the emoluments to which he would have been justly entitled only by remaining at the Cape, as his fellow-servants, under similar circumstances, continually do. Admitting, therefore, that Mr. Marjoribanks *has* been influenced by the best feelings of the human heart, in yielding to the desire of revisiting his native land, he has surely no right to claim remuneration at our hands, for thus giving way to temptation, and being unable to command his natural inclinations. When the the pension to Mrs. Francklyn was proposed at the last Court, (which I am glad to find has been unanimously granted,) I remember that the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Lowndes), who apparently opposed the grant, made some observations respecting the imprudence of that lady, in yielding to temptation, and forming a second marriage. But the desire of marriage, and of obtaining protection, must be as powerful and as natural in the female sex, as the love of pleasure, and the wish to return to one's own native country, are in our own. Yet it so happened, that on the occasion to which I allude, a compliance with this natural feeling was held forth as a matter of reproach in the case of Mrs. Francklyn; and it is now adduced as a ground of palliation in that of Mr. Marjoribanks, an inconsistency which it is not easy to reconcile. (Hear!) The whole question of remuneration to servants absent from duty, is one of the greatest importance. It presents a wide field, and embraces a variety of considertions, into which, however, I will not at present enter, although I hope the time will come, when great revisions and improvements will be made in this respect. The hon. Proprietor (Mr. Lowndes) has contended that, whether Mr. Marjoribanks continued at the Cape, or came to England, must have been a matter of indifference. In point of fact this cannot be denied: whether he were idle in Africa, or idle in Europe, his services to the Company must have been equally lost. But the law has made an express distinction between the situation of those who keep within certain boundaries, and those who go beyond them. It has said, clearly and definitively, that the Cape of Good Hope, or St. Helena, shall be the limit to which the Company's servants, going in search of health or pleasure, shall be restricted, if they wish to retain their allowances during their absence: and this being a rule known to all, and universally applied in practice, whoever goes beyond it, knows the consequences. I believe that there are many gentlemen within the hearing of this Court, who will agree with me, in thinking, that if even half the allowances given to the Company's servants who remain at the Cape, were permitted to be drawn by such as might prefer coming to England, not a single individual would continue at the Cape, even on his full allowances; but every one would be found eager to take advantage of such an opportunity to revisit his friends and native country, and enjoy, if for ever so short a period, the superior pleasures which these afford. The Cape is, indeed, little better than a place of exile. There is no society there suited to the habits of Indian gentlemen, except that of a small circle of Englishmen like themselves, whose numbers are constantly fluctuating. The invalids, who proceed there, contrive to patch up their health, and get back to India as soon as they possibly can: and it is notorious that they would never be content to go there at all, were it not that going to England is attended with the loss of allowances, which they are there permitted to retain. I have taken some pains to make myself acquainted with all the points contained in the correspondence relating to the

case of Mr. Marjoribanks, which has been laid before the Court; and the conclusion which I am conscientiously obliged to draw from it is this: I believe that Mr. Marjoribanks, when he embarked for the Cape, really intended to remain there, and that his efforts for that purpose were those of an honest man; but that the temptation, as it is called, of returning to England, was too strong for him to resist, and he yielded to it accordingly. He did not, in my opinion, avail himself with sufficient promptitude of the liberty of transhipment, granted to him and his companions by Lord C. Somerset; although this operation of passing from one vessel to another might have been as easily performed by Mr. Marjoribanks as by others who are in the daily and hourly habit of so doing: at least there could have been no more difficulty in proceeding from one ship to another, than in proceeding from the vessel to the shore; and it is clear, from the correspondence, that they would readily have undertaken this, and that boats were passing to and fro with safety continually. It is not likely, indeed, that Lord C. Somerset would require of them what was impossible. He must have known whether or not the passing from the ship in which they were to any other in Table Bay was practicable or not: and in default of evidence to the contrary, we are bound to consider it as perfectly within their power. This leads me to the essence of the question; namely, whether Mr. Marjoribanks, who had voluntarily come to England, although he might have remained at the Cape of Good Hope, had he chosen so to do, should be paid at the same rate as if he had actually remained at that place, and complied with the regulations of the service, to which all his fellow-servants have, up to the present hour, been uniformly and invariably subjected. The Act of Parliament is explicit on this point, and the usage is also against the claim here set up. On these grounds, therefore, I shall oppose the grant. At the same time, I hope that the day will soon arrive, when we shall be called upon to discuss the great question, whether all the Company's servants, let them go where they please for the benefit of their health, so that they may be restored to their duties as speedily and effectually as possible, should not be placed upon the same footing. (Hear, hear.) It appears to me that justice requires these senseless distinctions to be abolished; and I shall be happy to see a more equitable and liberal system, made legally applicable to all, take the place of the present partial and unjust mode of denying even the fairest claims to some, and heaping undeserved favours on others. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Tucker.—Sir, it is stated in one of the letters to the Supreme Government, to be the intention of the Court of Directors to take the opinion of the Company's Law Officers on the present question; I should wish to be informed whether this step has been taken. Since I gave my vote in favour of the grant, at the former Court, some doubt has arisen in my mind as to our ability to adopt this proposition, in conformity with the Act 33d Geo. 3. cap. 52, sec. 33. which provides, "that if any civil servant of the Company, having leave to remain at the Cape of Good Hope, proceeds to England, he should forfeit all allowances." It is proposed to obviate this difficulty by having recourse to the 53d Geo. 3. by which the Court of Directors is empowered, with the concurrence of this Court and of the Board of Control, to grant certain gratuities to their servants. Though you have thus skipped over one Act of Parliament, to take advantage of another, I am inclined to think the first contains so positive, direct, and peremptory a provision, that it is impossible to set it aside. The sum in question, is to be granted as a gratuity or compensation for arrears which have been forfeited or are in deposit. According to the words of the resolution of the Court of Directors, the grant is of the nature of a gratuity. Now the Act of the 33d Geo. 3. is in direct opposition to such a grant. This provision, I admit, may be dispensed with under certain circumstances; for instance, the Legislature will not require an individual to perform impossibilities, nor inflict a punishment for not performing an act which is beyond his power. In such a case the Act in question may be dispensed with. If circumstances should arise, over which an individual cannot possibly have any control, such, for instance, as being captured by an enemy, brought to Europe, and finally to England; or, supposing the ports of the Cape to be closed in consequence of its possession by a hostile power; in such cases he could not be responsible for not doing what was entirely out of his power. It is absurd to suppose the Legislature will inflict punishment in a case where an individual cannot effect an impossibility. It has, however, been said, with respect to Mr. Marjoribanks, that his claim to compensation is established by his having acted under a kind of "moral coercion." This is the opinion of the hon. Director (Mr. Pattison), whose view of the case has been characterized by much liberality of sentiment, and whose arguments have displayed great ability. I conceive, however, that some doubt would still exist as to whether the moral coercion spoken of, is a sufficient reason for setting aside the peremptory provision of the Act; and it is difficult to say whether you are authorized to perform what you intend. You are not to set aside an Act of the Legis-

lature from the fear of inconveniences, of storms, or even of death. Such a "moral coercion" was that under which Mr. Gordon Forbes lately acted. But though he acted under, in my opinion, the strongest moral coercion, yet he was not justified on that account in committing a breach of the law. Were I to be supplied with a pistol, and commanded, under pain of death, to commit a murder, the law would not hold that circumstance as a justification of the crime; though it might palliate the deed and moderate the punishment; yet still I should not be justified. It is my opinion that Mr. Marjoribanks and his friends might have transhipped themselves when at the Cape. The payment of twelve guineas a day was, it appears, demanded for the use of a vessel; but this circumstance is a proof that a vessel was to be procured. Thus arose the difficulty; as they were to choose between submitting to this exaction, and risking the loss of their allowances. When I consider what serious inconveniences they are likely to be exposed to, I think that, though they might have transhipped themselves at the Cape, they were perfectly justified in proceeding to St. Helena. It is possible the disease might have terminated during the voyage, or that they might have been able to tranship themselves with less disadvantage. Such considerations might, perhaps, have weighed with them in directing their course to St. Helena. I am extremely sorry that an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) should have made use of such harsh language in describing the motives under which he conceives these gentlemen acted. I believe them incapable of having recourse to any description of trick or stratagem. I speak from personal acquaintance; and I am sure such conduct could not be theirs. (*a*)

This allowance is, it would seem, demanded, not as a matter of favour, but as a right. Any idea of favour had been disclaimed by an hon. Gentleman, on the part of Mr. Marjoribanks and his family.

Mr. Pattison.—"Commiseration" was the term made use of. The question of right has not been agitated; but the grant has been sought entirely as a matter of favour.

Mr. Tucker. — Is then one Act of Parliament to be set aside, by adhering to another? It is on this point I wish to have the opinion of the Law Officers. It is proper we should be informed how far we are acting legally, and whether we are not violating one Act of Parliament by availing ourselves of another. I believe that good faith has characterized the acts of Mr. Marjoribanks throughout this affair. Circumstances, which might perhaps have been evaded, though not controlled, brought him to this country. Had there not been an Amendment before the Court, I would have asked for the opinion of Counsel on the point to which I have alluded. If such an opinion has been taken, it ought to be stated to the Court; and if not, no time should be lost in obtaining it. We should be informed whether or no we are acting in opposition to the 33d of Geo. 3. The gallant General's Amendment precludes me from moving for this opinion, as it is impossible to move an amendment on an amendment. May I ask if the gallant General will consent to withdraw his Amendment in favour of mine? Were I sure we were acting legally, I should be content; but if the contrary, if we are rendering void the provision of one Act of Parliament by appealing to that of another, I conceive we are establishing a very bad precedent. A body like the East India Company, will be materially endangered, if the practice of destroying the effect of an Act of Parliament by indirect courses, is resorted to. I would not indemnify Mr. Marjoribanks for his losses in the way proposed. I have my Amendment ready to send in, if the gallant General will consent to its substitution for his. But if he is unwilling, I shall vote as appears to me just and necessary under all the circumstances of the case.

The Chairman.—It is quite unnecessary for me to make any remarks on the general merits of this case, having, on a former occasion, stated my opinion at length. But a question having been put to me by an hon. Proprietor, (Mr. Tucker) as to whether the *law* sanctioned the present proceeding, I deem it necessary to address a few observations to the Court. Undoubtedly, the opinion of the Com-

(*a*) This is a fallacy that never fails to make its appearance where arguments are few or weak. Do those gentlemen who use it put no faith in the doctrine of "original sin"? When it is said by the highest authority—"The heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked:—who can know it?"—do these apologists of human nature, who are so ready on all occasions to pledge themselves for the immaculate virtue of their friends, imagine that the "high character" of the Civil Servants of India does not come within the limits of this *universal* axiom? Can Mr. Tucker profanely presume to know that which the inspired writer deems beyond the knowledge of any man, namely, the heart of his neighbour? The truth is, that no man living can even safely say of himself what Mr. Tucker says of Mr. Marjoribanks, that he is *incapable* of yielding to temptation. The purest man that ever lived may be sometimes influenced by selfish motives: and to say of any man, that he is *incapable* of deception, is to deny not only every page of inspiration, but all the testimony of history, and the whole tenor of human experience. We recommend Mr. Tucker to search the Scriptures for proofs of frailty in the best of men; and after that to read Mr. Bentham's Book of Fallacies, to see the absurdity of setting up "high character" as of any worth whatever in a question of law and fact.

pany's law officers have not been taken on this question, because it was not considered necessary to call for it. The hon. Proprietor must suppose, if this resolution were brought forward by the Court of Directors, without duly weighing all the circumstances of the case, as well with reference to the law, as to their own peculiar merits, that they had lost sight of their duty. (*a*) Now, it was quite clear, that if Mr. Marjoribanks was entitled to this grant, as a matter of right, there would have been no occasion for the executive body to apply to this Court. But, that not being the case, they came forward, after maturely considering the subject, with a resolution signed by 21 Directors, recommending the payment of 69,000 rupees to this gentleman, who had, both at the Cape of Good Hope, and at St. Helena, used his utmost efforts to avoid a voyage to England. The proceeding was perfectly legal; and, therefore, I hope we shall have the vote of the hon. Proprietor, as he seems anxious to approve of the resolution if it comes within the scope of the law. The hon. Proprietor, I must again say, seems to think, that, in agreeing to this grant, the Directors had been guilty of a neglect of their duty. The fact, however, was not so. The proposition was not hastily acceded to. It had been taken up in the manner already stated to the Court, and was not agreed to until it had received due consideration. It stands as one of the items in the Report of the Court of Directors, on which this resolution is founded, that the amount to which they conceived Mr. Marjoribanks to have an equitable claim should be granted to him, subject to the provision of the 53d Geo. 3. which requires the sanction of the Proprietors, and of the Board of Control. The hon. Proprietor appears to think, that, in making this grant, the Court of Directors have violated an Act of Parliament. For my own part, I know not how such an offence can be justly alleged against them. The Court of Directors have, on the contrary, proceeded expressly, under the provisions of an Act of the Legislature; and I know not how the strict adherence to one statute can be construed into the violation of another. (*b*) The Court gave Mr. Marjoribanks this grant, in lieu of allowances, to which, if circumstances had permitted him to remain at the Cape, he would have been entitled. The resolution has been approved of by one General Court, and we now call for the confirmation of another, according to the terms of the by-law. This, I think, is sufficient to satisfy the Court of Proprietors that the Directors have done their duty correctly; and, if that be allowed, the objection of the hon. gentleman must fall to the ground. Then comes the question, how far Mr. Marjoribanks was justified in coming home. That gentleman was authorized to proceed to the Cape, but he was unable to land there, and he was no less unfortunate at St. Helena (to which place he was at liberty to proceed, though he was not authorized to come to this country), where he could not procure a passage back to the Cape. He then came to England; but in doing so, it was clear, and I hope the Court are satisfied of the fact, that Mr. Marjoribanks was compelled by circumstances to take this step—that he was not acting from his own free and voluntary will. The subject, I think, has been sufficiently canvassed, and it is the less necessary for me to expatiate on it, as an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) has given notice that he will take the sense of the Proprietors, by ballot, on the question.

Mr. Tucker.—I do not intend to charge the Court of Directors with neglect; but I think it would have been better, when it is considered that this question involves the legal construction of an Act of Parliament, had they consulted a law authority, and not have acted upon their own private opinion. Such a course would have been of advantage both to themselves and to this Court. I too have a private opinion on the question, but I think the best course would be to consult counsel in a case where so much doubt exists.

Mr. Pattison. — The observations which have fallen from the hon. Proprietor who has just sat down, have made the question assume a shape which does not belong to it. The one half of his speech has however so answered the other, that I am inclined to hope for his vote in favour of the original motion. The vote of the hon. Proprietor was given at the last court, evidently under the impression that Mr. Marjoribanks had a right to the grant, in consequence of his services to the Company. But the Act of Parliament which the hon. Proprietor has quoted, says he had none. (Hear.) That right was put an end to the moment he came to England. He now appears before this Court as an individual who has been controlled by circumstances which, in the opinion of the Court of Directors, were beyond his power to obviate. He is thus deprived of those emoluments which

(*a*) This is undoubtedly a fair inference; and if Mr. Tucker thought the "high character" of Mr. Marjoribanks was a sufficient guarantee that he could not be wrong in motive, ought he not to think also that the "high character" of the Court of Directors was a sufficient guarantee that they would not be wrong in action? If "high character" be good for any thing as an argument, it would suit both cases equally well, and put down all inquiry into this or any other question affecting men of ordinary reputation.

(*b*) This may be the case where Acts are opposed to each other; and how many of these are there on the Statute-book? More than any man can readily number.

would have been due to him, had those circumstances not occurred. I will assert, in opposition to all that is said to the contrary, that Mr. Marjoribanks's intention was to remain at the Cape when he proceeded there. And here I beg leave to correct an expression which has been made use of by an hon. Proprietor, (Mr. Buckingham) It seems to have been argued by him, that because a man is sick, and in consequence precluded from labour, that he is therefore idle. It has been asked where is the difference between Mr. Marjoribanks being idle at the Cape, or idle in England. I would rather have asked, where is the difference between his being *sick* at the Cape or sick in England? The severity of illness might oblige a man to abstain from work, without subjecting him to the imputation of idleness. Sickness is the visitation of Providence, but idleness is in the disposition, and a blemish on a man's character. (*c*) We must consider Mr. Marjoribanks as being debarred from the performance of his duties in consequence of severe indisposition. At St. Helena, to which place he proceeded on leaving the Cape, he was still under the influence of ill success, and he finally came to this country. It is indisputably true, as the hon. Member (Mr. Lowndes) has said, that no additional expense would accrue to the Company whether Mr. Marjoribanks was sick at the Cape or in England. But the provision of the act of Parliament is so laid down, as not to enable the Court of Directors to remunerate an individual in any other way than by gratuity. So that, were we not to adopt this course of proceeding, it would be to say, that because Mr. Marjoribanks, or any other person in his situation, is sick and unable to attend to business, and is impelled by circumstances which are beyond his power to obviate, he is to be considered unworthy of relief. (*d*) The Court of Directors, I repeat, cannot in such a case act otherwise than they have done. I do not know whether it is the intention of the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Hume) to favour the Court with another speech upon this subject, but I hope he will, as I conceive the Court will then be relieved from the necessity of going to a ballot. I look at the case of Mr. Marjoribanks, as that of any other person. I cannot entertain a bias either one way or the other, as I have never had the pleasure of seeing the gentleman in my life. The foundation of the argument of the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Tucker,) is in my opinion, ill laid, and the reasonings upon it consequently incorrect. To support his argument, he must contend for the moral as well as the physical incapacity of Mr. Marjoribanks. By the former, I conceive the ground for the present proceeding is established. Mr. Marjoribanks has done no more than I or any one else would have done, if placed in his extraordinary circumstances. For what did he risk the chance of losing salary? To avoid subjecting himself to the inconveniences inseparable from entering a small vessel, in a rough sea, for a month or perhaps longer. Had he transhipped himself as he might have done, he would then have had the horrors of a tempest before his eyes. (*e*) I have not myself been so far Eastward as the Cape, but the inconveniences of the situation I have described, are well known to those who have. It cannot be supposed that Mr. Marjoribanks voluntarily placed himself in this situation. I have heard with great pleasure the flattering testimonies borne to the purity of that gentleman's character, (which is greatly connected with the present case,) and I have no doubt they are justly due. I am firmly of opinion that the hon. Proprietor's (Mr. Tucker's) argument cannot stand, and I hope his vote will be given for the original motion.

Sir J. Sewell.—Sir, when I last ad-

(*c*) The worthy Director need hardly be reminded that the word "idle," which appeared to him so objectionable, has more than one signification, and does not always mean absolute and wilful abstinence from all labour. The Israelites were called "idle" by Pharaoh, because they preferred worshipping to making bricks. (Exod. v. 8.) The labourers who stood in the market place *seeking* work, were called "idle," in the parable of the keeper of the vineyard, because they were not actually employed, although they ardently desired it. (Matt. xx. 6.) The term may therefore be as strictly applied to mere absence of employment, as to a wilful shrinking from duty; to say nothing of the many other shades of meaning attached to the word, as 'useless,' 'unprofitable,' and even 'untrue,' as an idle fable, and an idle waste of time. As applied to Mr. Marjoribanks, it was meant to express mere absence of occupation in his duties: and in this sense it may be strictly applied to many who are present at their posts in India, as well as to all who are absent.

(*d*) To show the weakness of this argument, it will be sufficient to state, that supposing a civil servant to be at the Cape for the recovery of his health, and his medical attendant were to assure him that if he did not quit the Cape and proceed to England he would die, no "relief" would be granted to him by the continuance of his allowances if he were to take his physician's advice and come to England. Such cases have frequently happened, and no one ever yet thought of claiming relief, as far as we can learn. Yet this desire to preserve life is as strong a "moral coercion" as can be well imagined: and of men so forced to England it may be safely said, they are "impelled by circumstances beyond their power to obviate." If *they* lose their allowances for endeavouring to save their lives, why should Mr. Marjoribanks not share the same fate?

(*e*) But this is not so great as the horrors of death! and yet, whoever flies from the Cape to avoid that, not only runs the risk, but is absolutely certain of losing his salary, from the moment he quits it for England.

dressed the Court on this subject, I had not the advantage of having read the papers connected with it; but I have since perused them with much attention, and am sorry to say, that the conclusion I have come to, is unfavourable to this grant; because it appears to me they contain no ground for establishing the position, that the gentlemen acted under the impulsion of absolute necessity. On the 2nd of April they arrived at the Cape, and on the day following, addressed an application to Lord Charles Somerset, for permission to land. The Government at the Cape seem to have entertained great apprehensions lest the disease of Small Pox, with which the ship was supposed to be infected, should be communicated to the shore; as in a place where there is a population of 30,000 slaves, it would be exceedingly dangerous to allow even the chance of the disease making its way among them. In consequence of this opinion, the application was on the 4th refused. On the 5th another letter was addressed to the Government by Mr. Marjoribanks and his friends, requiring to be permitted to tranship themselves into another vessel, in order to perform quarantine. To this communication, it was stated in their letter to the Bengal Government, they received no answer. Though it is true no answer was returned by Lord Charles Somerset, yet the Colonial Secretary wrote them a reply. He informed them that there could be no objection to their transhipping themselves, and that, with the exception of one vessel, they might go on board any ship in the Bay, with their baggage and servants. For not complying with this proposition, they gave as one reason, in their letter to the Bengal Government:—that "they did not see any advantage they could derive from this offer, because having benefited very little while at sea in a large vessel, there was no chance that their health would improve on board a small one." It appears that at this juncture no medical man was consulted by them, but that they acted entirely from their own impression. It is not a necessary inference to say that because they did not improve in health while they were on board a large vessel, during her passage from India to the Cape of Good Hope, therefore they could not get better on board a small one, lying at Robin's Island, within four miles of the Cape Town. They gave, as another reason for rejecting the offer of transhipment, that no assurance had been given them respecting the length of time the quarantine would last. Could any assurance of that kind be expected by persons of their rank in life and experience in the affairs of the world? It is usual to appoint a certain number of days for the performance of quarantine, from two or three to forty; but very rarely beyond the latter number, according to the state in which the parties may appear when visited by the medical officers. If they go on well during the shorter period, the term of quarantine is never enlarged, but if the contrary happen, it is extended to twenty or thirty days or longer, as circumstances require. These gentlemen must have known perfectly well, that the Government could not give them any such assurance as they demanded. Every body, who has any experience on this subject, knows, that excepting only in one case, that of Sir Thomas Maitland at Malta, it is not the Governor who orders these matters, but the Officers of the Board of Health. I know that when I was off Naples, the pro tempore Sovereign was anxious that my family should be placed at liberty; but the gentlemen of the Lazaretto, declared that we must perform quarantine, and they were very right in so doing. We were therefore compelled to remain at Pausilippo. Would it, I ask, have been a great hardship for these gentlemen to have remained on board another vessel at the Cape? Certainly not. Neither of the Courts have dreaded the infection of the small pox, for they had all had, and even all those on board, who were liable to be infected, had also had the disease and were recovered. It must therefore be presumed that these gentlemen knew the malady, as far as themselves and their crew were concerned, was concluded, and an assurance to that effect to the authorities of the Cape, would have shortened the duration of the quarantine. When I hear it said that these gentlemen were in a state of uncertainty with respect to the duration of quarantine, and that they feared it might last for six months or more, I can only smile at such an absurdity. The utmost extent of the quarantine could have been no more than forty days: but in all probability it would not have exceeded thirty. The Secretary of the Government had indeed said that, if they would only proceed to St. Helena, and return to the Cape, matters would be arranged to their satisfaction. I do not know how much the time occupied in such a voyage may depend upon winds and currents. But there is a fact, which enables me to make a guess upon the subject. I find that they left the Cape of Good Hope on the 9th of April, and arrived at St. Helena on the 24th of the same month, so that the voyage occupied a period of 15 days. It appears to me, after all, that the third reason, which Mr. Marjoribanks has assigned for himself and his friends not accepting the offer of transhipment at the Cape, is the only tangible one. The real reason, perhaps, may be traced to a sort of hope that they might be able, under the circumstances in

which they were placed, to visit their native country without incurring any risk. The next reason, which Mr. Marjoribanks assigned, was, that he would have been required to pay the enormous sum of twelve guineas per day for a vessel. But this expense would not have fallen upon Mr. Marjoribanks alone. I suppose that Mr. Parry and Mr. Saunders could have afforded to pay their share of the charge. I have no doubt that the expense would have been divided amongst all the parties.—With respect to the procuring of a vessel, I have no doubt that more than one could easily have been procured. It is calculated that the expense of the vessel would have been between 300*l.* and 400*l.* Mr. Marjoribanks's share, therefore, could not be more than the half of that sum, supposing it were even so much. But, I would ask, could Mr. Marjoribanks have had lodgings on shore without paying for them? Does the East India Company gratuitously provide accommodations at the Cape for those servants who proceed thither for the benefit of their health? It is evident that if Mr. Marjoribanks, on the one hand, paid his share of the expense of a vessel, he would, on the other, avoid the expense of lodgings, as well as other expenses incidental to the living on shore. (Hear.) And I have no doubt, that, setting one thing against another, these gentlemen would not have been at a greater expense by remaining on board ship, than by going on shore at Cape Town. It was, however, made a subject of complaint that no answer was given to a letter containing certain stipulations, with respect to the place at which the vessel was to lie, and with respect to the comforts and accommodations necessary to persons in their situation. Now, any person connected with the Lazaretto, would have been able to satisfy them upon these points. It should be known, too, that a person on board a Lazaretto vessel is almost as comfortable and well off as he could be on shore; and when we consider that the vessel might lie in smooth water, not four miles from Cape Town, where every necessary accommodation could be found, where is the hardship of the case? There is none, unless, indeed, the difference between being on shore and in a ship be considered a hardship in itself, which I am not willing to admit. Mr. Marjoribanks, indeed, says that they were afraid to remain at sea, because the bad weather was coming on; but they had been informed that the ship would lie in remarkably smooth water at Robin's Island; and they must have been aware, from the Secretary's letter, that every attention would have been paid to them; for he says, that "the ship should not be ordered away, but should remain where she was, at the back of the island." Therefore, during the whole of the stormy season, their communication with Cape Town might have been obtained as well as at any other period. These being the facts of the case, I must declare that, after a careful perusal of the documents, it does not appear to me that there existed the slightest necessity for these gentlemen to come to England. No doubt it was a matter of pleasure and convenience to revisit their native country, and to enjoy the society of those friends and relatives who were dear to them; but I think it is clear they were not compelled by necessity to do so. It has been their own act, and they must be accountable for it. I now come to the law of the case, and I am prepared to maintain, that whether Mr. Marjoribanks remained at the Cape or not, he ought not to have a grant to the extent of that now proposed. I find that on the 22d of August 1821, the Court of Directors adopted a resolution, that "after twelve months absence, gentlemen on the allowance of the civil service, should be considered as servants out of employ, and their allowance should cease." I do not know what the allowance here spoken of is, but it must surely be less than the grant proposed to Mr. Marjoribanks. I mention this to show what were the sentiments of the Court of Directors on this subject. Doubtless they had good reasons for framing that regulation. It was sent out to India, but it seems that the Governor-General considered it too severe, and took upon himself to suspend its operation until he received further instructions from the Court of Directors. The Governor-General thought that when a civil servant did not perform duty for two years, only one-sixth of his salary should be deducted; but the Court of Directors were of opinion that after the 21st of May, 1823, the salaries of civil servants exceeding 2,000*l.* per annum should be reduced one-sixth for the first year of absence, one-fourth for a year and six months absence, and after that period they ought to be considered only as civil servants out of employ. The first of the regulations to which I allude was issued in 1821, and the second in 1823. I maintain that, according to these regulations, no such allowance, as that proposed to be given to Mr. Marjoribanks, can be granted to any servant of the Company in similar circumstances. We are also precluded from making this grant by the 37th clause of the 33d George 3. And at this place I must remark, that when reference is made to papers and documents, on any subject, those papers, and all the law books which may be necessary for a perfect understanding of the question, should be placed in the Proprietors' room. In consequence of this practice not having been followed in the present case, it has occasioned me

some loss of time to arrive at an accurate knowledge, with respect to the law as it regards this question. By the clause, which I have mentioned, it is provided "that if any officer in the service of the Company shall quit the Presidency or Settlement to which he belongs, except on the service of the Company, his salary and allowances shall not be paid to him, or to any person for his use; and that if he proceed to Europe his salary and allowances shall cease from the moment he quitted his station." It seems that the Governor-General of that day thought this a very severe law; and said that there might be peculiar cases, in which a person against his will might be compelled to proceed to Europe;—for instance, if he should be taken by an enemy. The Governor-General thought that the Legislature had acted unwisely in not making allowance for such an emergency as this. This Act was passed in June 1793, five or six months subsequently to the breaking out of the war, and at a period when France possessed strong naval power. It will be recollected that in 1794 nearly the whole of our naval force was in the Channel, in consequence of the great armament which the combined enemies of England had at sea; and it was, therefore, very probable that persons in the Company's service might be captured on the coast of India, and carried beyond the limits of the Company's charter, which would unquestionably be a case of compulsion; but although this circumstance could not have escaped the attention of the Legislature, it did not on that account make any special exception in the clause. I am convinced that if we break through this law, let the breach be as narrow as it may, many persons will find their way through it; and I am satisfied that this clause was passed, not through the negligence, but by the wisdom of the Legislature. (Hear.) I cannot help expressing my opinion, that it is extremely dangerous for the East India Company to sanction an evasion of its enactments. But they have had recourse to another Act of Parliament, and say, "if we cannot give it to this gentleman in meal, we will in malt." The clause of the Act of Parliament is, however, quite clear; but the Directors having given away sums of money as they thought proper, and abused the clause, another Act was passed to correct the evil. That Act restricts the power of the Court of Directors. It restrains them from giving away any money beyond a certain sum, unless the grant be approved, not only by the Court of Proprietors, but by the Board of Commissioners for managing the Affairs of India: and with great reason, for when we see that out of about 2,000 Proprietors, there are not more than 30 present here to-day, I think we can easily comprehend the wisdom of the Legislature in not permitting the Proprietors to give away even their own property. (Hear.) We are here the representatives of the whole body of Proprietors, in which is included a number of ladies; and, as the representatives of those who are absent, we are bound in duty not to sacrifice their interest because we may be willing to sacrifice our own. (Hear.) We are trustees for them, and ought to give away no part of their property from motives of private friendship or respect. (Hear.) The Act of Parliament requires that the grant should receive the approbation of the Board of Control. It will be discussed by them; it may also, and I think it will be, an object of consideration with Parliament, and I think it not improbable that their view of the subject may differ from that of the 30 gentlemen here present, one or two of whom have I believe avowed that they approved of the grant from motives of personal friendship. (Hear.) On the whole it appears to me that we cannot give away this money without violating the Act of Parliament, if not directly, at least virtually. It never was the intention of Parliament that a sum should be given, in the way of gratuity, equal to that forfeited by non-residence in India, therefore, this grant is opposed to the spirit of the Act. Very strong language has been used respecting Mr. Marjoribanks's disease, in order to justify his coming to England. His complaint is said to be a chronic liver disease; but the certificates of the medical men are couched in the most general terms. They merely certify that Mr. Marjoribanks was in bad health, and that it was advisable for him to proceed to the Cape. Mr. Marjoribanks must be considered as a rising man. He is in such favour, that a place is reserved for him till he gets back to India. It was impossible to keep the office of Judge for him; that was filled up; but another office was given to him; and because that was not so lucrative as the one which he held before, he was allowed to retain the office of agent, in order to make the amount of his income about as great as it was before he left India. Mr. Marjoribanks will have reason to hug himself when he finds that, notwithstanding his coming to England, he will get every farthing that he would have got if he had remained in India, and with a great saving of expense. Mr. Marjoribanks has been residing at Cheltenham, Edinburgh, and other places, where his expenses would not amount to one half of what they would have been in India. I hope you will not agree to this grant, but act upon the concurrent opinion of the Legislature and the Court of Directors, expressed in 1821 and 1823, that the absence of persons in the service of the Company from India, ought to be guarded against with the utmost caution. By

acceding to this proposition, you will open the door to abuses without number, and if you do not extend the same indulgence to all those persons who have heretofore come to England, upon as strong reasons as those which have been urged in favour of Mr. Marjoribanks, you will be guilty of great injustice. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Weeding.—All that I have heard has only tended to strengthen and confirm the opinion which I expressed on a former day, namely, that the proposed grant is only an act of justice to Mr. Marjoribanks. As, however, the facts of the case have been misunderstood by some, and misrepresented by others, I may be excused for entering into a short detail on the subject. In 1822, Mr. Marjoribanks obtained leave from the Bengal Government to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, and to stay there for two summers. The ship in which he sailed arrived in Table Bay on the 2d of April. I should have mentioned, that, during the voyage, the small pox broke out amongst the ship's crew, and that at the time of her arrival in Table Bay, one of them was on the sick list. I state this to show with what accuracy the learned Civilian (Sir J. Sewell) has read the papers, when he has stated that at this period the disease was concluded. Immediately on her arrival, the ship was placed under quarantine. Mr. Marjoribanks wrote to the Governor, stating the object of his voyage, and requesting permission to land. On the 4th, he received an official letter from Col. Bird, the Secretary to the Government, stating that his request could not be complied with. At the same time he received a private letter from Lord Charles Somerset, stating that he had done every thing in his power to serve him and his fellow passengers; that he had, amongst other things, suggested that a place on shore should be set apart for them to perform quarantine in, but that his opinion had been overruled;—his Lordship added, that if the vessel proceeded to St. Helena, and returned without any new case of small-pox making its appearance, they would be permitted to land. On the day after this letter was received the passengers wrote again, urging their former request. They received for answer, that there was no objection to the passengers being transhipped. What followed? On the morning of the 7th, they declared their willingness to accept this offer, on two conditions: namely, that they should be placed in such a situation as would enable them to receive supplies from the shore; and that they should be furnished with medical assistance. I ask this Court, whether it was not the *duty* of persons in their situation to *exact* those conditions? (*f*) To show, however, the sincerity with which they acted, although the ship was compelled to sail, they waited till the 9th, in the hope of receiving an answer from the Government to their last communication. On the evening of the 9th, no answer having been given (*g*), the ship set sail. Having arrived at St. Helena, Mr. Marjoribanks asked the captain of another ship, who was about to proceed to India, to take him on board. The captain, however said, "No: if I do so, I shall be put under quarantine; and the Company's business will be delayed." What was the consequence? They were compelled to come to England in the vessel. I put it to any gentleman who reads the papers calmly and dispassionately, whether such a case is not made out for Mr. Marjoribanks as entitles us to put him in the same situation that he would have been in, had he returned to India instead of coming to England? The Bengal Government, the Marquis of Hastings and his colleagues, seem to be of opinion that there was a physical necessity for Mr. Marjoribanks to come to England, as much as if he had been taken prisoner by a foreign ship, and brought here. I do not, perhaps, go so far as that; but I think that a complete case of "moral coercion" has been made out. One circumstance which, in my opinion, establishes the justice of Mr. Marjoribanks's claim, and proves the sincerity with which he acted throughout the transaction, is the anxiety which he displayed to return to India. Although he was still ill when he reached England, and had been taking mercury for four months, he did not delay long before he again sailed for India, where he arrived in October 1823, which was earlier than he could have arrived if he had spent the winter at the Cape. (Hear.) I hope, as a gallant General has said, that the Court will make a stand in a good cause, and come to the conclusion, that this gentleman deserves at our hands this donation, if you please so to call it, but I say, this just claim.

Mr. Hume.—I wish to say a few words in reply to what has fallen from the hon. Proprietor who has just sat down. I am very much surprised at the result of his speech. He commenced by stating, that he would show the misrepresentations which had taken place, alluding particularly to my hon. friend (Sir J. Sewell)

(*f*) Certainly not; if it were the established rule of the port to grant these supplies and this medical assistance to all ships under quarantine, it was quite unnecessary to demand them in the present case; and if it were not the practice to do so to others, on what grounds could Mr. Marjoribanks and his friends claim an exemption from the common inconveniences borne by all other persons placed in quarantine: But what they asked was readily granted them.

(*g*) The answer of Colonel Bird, the Colonial Secretary, *had* been given, and had assured them of the accommodation they desired.

who preceded him; and he sat down without attempting to prove that the learned Civilian's statements are at all at variance with truth, except, indeed, in one instance, and upon that he himself (Mr. Weeding) is mistaken. I maintain that my hon. friend is warranted by Mr. Marjoribanks's first letter to Col. Bird, in stating that the disease had concluded. That letter contains the following passage:—"The circumstance which induces us to trouble you with an official application, arises from some APPARENTLY SLIGHT DOUBTS entertained by the medical officers of the *possibility* of infection taking place on shore, in consequence of some instances of small pox having occurred on board." I ask whether, upon the showing of this very letter, the learned Civilian is not warranted in stating that the disease was concluded at the period in question? [Mr. Weeding said, "read the reasons stated afterwards."] I will do so, if the hon. Proprietor wishes it; but does he not know that the letter contains a certificate, stating that every one of the persons who wanted to be landed had *had* the small-pox? The Governor had expressed his willingness to do every thing in his power to oblige Mr. Marjoribanks, and the other persons on board with him. Indeed, I cannot conceive what more any man could do. It does appear to me, that his being prevented from landing was not sufficient to warrant him in breaking the rules of the service, and then coming to this Court to claim the payment of a large sum of money. The hon. Proprietor stated only two reasons why Mr. Marjoribanks and his friends did not accept of the Governor's proposition, as to their being transhipped: but there is a third reason, which was the strongest of all: it was a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, namely, whether they would incur an expense of about 12*l*. per day, which would have amounted on the whole to about 300*l*. or 400*l*. at the utmost. And because they did not choose to incur that expense, we are now called upon to pay Mr. Marjoribanks 7000*l*. If the Court be disposed, contrary to the wholesome regulations of an Act of Parliament, to give Mr. Marjoribanks this sum of money, then let them give it him; not on the false plea that he was compelled to come to England, but as a gratuitous present. [Hear, 'from Mr. Lowndes.'] My hon. friend, by crying "hear," puts me in mind of an argument which he made use of. He asked whether, if the money was to be paid to Mr. Marjoribanks, it made any difference to the Court, whether he remained at the Cape or came to England? I contend that the plea upon which the money is demanded is of the greatest importance. If I borrow ten pounds from my hon. friend, he will have so much the less in his pocket: if, instead of borrowing, I pick his pocket of ten pounds he will be in the same situation as to the amount of money which is taken from him; but I should think he would have more objection to the one mode of abstraction than to the other. (A laugh.) I am satisfied, that if facilities are given to the obtaining of money in the way proposed with respect to Mr. Marjoribanks, we shall soon have plenty of applications of a similar nature. The sum which it is proposed to pay to Mr. Marjoribanks is equal to the salary of the Prime Minister of England. If you give it to him, there is no knowing how many civil servants you will have coming to England; and if you refuse to behave to them as liberally as towards Mr. Marjoribanks, you will act unjustly. For the sake of consistency, and to avoid opening the door to innumerable evils, I call upon you to refuse this grant. The learned Civilian has fairly stated the case, and shown that Mr. Marjoribanks had an alternative which he did not choose to adopt. Under these circumstances, I consider the grant to be against all precedent and law, and indeed one of the most extraordinary that I ever knew proposed here, although I have witnessed some strange things of that kind. I have seen grants proposed on very extraordinary grounds; but, then those grounds were true, as far as they went. For instance, the grant to Lord Melville was, in my opinion, one of an extraordinary nature; but the reasons which were assigned for it were consistent. It was said that he had served the Company, and was entitled to it; and those persons who thought that his having served the Company was sufficient to entitle him to the grant, did right to vote for it. But here the case is different. The grant is proposed on the ground that Mr. Marjoribanks was compelled to come to England, which is the point in dispute. The hon. Proprietor who spoke last talked about a "moral coercion." Does he mean, that a hesitation on the score of pounds, shillings, and pence is a moral coercion? (Hear!) To show how disposed I am to act fairly, I pledge myself, that if the hon. Proprietor will read the reasons which Mr. Marjoribanks has assigned for coming to England, and say that the last, namely, the pecuniary consideration, was not that which had most weight with him, to forego any further opposition to the grant. Really, it is a perfect farce to talk about "moral coercion" in that case. Some regret has been expressed at my having made use of harsh terms. I wish to know how you are to designate an act, except by terms that can be understood. It is proposed to rest the grant upon grounds that are not true and, therefore, I say

that it is sought for on false pretences. I am not aware that I made use of any stronger language than that; and I cannot consent to employ words that import less than those. The claim is founded on false pretences, and if the majority of the Court agree with me in that opinion, they will get rid of it by adjourning the question.

Mr. TRANT,—I must beg the indulgence of the Court for a few minutes. When it is said of a gentleman who has served the Company faithfully for twenty years, that he comes here to obtain money under false pretences, I think it necessary that we should exercise the utmost patience in examining whether that charge be true. For myself, I would be disposed to ask, that the whole of the statement which Mr. Parry and Mr. Marjoribanks presented to the Court of Directors on their arrival be read; however, as the Court may think the document too long, I will not press it. Since the last Court was held, I have made it my business to make some inquiries of a gentleman who was on board the vessel with Mr. Marjoribanks, respecting some circumstances which seemed to require explanation. The learned Civilian seems to entertain some doubts as to whether the state of Mr. Marjoribanks's health was such as to render it probable that his life would have been risked by his remaining on board a vessel for a long time. On this point, I will read the opinion of the gentleman to whom I have just alluded. (Cries of 'name.') I will give the name, although the gentleman is anxious to avoid publicity: my informant is Mr. Parry, who was the fellow-passenger of Mr. Marjoribanks, and whose character, by the by, is, I think, implicated in this question; for if circumstances had not compelled him to remain in this country, he would have come before us with precisely the same case as Mr. Marjoribanks. (*h*) Mr. Parry says, in a letter which I have received from him, "On two occasions, during our voyage from Calcutta to the Cape, Mr. Marjoribanks's life would, in all probability, have been forfeited, had he not obtained immediate medical assistance." I beg gentlemen to recollect that one of the conditions which Mr. Marjoribanks proposed to the Governor was, that he should have medical assistance. They were, however, to be put on board a small vessel. I have the opinion of a professional man, that in all probability they could only have obtained a miserable one-decked vessel. This vessel being in quarantine, a medical man must have come off to her; and it is not probable that any medical man would have chosen to put himself in such a predicament. (*i*) Mr. Horsburgh's authority has been quoted to prove that April is considered a safe month at the Cape; but we have it on record, that on the 7th of that month, a storm once occurred, which drove out every vessel, not excepting one which was performing quarantine, under Robin Island itself. (*j*) (Hear.) I contend that there was a complete case of necessity for these gentlemen to come home, unless they had chosen to sacrifice themselves. (*k*) I beg to remind the Court of the letter of Col. Bird, in which he sets forth, in the strongest terms, the dread of the people at the Cape, lest the disease should be introduced on shore. (*l*) The hon. Proprietor who last addressed the Court, says, that Mr. Marjoribanks's return was principally owing to a dread of the expense which he would have incurred by staying at the Cape. [Mr. Hume, 'Mr. Marjoribanks says so, not I.'] I defy the hon. Proprietor to prove that such a point ever entered into Mr. Marjoribanks's consideration. [Mr. Hume: 'Read the reasons given by Mr. Marjoribanks himself.'] I will first read the private letter of Col. Bird, upon receiving the official application of the passengers to be transhipped. It is this: 'I have this moment received your letter, and will lose no time in transmitting it to the Governor. In the mean time, I do not hesitate to tell you, that you may hire a vessel of your own to perform quarantine in, and that every attention will be paid to the convenience of those on board, consistently,' &c. &c. I will now read what Mr. Marjoribanks and his companions

(*h*) Mr. Marjoribanks comes to the Cape, and is *compelled* by circumstances to proceed to England. On the ground of this compulsion, he asks for the continuance of his salary. Mr. Parry also comes to the Cape, and is compelled by circumstances not only to proceed to, but to remain in, England. Here is compulsion in both cases. One asks for remuneration because he is compelled; but though the same grounds apply to the other, no one conceives that he has any just claim; and yet his right is equally well-founded.

(*i*) Medical men at the Cape are like medical men elsewhere:—they will visit any patient, and under any circumstances, if well assured of proportionate fees.

(*j*) So have we had, not *once* merely, but many times, violent storms in the Downs in June, July, and August; but these are not therefore considered dangerous months to lie there. On a recent voyage from India, we anchored in Table Bay a month later in the winter than this, the 7th of May; entered the Bay with every sail set, and communicated easily from the shore to the ship every day for a week in succession. Indeed it often happens that this communication is never once interrupted for the three months of April, May, and June. The most tempestuous weather is in July, August, and September.

(*k*) But even such necessity, in cases of sick servants leaving the Cape to save their lives, is not a ground for remuneration. They prefer saving their lives and losing their salary, to risking them and continuing to receive their allowances: and they have their reward.

(*l*) But Mr. Marjoribanks and his friends had *had* the disease, and had nothing to fear from this.

say with regard to the expense of hiring a vessel. I find that I must request the Chairman to direct the Clerk to read the whole of Mr. Marjoribanks's statement.

The CHAIRMAN.—The hon. Gentleman may read it himself, as part of his speech.

Mr. TRANT then read the statement, and particularly called the attention of the Court to the following passage: 'The following are the reasons which induced us to refuse, unconditionally, the proposal for our being transhipped: first, our health had not substantially improved since we left India, and indeed one of our party was suffering under illness, and consequently was not capable of undergoing confinement for forty days in a small vessel. One man who had got the small pox, was still on the sick list, and the physician who was consulted, would not undertake to say that infection might not take place. We were also given to understand that we could not obtain a vessel large enough for our baggage and servants, under 300*l.*; and if any new case of infection had appeared, there would have been treble or four times that; and if any storm should have arisen during the winter, we should have been driven to sea without the possibility of obtaining provisions.' I hope the Court has paid attention to that part of the statement which referred to the expense of the vessel to be hired. After reading it for the third time, I cannot bring myself to believe that it was a reason which weighed at all with Mr. Marjoribanks.(*m*) Persons in India may perhaps be blamed for not being sufficiently careful in calculating pounds, shillings, and pence; and I am sure that Mr. Marjoribanks would not not have allowed the idea of expense to operate upon him for a moment; although, undoubtedly, it would have been a serious matter to him upon his reduced allowance. (Hear.) After a most attentive consideration of the case, I am decidedly confirmed in the opinion which I before expressed, of the propriety of the grant. The learned Civilian has stated that five or six of the gentlemen who support the grant had avowed themselves to be the private friends of Mr. Marjoribanks. [Sir J. Sewell: 'I said one or two.'] All that I said was, that I had sufficient acquaintance with Mr. Marjoribanks, to enable me to state that he was a very honourable man; (*n*) and I can say the same of Mr. Parry.

Mr. LOWNDES was proceeding very earnestly, amidst many interruptions, to prove that Mr. Hume's illustration about the borrowing of ten pounds was inapt, when—

The CHAIRMAN reminded him that he had already spoken on the question.

Mr. LOWNDES next expressed his admiration that his learned friend, with whom he had been at college for four years, should say that the Act of Parliament deprived a servant of the Company of his allowances, even whilst he was a captive of the enemy.

Sir J. SEWELL said that his worthy friend had misunderstood him. He had merely said, that the Legislature, though aware of such a liability, had made no exception in its favour.

Mr. LOWNDES said, that the object of the Legislature was to give the Court an opportunity of performing an act of humanity and justice, as in the present case.

The CHAIRMAN again interposed; but Mr. Lowndes still proceeded. Mr. Marjoribanks, he observed, did not wish to have the money [illegible].

Mr. WEELAND said, that if the hon. Proprietor should be allowed to go on, he likewise would make another speech.

The CHAIRMAN entreated.

Mr. LOWNDES continued with unabated resolution. He would act like an honest man, by giving a qualified vote. He would vote for the grant as an act of indulgence to Mr. Marjoribanks; at the same time he was obliged to those gentlemen who had opposed it.

The CHAIRMAN once more solicited.

Mr. LOWNDES made another effort to proceed; but at length gave way.

Mr. STANLEY CLARKE was sure that the learned Civilian did not wish to mislead the Court by the observations which he had made, respecting the safety with which vessels might lie off Robin Island; but he believed him to be mistaken. He (Mr. Clarke) knew from his own observation, that it was a very unsafe place; affording little or no shelter, and bad anchorage. In the month of April, not many years ago, the ship Guardian was driven from her anchors, and carried out to sea. He felt compelled to declare that he thought his hon. Friend (Mr.

(*m*) There is certainly no accounting for the difference of vision, whether corporeal or mental. Mr. Hume had asserted, that "the expense of hiring a vessel was one of the reasons assigned by Mr. Marjoribanks for his not remaining at the Cape." In reference to this, Mr. Trant says, "I defy the hon. Proprietor to prove that such a point ever entered into Mr. Marjoribanks's consideration." He is desired to read the reasons assigned by this gentleman himself: he does so, and not only recites this reason among the rest, but even names the specific sum of 300*l.* and the probable increase of that to three or even four times the amount! He particularly hopes the Court has paid attention to this part of the matter regarding the expense; yet, after reading it for a third time himself, he cannot bring himself to believe that it weighed at all with Mr. Marjoribanks in his decision!! The whole range of the annals of contradiction can produce nothing more complete than this.

(*n*) So are they all—"all honourable men." There is not an individual in the service, civil or military, who would not challenge and perhaps shoot the person who should dare to say he was otherwise. What is common to all, therefore, need hardly be mentioned.

Hume) had not, with regard to the present question, exercised his usual discrimination and judgment.

Sir J. SEWELL read from Col. Bird's letter to Mr. Marjoribanks, the following passage: 'It must rest with yourselves to purchase a vessel; but you will not be required to leave the Bay.' When Col. Bird told those gentlemen that they should not leave the Bay, it must have been in the conviction that it was perfectly safe for them to remain there. With respect to Robin Island, a gentleman who had been at the Cape had assured him that a vessel might lie there in perfectly smooth water.

Mr. CLARKE said, that the Dutch always struck their flag-staff on the 10th of May, after which no vessel was allowed to remain.

Sir J. SEWELL asked the hon. Gentleman to explain what Col. Bird meant by writing such a letter.

Mr. CLARKE said, he supposed Colonel Bird only meant to say that no order would be given for the removal of the vessel; but he was sure that it would have been found necessary to send him round to the other side of the Cape.

Mr. TRANT read the opinion of Capt. Horsburgh, the Honourable Company's Hydrographer, as follows: 'April is not considered unsafe; but there are storms then. May is the first winter month, and the ships then go to Simon's Bay.' (*o*)

Mr. HUME observed, that the individuals themselves asked permission to proceed to Robin Island; and it was not likely that they would ask for any thing which was unpleasant or unsafe.

The CHAIRMAN then put the question on the Amendment, which was negatived.

Mr. HUME, having, on a previous occasion, expressed his intention to demand a ballot, felt it necessary to state that he could not do so, for want of a sufficient number of names to attach to a requisition which he had prepared for the occasion; but there were not nine persons present ready to sign it.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that Mr. Hume had acted very candidly; though he could not say that he was sorry for his situation. (A laugh.)

The original motion was then put from the Chair and carried; and the Court adjourned at three o'clock.

(*o*) Capt. Horsburgh's authority on such a point is beyond dispute: it is clearly against Mr. Trant's own position. But it was a proof of candour—which is one of Mr. Trant's characteristics—to read it, under the circumstances of the case.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EAST INDIES, CHINA, AND NEW HOLLAND.

Bengal.—The accounts from India during the past month have been most important and interesting. By the latest latters received, we learn that after the various actions on the Assam frontier, detailed in our former Numbers, the force under Brigadier MacMorine advanced into that province, and on the 26th of March, having been joined by a train of howitzers, he approached the neighbourhood of Gowhatty, the capital of Assam. The city, which is very strongly defended both by nature and art, as well as by stockades outside the walls, was evacuated by the Burmese without any resistance. The barbarity of this people, however, had been displayed by their blowing fourteen Assam chiefs from the mouth of a cannon, the day previous to their evacuation, from a suspicion that these held communication with the British authorities. On the entry of Brigadier MacMorine into Assam, he issued a proclamation of which the following is a copy:

"Inhabitants of Assam!—It is well known to you, that some years ago the Burmese invaded your territory, and that they have since dethroned the Rajah, plundered the country, slaughtered Brahmins and women, and cows, defiled your temples, and committed the most barbarous outrage of every kind, so that vast numbers of your countrymen have been forced to seek refuge in our dominions, where they have never ceased to implore our assistance. Notwithstanding our regret at witnessing the miseries to which they were subjected, as we were on friendly terms with the King of Ava, we could not interfere. But now the officers of His Burmese Majesty have invaded our independent territory of Cachar, and there and elsewhere have committed such outrages, and held a language so arrogant and hostile, that we are at length at war. The wished-for opportunity of relieving yourselves from the hands of your oppressors has now arrived. Our victorious army has crossed the boundary, and ere long we will drive the barbarians beyond the Barmahkoond, nor cease until we restore peace and security to your distracted country. Come forward therefore, without fear for the present or the future. Supply our troops with provisions,

for which ready money will be paid, and fail not when you have an opportunity to wreak your vengeance on the remnant of those who have caused you so many calamities. We are not led into your country by the thirst of conquest, but are forced, in our defence, to deprive our enemy of the means of annoying us. You may therefore rest assured, that we will never consent to depart until we exclude our foe from Assam, and re-establish in that country a Government adapted to your wants, and calculated to promote the happiness of all parties."

This is the sort of document that would serve for any other purpose, or country, as well as the present. The Indians might with truth say exactly the same of the British, as to invading their territories, dethroning their Rajahs, plundering their countries, &c., as the British here say of the Burmese: for the motives of all invaders and conquerors are nearly the same, to benefit themselves at the expense of the people conquered. The pledge to establish a government suited to the wants of the people sounds ridiculously enough when coming from the rulers of India, who declare on all occasions that our government there ever has been, now is, and always must be, a despotism, in which the people have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them.

This proclamation, however, united with the cruel treatment by the Burmese of such of the Assamese as were in their power, appears to have had the effect of causing a great hostility in the latter people towards the former, and several of the Assamese tribes had assembled to harass the Burman army in its retreat. The Rajah of Lucky Dewah, and some other native chiefs, had been carried off by the Burmese, but many of the chiefs of the districts round Gowhatty had arrived at the British camp to offer their aid in expelling the Burmese from the province. The latest accounts from Brigadier MacMorine merely state that he had left a garrison in Gowhatty and that the troops remained in the neighbourhood.

A naval expedition, under the command of Commodore Grant, with a military force under Sir A. Campbell, which sailed from Madras on the 23rd of April, had been eminently successful; Rangoon, one of the principal ports of the Burmese, having fallen into their hands without resistance. From the official despatches of Sir A. Campbell, detailing the particulars of this affair, it appears that after some delay of the expedition from want of water, the squadron left the rendezvous at Port Cornwallis, on the 5th of June, previously detaching a small force under Brigadier MacCreagh, against the Island of Cheduba, and another detachment under Major Wahab, against the Island of Negrais. On the 6th, every arrangement having been made, the fleet, led by His Majesty's frigate Liffey, sailed up the Rangoon river, followed by the transports, and after receiving a few insignificant discharges of artillery from one or two chokies on each side the river, the Liffey anchored opposite the king's wharf, where there was a battery of 12 to 16 guns. The Commodore, to save any useless effusion of blood, endeavoured to induce the authorities to negotiate, but instead of this they opened a feeble and ill-directed fire on the shipping, which one broadside from the Liffey effectually silenced. Two brigades of His Majesty's 38th regiment, commanded by Major Evans, His Majesty's 13th light infantry, under Major Sale, and a brigade of the Madras division under Brigadier General MacBean, were then landed at different points, and after the Burmese had again returned to their battery, and recommenced their cannonade, which was again silenced by a broadside, the British flag was seen flying over the town. In this affair not a man on the part of the British was either killed or wounded, nor was a single musket discharged by them.

The inhabitants and authorities are represented as being in the greatest state of alarm, and the members of the government fled at the first shot, carrying with them seven out of eleven Europeans whom they had ordered to be imprisoned and put in irons. The hurry of their departure caused them to leave three of them in the king's godown, whose irons were filed off by the troops as they entered the town, and Mr. Hough, an American missionary, and one of the remaining captives, was subsequently liberated by the Burmese and sent on board the Liffey to entreat the firing might cease, and to ask what terms would be given them, hinting at the same time that they had seven Englishmen with them, whose fate would probably depend on the answer they received. The commander-in-chief, however, declared the period for treaty was past, and stated that if the prisoners were injured, the severest retaliation would be taken. The messengers accordingly departed, and their non-return excited considerable alarm for the safety of the captives, who were, however, subsequently discovered, and

relieved from their several places of confinement by the parties sent round the neighbourhood. Only one Englishman remained in the Burmese dominions, and this was a Mr. Ganger, who was at Ava, and of whom no tidings had been heard. The ordnance captured at Rangoon far exceeds in number any thing the country was thought to possess, and would appear to lead to an inference that something more than native resources had been employed to obtain them.

The expeditions against Cheduba and Negrais were equally successful with the more important one, and both those dependencies surrendered to the British arms. Lieut. Wilkinson had also been deputed by Commodore Grant to make an attack upon a squadron of war boats which he observed collecting up the river, and accordingly, accompanied by Lieut. Maclean, and forty men of the 41st regiment, that officer proceeded to attack them; in which, after sustaining a brisk fire from the villages on either bank, they succeeded in destroying one boat and driving the others away, with a loss on their own part of three men wounded. The village of Kemmidine, which the Burmese were stockading, was also attacked by order of Lieut. Wilkinson and Capt. Birch, and was ultimately carried, after a severe resistance, in which Lieut. Kerr of the 38th regiment, with one rank and file were killed, and nine wounded. The former officer was killed in carrying a second stockade, at which the enemy made a very gallant stand. Lieut. Wilkinson was also severely wounded, with eight or nine of the seamen, but the Burmese were completely routed.

The latest advices from Rangoon, which reach to several days after the complete occupation of the city, mention that on the day following the capture, information had reached head quarters that the Queen of Dalla, (a town opposite Rangoon) was employed in collecting a force which amounted at that time (the 21st of May) to about one thousand men; a corps of observation was despatched, but no endeavour was made to check the increase of the enemy, as it was rather the wish of the commander-in-chief to attack a considerable force in preference to a petty one, in order that the enemy might be deterred from resistance in future. The Hastings frigate, and the Teignmouth sloop of war arrived at Rangoon on the 18th of May. The former unfortunately grounded on the 20th, on a bank in the river, the existence of which was not generally known; and when the letters left, she was lying with her gunwale nearly in the water, and it was feared would suffer considerable damage before she was got off. Twelve of the ships comprising the squadron were ordered back to Madras, these consisted of the Virginia, David Clarke, Nerbudda, Hercules, Susan and East Indian of Bengal, the Genelg, George the IV., the Helen, Bombay Merchant, and Bannerman of Bombay, and the Abgares of Madras.

On the 21st of May, the day the last accounts left, the city was discovered to be on fire at its eastern extremity, and was burning with the greatest fury; there was every reason to believe it was the work of some incendiary. Great fears were entertained, as the houses were chiefly composed of wood, that the principal part of the town would be destroyed before the flames were subdued, particularly as a strong south-easterly wind was blowing at the time. We learn that Major Sale of the 13th regiment was the first who landed on the battery after the town was attacked. The next expedition intended, was against Proome, a town in the Burman empire, situated in lat. 18.50 N. long. 95 E. It is a place of considerable consequence, larger and more populous than Rangoon, and the greater part of the force under Capt. Marryat, of His Majesty's ship Larne, with a considerable number of gun-boats had been sent up the river.

On the side of Chittagong, however, the British force has sustained a very disastrous check—in fact was almost entirely destroyed. From the accounts received, it appears that Capt. Noton, commanding the detachment at Ramoo, had learnt that the enemy were cutting a road for their advance within four miles of the stockade at Ratnapully, and on the 9th of May intelligence reached him that the enemy had arrived at Ratnapully, and surrounded it, but that they gave out that they only came to "speak to the English." Under these circumstances, Capt. N. thought it advisable to advance with the whole of his disposable force, consisting of three companies of the 23d, and some of the Mugh levy; but when he had advanced within half a mile of the stockade, the enemy commenced a heavy fire from a thick jungle, which induced Capt. Noton to return for two six-pounders, which were on elephants a little in the rear, directing Ensign Campbell to advance

with the three companies. This the latter officer did, and kept up a brisk fire upon the enemy for a considerable time, until they attempted to cut off the guns, when he fired a volley, and charged them with the bayonet, in which they were completely routed, and forty of them killed. The elephants had, however, been frightened by the firing, and had thrown down their loads, which rendered the guns completely useless; but the jungle was, however, cleared of the Burmese, and the troops, at about half-past one in the morning, took up a position on the plain. After a consultation among the officers, it was agreed to return to Ramoo, in order to get supplies, none of the commissariat department being with the troops, and it being impossible to get any necessaries at Ratnapully.

On arriving at Ramoo, it was found that the Jemadar who had charge of the Ratnapully stockade had returned, and, as he brought all his ammunition and force back, it was believed without firing a shot. Capt. Noton, on his arrival at Ramoo, wrote off express to Chittagong for reinforcements. Affairs remained in this state until the 13th, when the enemy advanced, to the number of about ten thousand men, on Ramoo, and intrenched themselves on the south side of the river. On the following day they advanced to the river, and were attacked and driven into the surrounding hills, by a party under Lieut. Scott of the artillery.

On the 15th they again advanced, and commenced intrenching themselves within about three hundred yards of the British position, and on the 17th had advanced their trenches to within twelve paces of two tanks by which the right and left flanks were defended, and gained possession of the one on the left, at which the Mughs and provincials were posted, and who deserted their posts at the first attack. The state of the position was, from this defection, become untenable, and Capt. Noton being compelled to abandon the guns, a retreat was ordered, which was well conducted till the river was reached, at which period the immense number of the enemy's cavalry pouring upon them rendered self-preservation the first consideration, and a general dispersion took place. The enemy now seemed to single out the Europeans from the flying fugitives, with the most determined rancour. Captain Noton was killed in a personal engagement with one of their horsemen; Captain Freeman, of the 20th, by a spearsman; Lieut. Grigg, of the 23d, Captain Pringle commanding the Mugh levy, Dr. Maysmore of the 23d, and Ensign Bennett, perished in attempting to pass the river. Lieut. Scott, who had been severely wounded on the 16th, had been previously tied to an elephant, and escaped; and Ensign Campbell made his escape by swimming the river, and while swimming on his back, taking off his clothes under water to prevent being shot. Ensign Codrington escaped on horseback, to Coxe's Bazaar, and arrived at Chittagong on the 19th; and Ensign Campbell reached that place on the 20th, both in a most exhausted state.

This affair is stated to have given the enemy a great opinion of their own prowess; and their number of fighting men was estimated at five to six thousand. When the last accounts left Calcutta, it was reported that Chittagong had fallen into their hands; but up to the date of our going to press, no account either confirmatory or contradictory of this has been received. All the private accounts from Calcutta express the astonishment of the writers, at the knowledge possessed by the Burmese of the use of fire-arms, as well as at the quality of the arms they possessed. On the 22d of May a Sepoy arrived at Chittagong, having been liberated by the Burmese, for the purpose of conveying a letter to the British authorities, of which the following is a translation:

"Our Master, the Lord of the White Elephant, the Great Chief, the Protector of the Poor and Oppressed, wishes that the people of both countries should remain in peace and quiet.

"The Bengalees of Chittagong excited a dispute about the Deep of Shapooree, which belongs to Arracan. To prevent all dissension, by orders of Ezumaba Sunadwaddee, the General, a letter was sent by Hussain Ullee, Doobashee to the Judge of Chittagong, who wisely relinquished the Deep of Shapooree, as belonging to Arracan. After this some mischievous person misled the English gentlemen, and caused a dispute and encounter between the English soldiers and our people, whereon the General advanced from Pegu with a large force into Arracan, and with a view to the tranquillity of the two great countries, came to Ruttna Pulling, and sent a message calculated to benefit both parties, through Hussain Ullee, Doobashee to the Bengalee Captain and Commandant of the Stockade.

"While this conference was going on, a number of Bengalee and Mugh sepoys arrived from Ramoo, and began to fire with musket and cannon at the Bur-

mese, among whom Hussain Ullee was wounded.

"On this the Burmese also commenced the combat, and putting the Bengalee and Mugh troops to flight, showed forbearance, and refrained from killing them. The Surdars forbade them killing any one. Still no letter came from the Judge of Chittagong, and therefore we remained at Ramoo.

"Our soldiers injured none of the poor inhabitants, and committed no oppression, and destroyed no habitations, yet the English gentlemen, with the Bengalee sepoys, began firing upon us with muskets and cannon. At last the Burmese Surdars advanced with a Doobashee to say what would have contributed to pacify both states. On this the Bengalee sepoys began a fire, which the Burmese were obliged to return—a battle ensued, many were wounded, and many put to flight. The people of Ramoo set fire to their own village and burned it. The Judge and Colonel of Chittagong, the Generals and Chieftains of Calcutta, are all men of wisdom and intelligence; from their keeping and protecting the traitor Hynja all of these calamities arise. We send this letter by a Bengalee whom we took at Ramoo."

The Burmese war so completely occupied the attention of the people at Calcutta, that little else was talked of. That dreadful scourge, the cholera morbus, had, however, been committing great ravages, and many persons had fallen victims to its attack. Among these was Sir Christopher Pullet, the Chief Justice of the supreme court of Calcutta, who only arrived in that city on the 15th of April, and who expired on the 19th of the following month. He had presided in the supreme court at the hearing of a case on only one occasion, and had sat two weeks at chambers, in his turn, during which time he gave great satisfaction.

On the 5th of April, two sifting houses at the powder mills of Papamoor, near Allahabad, containing near three hundred barrels of gun-powder, blew up, and about forty persons were destroyed by the explosion. Great damage was done to the dwellings even at five miles distance, but, fortunately, Major Lindsay, the superintendent of the works, and his family, escaped, though their house was much shattered.

The success of the Burmese at Ramoo had inspired great alarm at one time, among the inhabitants of Calcutta, as it was thought an attempt would be made against that city; when the accounts left, it had, however, in a great measure subsided.

Advices had been received at Calcutta, from Mr. Scott, the agent of the Governor-General, reporting his arrival at Nougaong on the 15th of April. This place is described as one of the largest towns in Assam, extending seven miles along the bank of the river Kullung, and containing, it is said, 4,000 families. Mr. Scott proposed advancing on the 17th, with the detachment of the 23rd Native Infantry under Captain Horsburgh, to Kalliabar, one day's march north-east of Nougaong. The enemy's force at Moura Mookh was understood to consist of 500 men, natives of the Ava country, and about the same number of Assamese, worse armed than usual, in consequence of almost the whole of their muskets having been thrown away by that part of the army which fled from Birkola on the 18th of February.

Letters from Russah Chokey of the 15th of April, state that the Burmese had fled from that part of the country, and retired 70 miles higher up, where they had an advanced post at Moura Mookh. It was reported that Chaunder Kaunt, one of the Assamese Princes, had escaped from the Burmese, and taken refuge with the people of Sing Pho and Khamtee, and that they and the Mahomareens had formed a junction, and driven the Burmese from Rangpore to Jorehaut. It appears that the action at Birkola in February last, had done the enemy much mischief. The Burmese commander was said to have returned to Russah Chokey in rags.

A private letter mentions a report that the King of Ava had issued a decree, commanding the British residents and merchants, in that empire, and all persons connected with the British Government, to quit without delay the Burmese dominions, and confiscating their property. It was said that the present Monarch of the Burmese empire, when very young, had visited Europe, and remained some time in various parts of it.

The letters from Lucknow received at Calcutta, announced the marriage of the Prince Sahile Alum Bahadoor, son of the King of Oude, on the 27th of April. The ceremony was performed at the third hour after midnight, and the marriage portion was five millions of rupees.

The quantity of Indigo imported into Calcutta, from the 1st of September 1823, to the 23rd of March 1824, was only 75,640 factory maunds; while that of the preceding year had amounted to 108,904 maunds, being a decrease on the present season, of 33,264 factory maunds. Sales of the article had, how-

ever, been effected to a considerable extent since the commencement of the season. The finer qualities had suffered a decline of from 30 to 40 rupees the maund, and ordinary and inferior qualities had likewise declined.

There had been a meeting at Calcutta, for the relief of the distressed settlers in southern Africa, and a considerable collection was made for that benevolent purpose.

It appears that more than 60,000 rupees had been already subscribed in Bengal, towards the fund of 100,000 rupees, for encouraging a permanent steam communication between Great Britain and India.

The celebrated Ram Mohun Roy, was said to be preparing a petition to the King in Council, against the late laws for the press, and against the general conduct of the government of Bengal to the natives, to be sent home for presentation in England. This is a task worthy of his great talents; but it ought to have been done long ago. Even when it arrives, however, the sagacity of Mr. Randle Jackson will, no doubt, lead him to consider it a production of some European pen.

Madras.—We regret to find, by accounts from Madras, that the cholera morbus had been extremely fatal there, in the latter end of May and the beginning of June. Among the persons of note who had fallen beneath its attack, were Edward Wood, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government; the Honourable Sir Willingham Franklin, Judge; J. D. White, Esq., Senior Member of the Medical Board; and James Binny, Esq. merchant. On the 8th of June, however, great hopes were entertained that the virulence of the disorder was abating, as no case had occurred for the three preceding days, and those who had previously been attacked were recovering. The hot land winds had set in at Madras with most oppressive violence, but rain had fallen in small portions at Arcot, Vellore, and in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. His Majesty's 80th Regiment of Foot had arrived at Madras from Cananore, where they had been relieved by the 20th Regiment. A dreadful flood had been experienced in the villages on the Damoodah, which swept all before it. It was positively asserted at Madras, that the Malays were in great force at Natal, and that, from their appearance, it would require a great number of troops to bring them under subjection.

The following troops proceeded from Madras, against the Burmese:

First Division: His Majesty's 41st Regt. of Foot; Honourable Company's Madras European Regiment, eight companies; ditto 3d Regiment of Light Infantry, 1st battalion; ditto 8th Regiment, 2d battalion; ditto 9th Regiment, 1st battalion; ditto 10th Regiment, 2d battalion; ditto 17th Regiment of Light Infantry, 2d battalion.

Also, two companies of European Artillery; one company of Golandanze; six companies of Gun Lascars; two companies of Pioneers; twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, 12 pounders, 6 pounders, and howitzers.

The force is divided into three brigades —the first commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Smelt, his Majesty's 41st Regiment—the second, by Lieutenant-Colonel C. Hodgson, Company's Service—the third, or Light Brigade, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. Smith. The aggregate strength of this division is about 7,500 fighting men.

Second Division: His Majesty's 54th and 69th Regiments; Honourable Company's 5th Regiment of Native Infantry, 2d battalion; 7th Regiment, ditto, 1st battalion; 10th Regiment, ditto, 1st battalion; 14th Regiment, ditto, 2d battalion; 22d Regiment, ditto, 1st battalion. With the same proportion of European Artillery, Gun Lascars, &c. as the first division.

The great quantity of rice imported into Madras, does not appear to have much lowered the price of that article, the scarcity which previously existed having left an opening for immense importations.

Bombay.—The advices from Bombay, which extend to the 23d of June, convey similar accounts to those from the other Presidencies, regarding the ravages made by the cholera morbus, particularly upon the natives. A Parsee family of five, fell under its influence in twenty-four hours; a sepoy, his wife, and two children, in four hours; and various other families have been destroyed with that dreadful rapidity, by which it is distinguished; it did not however prevail in any great degree among the inhabitants of the town itself, although one or two serious cases had occured. Major Mac Donald Kinnier, who had been appointed Envoy and resident Minister at the Court of Persia, was on his journey overland from Madras to Bombay. Mrs. Mac Donald Kinnier, left Madras on the 17th of March, to join her husband at Hyderabad, and it was ex-

pected she would accompany him on his mission to Persia. The keel of a new ship of about 700 tons burden, had been laid down in the Marine Yard at Bombay, by one of the commercial houses, an event which was hailed with considerable pleasure; as the determination recently adopted at Bombay, not to build any more king's ships at that port, had for some time thrown the workmen out of employ.

Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers landed at Bombay, on the 7th of May, under the salute due to his rank. A mint was about to be erected at this place, on the north side of the esplanade, between Backbay and the road leading to Girgaum. The Supreme Court of Judicature was established at Bombay, on the 8th of May, when Sir E. West took the oaths as Chief Justice, and Sir C. H. Chambers as one of the Puisnes, Sir R. Rice, the other Puisne, not having arrived, nor was he expected for some months. At the meeting of the Supreme Court, on the 10th of that Month, the Advocate General rose and observed, that his Majesty had granted him letters patent, giving him precedence over the rest of the bar of that Court, and moved that the same might be read and an order [illegible] there-to made, which was complied with. A discussion then took place respecting the right of Mr. Morley to precedence over the other gentlemen of the bar: viz. Messrs. Irwin, Parry, and Le Mesurier; the three latter gentlemen objected to Mr. Morley's right, upon the ground that they were Barristers, called to [illegible] of Court, in England, while Mr. M. had never been so called, but had merely been permitted to act as an Advocate in the Recorder's Court, upon its first institution, having been originally an Attorney. The question had been before discussed in 1808, when the Court (Sir J. Mackintosh being then Recorder) decided against Mr. Morley; upon an application by the latter gentleman from this decision, the appellate Court of England refused to interfere at all in the matter, it being a question they said, solely for the consideration of the local Court at Bombay.—Notwithstanding this decision, Mr. Morley, during the Recorderships of four of Sir J. Mackintosh's successors, viz: Sir A. Anstruther, Sir G. Cowper, Sir W. Evans, and Sir A. Buller, had been allowed to take precedence over three of the Barristers of the Court, Mr. Macnaghten, Mr. Stavely, and Mr. Irwin. After an argument of some length, the Court gave it as their opinion, that Mr. Morley was entitled to the precedence, Sir C. Chambers observing, that such was the practice of the local Courts of England.

Accounts had reached Bombay from Bussora, that a body of eight thousand Nubian slaves, commanded by the Pasha of Mecca, had a severe contest with the Bedouins, at Eseer, in which about two thousand men, with three Sirdars of Eseer, were killed, and about five hundred carried prisoners to Cosseir. It was further reported, that the troops which went against Asseer, south of Judda, had been completely successful. Mahomet Ali Pasha was at Cosseir, with an army of thirty thousand men, chiefly composed of disciplined troops, which it was reported would march towards Soudan or Nigritia. A large quantity of military stores had been embarked for the purpose of transportation to Suakin, and in case of success it appeared probable the country south of Camfidia would again be recovered, and the maritime coast from Judda to Aden taken possession of by the Governor, who had long wished to carry his arms into that quarter.

The demand for transports, occasioned by the expedition to Rangoon, had given the shipping interest of Bombay advantages which they had not enjoyed for many years before. The freight from Bombay to China had consequently risen from 30 to 72 rupees, per candy, for cotton; and was likely to be even higher. The freight to China had not been so high as this since 1805.—Freight to England was quoted at £11. per ton, and one ship, the Cambridge, had actually received £12.; cotton was, in consequence of this rise of freight, depressed in price. Europe market cotton had fallen from 135 to 120 and 125 rupees per candy; and would no doubt continue to fall still more as the new market cotton came in, the crop of the preceding season being considered to be abundant. Almost all the articles imported from Europe were selling at a low rate, and this was understood to be the case throughout India generally; the cure for this, is to give facilities for bringing back returns, and until this be done, no greater extension of the Indian trade can take place, since no people will buy unless they can also sell, and that too on equally advantageous terms with the purchaser.

The warlike measures on the other side of India had not had any effect on the money market at Bombay. Remit-

table paper was at 18 per cent premium in Calcutta, and 144 Bombay rupees for 100 siccas at the latter place. The numbers comprised in the 5 per cent. unremittable debt, which were to be paid off on the 31st of March 1825, had advanced from 1 to 2 per cent; a month before it had fallen to 3, and in June last, it was at 5.

Letters from Bombay state that the tombs of Mr. Rich and Dr. Taylor, both of whom died in Persia, which had been wantonly destroyed by the Persians, have recently been repaired, by order of the king, according to the original form, prescribed by the late Dr. Jukes.

Singapore.—Our private information from this new and interesting settlement states, that there had been more junks there during this season than ever was known before, and the general opinion was in favour of a further increase. A large quantity of China packages had been sent to Singapore for transhipment, to the extent of 12 to 1500 tons. The captains of Indiamen found this very advantageous, as they now either filled up their privilege freight with teas, or sold it; and Singapore being a free-port, there were no charges by Government, the only expense being about one dollar per package, for commission and boat and cooley hire. Very little was going forward in the way of improvement by the new Resident. While Sir Stamford was there, every thing was life and motion, but the new Resident is stated to be less active in paying the necessary attention to a rising settlement. He had carried his plans of economy so far, however, as to stop firing the morning and evening gun, though the quantity of powder saved by this would hardly recommend him to the Court of Directors, fond as they are of thrifty and saving servants abroad. The place however was certainly rising rapidly into importance by the natural operations of free trade, and the commerce with Cochin China had very considerably increased. Three junks arrived early in May from the Capital, which belonged to the king, and were laden with cinnamon, sugar, &c. Eight other junks were expected from Sygus, in one of which was Mr. Gibson, the Envoy from Ava to Cochin China, who was expected shortly at Singapore; it appears certain by these accounts, that the Cochin Chinese have shown no desire to enter into a coalition with the Burmese. The king of Cochin China had constructed a ship of six or seven hundred tons burthen, after the model of one of the French ships which had visited his dominions, and it was his intention to send her on a trading voyage to the Straits of Malacca, as soon as a commander and officers could be obtained. This prince appears to possess a very enterprising disposition, and the partiality he has shown to the new settlement is likely to be mutually advantageous. Considerable intercourse was also carried on between Singapore and Manilla, as well as the island of Hainan.

China.—The last accounts from China state that there had been a general failure of the cotton crops; and the Amoy and Fokien junks at Singapore had purchased up with avidity all the Bengal and Surat cotton they could meet with in that settlement. The price of opium was falling fast at Canton, Patna being quoted at 110 dollars per chest. These advices contain a very interesting article on the foreign trade of China, which we insert entire:—

The provinces of China, which carry on foreign trade, are Canton, including the island of Hainan, Fokien, Tchekiang and Kianan—no foreign intercourse is allowed with the island of Formoza, and the storms and dangers of the Yellow Sea deter the natives of the maritime provinces of Shanton and Petcheli from engaging in foreign commerce. These are supplied with the commodities of distant countries, through the coasting trade, which is carried on in the fine season between them and the neighbouring province of Kianan and the city of Soutcheon.

Of these provinces, by far the largest trade is carried on by Canton, and next to it by Fokien; and the greatest commercial cities in China are Canton (so well known to Europeans) and Soutcheon, the capital of one of the divisions of Kianan, which the Chinese, in their extravagant way, call a Terrestrial Paradise—an odd epithet, according to our ideas, for a great trading city. The four provinces which we have enumerated are alleged to contain above fifty millions of inhabitants; but if they contain one half of it, they are upon a level with the first kingdoms of Europe; and this may afford an index of the amount of foreign trade which they are capable of conducting, without reckoning that they are channels for a trade with the provinces of the interior, which are still more populous and extensive than themselves.

Without including Korea, the Lewchew Islands, or Formosa, the following may be described as the countries with

which China carries on foreign intercourse, viz. Japan, the Philippines, Sooloos, Celebes, Borneo, Java, the Straits of Malacca (now principally confined to Singaporè), east coast of the Malaya Peninsula, Siam, Cochin China (including Kambojia), and Tonquin.

The junks which carry on this trade are of very various sizes, being generally from 200 to 1,000 tons burthen; and the capital on which they trade being often as small as 3,000, and not unfrequently as large as 50 to 60,000 dollars.

Some are built in the countries to which they trade, particularly in Siam and Cochin China, and these are the best; but the greater number in China itself, of the fir and other inferior woods of that country. Some are owned by Chinese residing in foreign countries; some by the Chinese themselves; and often there is an intimate connexion between those residing on the spot, and the colonists abroad. Every where they are commanded and navigated by Chinese. The smallest but the most numerous junks sail from the island of Hainan. The natives of this island had hitherto traded as far only as Siam and Cochin China; but this season a few of them have come on as far as Singapore. Canton furnishes the largest description of junks; these trade every where but to Japan. The junks of Fokien or Amoy are small but valuable; they trade also every where but to the last place, but are fewer in number than those of Canton. The junks of Tchekien are the only Chinese vessels which trade to Japan; besides which they trade to Manilla, Cochin China and Siam, but do not appear to cross the equator. Those of Kianan are few in number, but large, and carry very valuable cargoes; their trade is confined to the Philippines, Siam, and Cochin China.

The construction and rigging of a Chinese vessel is her proper registry, and a very effectual one it is; for any deviation from the set form and character, subjects her immediately to foreign duties, and what (if it is possible) is still worse, to all kinds of suspicion.

No measurement or tonnage duty is paid in China on native vessels trading with foreign parts; but there is a kind of tariff, which, however, varies in the different provinces. At Canton a picul of manufactured silk goods pays seven dollars, and a picul of fine earthen ware one dollar. These duties are highest in the ports of Fokien, and lowest of all in the island of Hainan. The Chinese traders of Siam state that they carry on a fair and easy trade with the cities of Nimpo and Sianghai, in Tchekian and Kianan. Every where the Chinese traders exhibit a very admirable dexterity in evading the Imperial Custom-house laws, and putting them upon a footing of more freedom and liberality than is allowed by their letter. The coasting trade of China, for example, is nearly free of duty. The merchant takes advantage of this, and intending in reality to go to Siam or Cochin China, he clears out for Hainan. When he returns again, his junk will be four or five days off and on, at the mouth of the port, until he has made a regular bargain with the custom-house officers for a reduction of duties, threatening all the time to discharge his cargo at some other port, and wheedle them out of their perquisites, if they will not come into his terms. The following may be looked upon as an approximation to the amount of the foreign trade which China either now conducts, or has lately in general conducted with foreign countries, viz.:—

Japan . . .	Junks . . .	10
Philippines .	ditto . . .	15
Sooloo Islands	ditto . . .	4
Celebes . .	ditto . . .	2
Moluccas . .	ditto . . .	1
Borneo . .	ditto . . .	13
Java . . .	ditto . . .	7
Sumatra . .	ditto . . .	10
Singapore, and other places in the Straits of Malacca . . .		9
E. coast of the Malayan peninsula		6
Siam		120
Cochin China and Kambojia .	ditto	66
Tonquin		34
Total of junks annually		297

The tonnage of these vessels will probably not be overrated at from 90 to 100,000 tons; and unexpectedly large as it may appear to some, must in reality be looked upon as a mere trifle in comparison to the vast population, extensive territory, and industry of the country to which they belong.

We can spare but a moment to describe the commodities of which this commerce consists. China is to the natives of the further east, what Great Britain is to all America, and to many of the nations of the continent of Europe. She supplies them with manufactured goods, with physic, religion and literature, with astrology (if not with astronomy), and with emigrants; and receives in return the rough produce of their forests, or the peculiar products of their agricultural industry. She furnishes every where teas, coarse pottery, umbrellas, fans, shoes, and sacrificial paper. She furnishes to the Tonquinese and Cochin Chinese wrought satins and gauzes. To the Siamese crapes, mirrors, and ornaments for their temples. To the Malayan tribes raw silk.

The Chinese colonists, placed under favourable circumstances, and certain of the countries to which they emigrated, have been able to exceed, or surpass, the industry of the mother country. It is thus that in Java, the Philippines and Siam, they manufacture sugar: in Siam, iron and iron utensils, which, within the

last twelve years, have superseded those of China; and that in Borneo, and in the Malayan peninsula, they have wrought mines of gold and tin much superior in productiveness to those of their own country.

The Chinese receive from Japan, chiefly fine copper and camphor, from the Philippines, Sooloos, Moluccas and Celebes, tortoise-shell, mother-o'-pearl shells, beech de mar, and esculent nests; from Java, many of the commodities now enumerated, with some tin, cotton, and spices; from the Malay countries, similar articles, with timber, barks, scented wood, tin, Malayan camphor, pepper, opium, and some European commodities. Siam affords by far the most extensive catalogue, such as tin, pepper, gamboge, cardamoms, perfumed woods, fancy woods, dye woods, hides, horns, bones, ivory, from Cochin China, Kambojia, and Tonquin, nearly the same articles, with the exception of tin and pepper; but besides these, cinnamon, betel nut, varnish, and certain dye stuffs.

The Chinese colonies of the countries with which China carries on a trade, may be safely estimated at one million, of whom Siam contains by far the largest number; and the hands actually engaged in navigating the junks themselves, may be moderately estimated at from 18,000 to 20,000.

Java.—By the last arrivals from this island we learn that the pirates were again in force on the coast there, and had succeeded in capturing another brig under Dutch colours belonging to some Chinese. No arrival had taken place there since that of the Minstrel and Shannon; and the former ship, in consequence of the new duties, had sailed for Bencoolen, with a rich cargo of manufactured goods. Produce had fallen greatly at Java; and coffee, in particular, was as low as fifteen dollars per picul. The Dutch had discovered and opened tin mines in Billiton, and a considerable resort of Chinese to that island had been the consequence. The Dutch ship Scheldt, belonging to Molucca, was totally destroyed by fire, while lying in the harbour of Grissi, on the coast of Java. The accident was occasioned by a few sparks of fire having fallen among some gunpowder in the after-part of the ship. All the crew escaped, but a Malay woman perished in the explosion.

Letters from Batavia of a very late date have been received, but we regret to find that no accounts have been received there of Mr. Thornton. Every measure had been adopted to recover that gentleman from the hands of the Malays, who carried him along with them from one island to another, never letting him stay long enough in one place to allow of its being certainly known at any one of the Dutch or English settlements where he was. It was known from some Arabs that his treatment at this period was far from good, a little rice and water being his only food, and a piece of matting round his head and face being his only covering. From the last letters, however, stating that nothing had ever been heard of him since the prior accounts, Mr. Thornton's connexions in England are fearful that death has terminated his sufferings. It was not, however, imagined that the pirates had offered him any actual violence, but that the climate to which he was so brutally exposed had proved fatal to him. Severe weather had been experienced in the neighbourhood of Batavia, which had done some damage. Commerce, in Java, was flourishing; and the recent new regulations had given great satisfaction to the natives and Dutch merchants, and corresponding dissatisfaction to the foreign factors. The chief of the pirates infesting the Batavian coast is a native of Lingen, and has been for years actively employed in his piratical expeditions.

The Eurydice frigate, with the Governor-General on board, accompanied by the Syren, Swallow, and Doorga, arrived on the 4th of March in the Bay of Amboyna, where his excellency was received with great pomp by M. Van Merkus, Governor of the Moluccas. The Governor afterwards visited several of the other islands, and was the first Governor-General that had visited the Moluccas since 1638.

On the 18th of April the Governor-General left Amboyna, and five days after arrived at Banda, just at the period when the dreadful volcano Goenong Api opened a new crater, and threw out clouds of smoke and ashes, though without exciting any apprehension of immediate danger. Colonel Raaf, the president at Padang, died in Sumatra on the 17th of April.

On the 13th of May a terrible shock of an earthquake was felt at Magellan, in the residency of Radol. The thermometer was at 78, and the atmosphere foggy and calm.

By these arrivals from Batavia, the supply of arms from Europe, with which the Burmese have hitherto been so liberally stocked, is now cut off. A proclamation was issued in June last, by the Governor of Batavia, directing the seizure of all arms and ammunition

from ships anchoring in the Roads, or navigating the Straits of Sunda, except such as might be requisite for actual defence. The Guardian for Singapore has been detained under this proclamation. It had excited much surprise to find the Burmese so perfectly armed and equipped, as they proved to be, in the late actions; and the proclamation, published at Batavia, is believed to be the result of representations made by our Indian government to the Batavian authorities. The Cochin Chinese are known also to have been largely supplied with arms from France, and the Dutch government is said to have complied most promptly with the edict, restraining importation, from a sense of the common danger, in which they might themselves be involved, by suffering the free importation of arms into any countries of the east.

Much damage had been experienced in the environs of Bezockie by heavy rains, which began to fall in February, after two months of extreme drought; several bridges had been carried away, and the roads now in many places completely flooded.

Palembang.—At this settlement, trade is represented as rapidly declining, although from the situation of the port, its fine navigable river, and its productive and extensive territory, it appeared as well situated as any spot in the Indian Archipelago, to become an extensive mart of trade; its declining commerce was, however, ascribed to the restrictive policy which had been recently pursued, and the favour and protection extended to certain native products of the Dutch Colonies; the salt of Siam being excluded from Palembang in favour of that of Java, although the latter was infinitely inferior, and many other articles being equally prohibited, which had been attended by a falling off of the Siam trade, before these restrictions. The Chinese trade of Palembang had suffered in a similar way, in consequence of the heavy tonnage duty which the Junks pay.

Manilla.—The last letters from this place mention that an intercourse had just been opened between the Phillipines and Singapore, and that a cargo of Britsh manufactured goods had gone off well there by public auction. The Governor of Manilla had issued, early in the year, a commercial proclamation, of which the following are important extracts :—

1st, All blue, red, andother dyed cloths, of Madras and Bengal, shall be valued at the custom-house, at 200 dollars per corge, or 10 per piece, and the established duties shall be levied thereon accordingly, without any distinction, whether they are fine or coarse. Let it be understood as a general and constant rule, that this does not include printed goods, nor any other kind which does not come under the denomination of dyed cloth.

2nd, The dyed handkerchiefs, of the same description as above stated, shall be valued at 180 per corge, with the exception of printed handkerchiefs.

3rd, The coarse cloth from China, called Gepo Tiapo-vegan, or any other description which does not include the Angue Wor, lens, or the Coletas, or any other sort of fine linens, shall pay an additional duty of half a rial per piece, which is equal to twelve and a half rials per package.

4th, Twist, and dyed twist, of which the fine Madras cloth is made, shall be free from import duties, as also the ingredients which are imported from India for dying the said twist flesh colour.

Mauritius.—The accounts from the Mauritius are chiefly filled with accounts of the damage done by tempestuous weather there. H. M. sloop Wizard had arrived at the Isle of France from Madagascar; on her leaving the latter place all was quiet; and the native chiefs are represented as being very friendly to European intercourse. A disease something similar to the Cholera Morbus had been felt among some of the tribes in the interior, but it had not been very fatal, and was limited in its extent.

New South Wales.—The latest letters from this colony are by no means of so favourable a nature as those we formerly referred to; and the plans of Governor Macquarie, which were backed by enthusiasm and industry, instead of being followed with assiduity, were gradually being laid aside. Provisions for the use of government, were contracted for at very low terms; and the government bills were sold to the highest bidder; sterling payments were done away with, and the dollar paid out at four different values, the government receiving it at the rate it brought when sold for government bills, which was about 4*s.* 3*d.*, and paying it out to the settler for his wheat and meat at 5*s.*, a manifest injustice. The expenditure of the colony had, by these and other means, been reduced about one-third; but all the benefit which might have accrued eventually by such a saving, had been more than

balanced by the injury the sudden and unexpected change from former measures had produced. The consequence of this, in fact, had been, that wheat had fallen from 16*s.* per bushel to 3*s.* 6*d.* The comparison between the government of the late governor and that of Sir T. Brisbane, or rather his secretary, was certain, not much in favour of the latter. The former made roads, erected public buildings, cheered the settler, and inspired universal life among all in the settlement; the latter was occupied in star-gazing and lunar observations, and the secretary in rendering ridiculous the brief authority with which he was so improperly invested.

Mr. Forbes, the new chief-justice of New South Wales, had arrived at Sydney at the beginning of March.

Van Dieman's Land.—The advices from this colony are of a most cheering description. The royal charter granted to the colony had been received from England the latter end of March, and gave very general satisfaction. The lieut.-governor, at the government-house, delivered a long address on the occasion, and congratulated the chief-justice, J. L. Pedder, Esq., on his appointment. The 48th regt., under Lieut. Col. Cimitiere, had embarked on board the ships Greenock, Asia, and Sir Godfrey Webster, which were to proceed to Madras. The natives in the interior were, however, rather troublesome to the settlers, and had destroyed one or two stock-keepers. Three hundred and thirty-six vessels arrived at Hobart's Town between the 1st of June 1816, and the end of 1823, the major part of them since 1819: upwards of one hundred of these vessels were from ports in Europe.

Owing to the fineness of the climate, all the fruits and plants of Europe are gradually bringing into cultivation there: grapes have succeeded beyond expectation, and the produce was likely to surpass that of any former year: all kinds of plums are in great abundance, as are cherries, apples, walnuts, &c. All the different species of clover answer perfectly, and when sown in the latter end of Sept. had seeded in the beginning of February. The indigo plant had been reared near Hobart's Town; and the common holly-hock or rose-mallow, which has been discovered to yield a blue dye equal in beauty and permanence to the best indigo, was also found in the greatest luxuriance in different parts of the island. In the rearing of live-stock the settlers are also proceeding prosperously. Several cargoes of Merino sheep, through want of proper care, had died on the voyage out. This evil has been remedied by the arrival of the William Shand at Hobart's Town, with 128 fine ewes and rams of the pure Merino breed, most of them from the flock of Sir J. Sebright. There had also been imported, by another vessel, 80 full-grown pure Merino sheep; only ten of this whole number died on the voyage.

Several expeditions were in progress for exploring the interior, to ascertain the course of rivers, and the natural productions of the country; and it was believed that this would lead to the discovery of a large portion of country to the north-west.

The Triton, the first ship sent out by the Australasian Company, which had been incorporated in England, arrived at Hobart's Town in January, and during its stay there, Mr. Bushby, who had come out as mineral surveyor, was employed in examining the neighbourhood of Coal River. He found that coal was produced there in large quantities, and near the surface, and that mines could be worked there at a very moderate expense.

The charter of incorporation of a bank at Hobart's Town had arrived, and its notes were put in circulation on the 15th of March. In February a new township was laid out in the district of Coal River, advantageously situated on the banks of that stream, and the lieut.-governor, who presided, gave it the name of Richmond.

The following extract of a letter from Mr. Thomas Scott, dated 1st March, 1824, is of great interest:—"The wreck of a large vessel, supposed to have been lost thirty years ago, was found on a small island near to Moreton Bay, by the expedition that went to view the large river lately discovered in New Holland. There is scarcely a doubt but this is the Astrolabe, in which M. de la Perouse sailed from Botany Bay to the north, and which has not since been heard of."

Cape of Good Hope.—Letters have arrived from the Cape, dated the 10th July, and disclose the curious particulars out of which had arisen the late violent ferment in that colony, and the subsequent trial of Mr. Edwards, for a libel on the governor, as well as the restrictions on the press, followed by the suspension of the South African Advertiser, and a South African Magazine. It is well known that one of the motives for restraining the press at that

particular period, was to prevent the publication of the trial of Mr. Edwards, of which little has transpired, except that he was convicted of a libel against the governor, and sentenced to transportation for seven years to New South Wales!

Mr. Edwards's crime, it now appears, consisted in having addressed a letter to Lord Charles Somerset, in which he introduced several imputations on his character. His lordship gave these letters to the Fiscal, or principal law-officer of the colony, who commenced a prosecution against Mr. Edwards for the contents. Mr. Edwards energetically insisted on his right to be tried according to the laws of England in cases of libel, and defied the court to prove that he was the author of the libel, or publisher of the letters. On hearing the list of witnesses read, Mr. Edwards remarked, "I observe that the name of one of the witnesses is not inscribed. I will acquaint the court with her name: it is Catherina, formerly slave to Mr. Vander Riet, and at present mistress of His Exc. Lord Charles Somerset. His Excellency's name is also omitted; but I will dare His Excellency to show his face in this court: I would prove how many prize negroes he gave Mr. Vander Riet to purchase the freedom of this woman."

The commissioners of the court, Messrs. Breslie and Borcherds, before whom Mr. Edwards was tried, prohibited him, after the first day of his trial, from using any language of a personal nature. No witnesses were called on the trial to prove the libel or the publication of it. The conviction, it is stated, took place under the Dutch law, the provisions of which are still allowed to be in force in the colony. A full report of this trial is on its way to England: it will, therefore, soon be ascertained on what principles this extraordinary decision took place.

Respecting the restrictions on the press, we find few new remarks in the letters in question. Mr. Pringle, the Editor of the Magazine, had indulged in some remarks on the administration of the Colony, for which he received a reprimand, and a requisition to submit his articles, previous to publication, to the Censorship of the Fiscal; on which he at once abandoned the undertaking, giving up at the same time his office of public librarian.

On the affair of the placard, affixed on a post at Cape Town, and containing some horrible imputations on the conduct of Lord Charles Somerset, the letters state, that it was first seen by Capt. J. Findlay, one morning early, on his way to parade. He did not remove the offensive paper; but it was afterwards, as reported, taken down by a man on horseback. Captain Findlay made known the affair at the Government House, on which an oath of secrecy was administered to him by the Fiscal, binding him not to declare to others the imputations which that placard contained. The Fiscal then advertised a reward of 5000 rix-dollars for the discovery of the person who wrote the placard, and 1000 for the production of the paper itself. After this, a statement was drawn up, in which this placard was described as being of a very horrible nature, without any further particulars being mentioned; and the principal resident at the Cape, under the impression of the moment, subscribed an additional reward of 15,000 rix-dollars. Still neither the author nor placard had been brought to light.

The merchants, who had no proof that this placard ever existed, began to feel themselves in a very ridiculous and humiliating situation. But their mortification was not to end with this; for it gave rise to many acts of a very offensive and arbitrary nature. The houses of several respectable individuals were ransacked, by virtue of search-warrants, to look for the supposed or ideal placard. One person was sent to prison, but afterwards liberated, and even Mr. Edwards, who was then waiting the execution of his sentence, was ordered out of the way.

Reports were circulated, that warrants were out for the apprehension of Mr. Pringle and others. This report, as regarded him, was unfounded. He waited on the Fiscal, to learn if any warrant had been issued against him, but could obtain no information. The Fiscal, however, insisted on knowing who had told Mr. Pringle that a warrant had been issued against him; and upon his hesitating to reveal his name, was taken before the Commissioner, Mr. Bentinck, who asked him if *he was aware of a Dutch law which authorized his being sent to prison, in case he refused to give up the name of his friend, who had told him of the warrant being made out against him.* After a conversation of two hours, Mr. Pringle gave up the name of his informant. The conduct of the government was disapproved of by the Commissioners sent out to inquire into the administration of the Colony, who were

fortunately on the spot at the time, and from whom the government at home will doubtless receive a true state of all that has occurred.

Sierra Leone.—We are happy to announce, that our fears of the utter destruction of our Settlement at Cape Coast have, during the month, been removed by the official accounts received of the defeat of the Ashantees, commanded by the King in person, during an attack made by them on this post. The principal battle took place on the 11th of July, when the Ashantees, to the number of fifteen thousand, approached to attack the Castle. For the first time, our troops were enabled to bring field pieces against the enemy, who suffered terribly from the grape and cannister shot poured upon them; and their disorder was heightened by an attack on their two camps in the rear, by the British and Allied force, both of their camps being destroyed.

In consequence of this, the Ashantees fell back on the evening of the 11th of July, and, after a few skirmishes on the 12th and 13th, the remains of the force rapidly retreated to their own country. Their loss in this affair is estimated at about four thousand men, and the British at that of five hundred, chiefly natives allied with us. It is gratifying to learn, that the Danish Governor, whose friendly conduct we noticed in our last, sent a body of his people well armed to aid in the defence of Cape Coast, and these rendered excellent service. The seamen, also, from our ships of war there, were landed to defend the Fort. Lieut. Swanzy, of the Royal African Corps, was killed, and was the only officer that fell in the action.

Cape Coast, when the advices left, was in a most deplorable state, from want of provisions, and from the destruction of the habitations during the attack, but no alarm was entertained of the return of the enemy.

Colonel Sutherland, who embarked in the Thetis for England, has been succeeded in the government by Lieutenant-Colonel Grant.

Algoa Bay.—From a letter written by one of the new settlers at this place, it appears that the prospects in that settlement are materially improving. The difficulties that at first presented themselves were fast melting away, and any person with a small capital would, it is thought, soon become independent there. Labourers were in particular request, and the rate of wages was very high. Printing had been prohibited! but the next arrivals from England were expected to remove the prohibition. The writer says, that as yet he had derived little benefit from the cultivation of his land, and was on the point of building a good house, which he expected to accomplish for about 150*l*. The necessaries of life were extremely cheap.

The Mary, Ardlie, from Bengal and Madras to London, which was wrecked in Mossel Bay on the 9th of July, had on board nearly 1000 chests of indigo, most of which it was expected would be saved, and also the rest of the valuable part of the cargo.

The following details are extracted from Captain Prissick's letter, detailing the loss of the ship George the Fourth, near Brede River, on the Coast of Africa, dated July 18, 1824:—

"I am under the necessity of informing you of the wreck of the ship King George the Fourth, on the 16th inst. Having got as far on our passage as Cape Lagullas, we encountered a heavy gale from the N.W., which continued with unabated fury from the 27th of June till the 7th of July, during which time the ship was totally dismasted and water-logged, having sprung a leak under the main chains, whilst both pumps were disabled, and shortly afterwards broke. With great exertions, we kept the ship above water during the gale, though we could not get her under eight feet water in the hold. The sugar soon melted; the cotton and cloves in casks were washing about the hold. After the gale had subsided, we found ourselves in 38 south latitude. The stumps of the masts were afloat, and the stancheons adrift, when we got up jury-masts of such spars as were on deck, most being washed overboard, and made sail for the coast, in hope of seeing some homeward-bound ship to take us out. Having made the coast about St. Sebastian's Bay, without seeing any ship, it was my intention to run our ship on shore in that place, but the wind blowing hard to the northward, we could not get in. The crew and passengers now became clamorous for the boat to land them; and seeing, from the state of the ship, that she could not hang together 24 hours longer, I was reluctantly obliged to lanch the only little boat we had. The gale left us, and with considerable difficulty we succeeded in landing, at two trips, the whole of the passengers

and the disabled part of the crew. At seven o'clock the same evening I quitted the ship with sixteen men, and attempted to land where the others had done, but the surf was so high it became impossible: after rowing all night, we landed here. The wind having changed during the night, the ship drove on shore a few miles below this place, and in an hour afterwards went to pieces."

Mediterranean.—The advices from the Mediterranean have been of the highest interest during the past month; but most of the details having already transpired in the newspapers of the day, render it less necessary to insert them here. The most prominent of the events may be briefly noted.

At Constantinople there have been serious commotions, which ended in the dismissal of several high officers of state, and the delivery into the hands of the Janissaries of the son of the Sultan, heir to the throne, as a hostage for the due fulfilment of certain conditions enjoined by them on the sovereign, who, though a despot, is thus obliged to yield to public opinion.

Letters from Smyrna announce the total dispersion of the land forces collected at Scalanuova, for the expedition against Samos, to the extent of 60,000 men. From the same quarter it is ascertained beyond all doubt, that the great Turkish fleet of the Capitan Pasha, as well as that of the Egyptian viceroy, which were destined for the invasion of the Morea, have been destroyed, so that the Greeks may now be considered as entirely beyond all risk of re-subjugation; and, unless impeded by European influence, they cannot fail soon to take their place among the free nations of the world.

The disgraceful fact of there being upwards of thirty of the vessels forming part of the Egyptian fleet, sailing under the British flag, has met with universal reprobation; and the Proclamation of Sir Frederick Adam, intended to protect these piratical miscreants from the ordinary consequences of their conduct, in joining the hostile forces sent against the Greeks, has not been less severely censured throughout England, and Europe generally. The facts were briefly these:—Certain vessels belonging to Christian nations, at profound peace with the Greeks, (among whom were 35 English and not *one* French) chose to fall into the ranks of the Egyptian fleet, and actually to form part of the hostile squadron intended to carry war and desolation into the Morea. The Greeks hearing this, warned them of their fate, by issuing a proclamation, threatening to treat them exactly as they would treat the vessels of the Turks, namely, burn, sink, capture, and destroy such of them as fell in their way. On this, Sir Frederick Adam (brother of the celebrated Mr. John Adam, late temporary Governor-General of Bengal) issued his proclamation, threatening to detain all Greek vessels till this proclamation should be rescinded in all its parts, thus, in effect, declaring war against the Greeks, for their having the humanity previously to warn English renegades from a fate which they might justly have inflicted on them without the least warning whatever! On this subject, however, we cannot do better than select one of the many excellent articles which have appeared on this subject in the Morning Chronicle; though it must be added, in justice to the Times, Globe and Traveller, and Examiner, that they have all expressed their unqualified reprobation of the conduct of the Lord High Commissioner.

The infamous proclamation of Sir Frederick Adam, declaring that the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Naval Forces in the Levant, *conformably to the instructions he has received from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty*, will arrest and capture all the vessels, armed or bearing armed men, equipped by the authority of the Provisional Government of Greece, or by those who acknowledge its authority, in consequence of the refusal of the Provisional Government to revoke their Proclamation against the vessels of neutrals interfering in the contest between the Turks and Greeks, excited every where yesterday the keenest indignation. The most servile Englishman who read it, blushed for his country, when he saw those who represent it outraging in so barefaced a manner the general feeling of Europe. A French paper (the Courier Français) supposes it the production of some insolent pro-consul, unauthorized by his Government; and we would willingly adopt this supposition, did we not see the instructions of the Admiralty referred to by Sir F. Adam. It would, however, give us great satisfaction to think that no part of the odium attaches to the Foreign Office; for without wishing to flatter Mr. Canning, we must say that we have seen nothing in his conduct which would lead us to suppose that he would be guilty (a milder word would be unsuitable) of such an abomination as the issuing of such a proclamation

amounts to. Let us hope that the Admiralty alone is in fault; and that the measure will be disowned and countermanded with all convenient speed.

The transporting of hostile troops and warlike stores to the shores of one of the belligerents, is, as we yesterday observed, taking part in the war between the Turks and the Greeks; and those worthless Englishmen, who thus allied themselves to the Turks (and whose names will, we hope, be published in this country, that disgrace may follow them wherever they show themselves), thereby placed themselves with respect to the Greeks, exactly in the situation of Turks. Whatever, therefore, the Greeks might do to Turkish vessels conveying troops and warlike stores to their shores, they might do to the Englishmen who joined the Turks.

Now, it is agreed by all writers on international law, that the Greeks would be perfectly justified in *attacking, burning*, or *destroying* Turkish vessels, *with their crews*. The most celebrated writers, as Cocceji, Bynkershoek, &c. do not hesitate to lay down the abstract position, that in war *every thing is permitted to the victor against the vanquished*, and that though the right of killing a conquered enemy is seldom exercised, yet whoever wishes to enforce his right, may proceed to that extremity.

(Quia in victum victori licent omnia, jus vitæ et necis penes victorem esse nemo dubitaverit. Quamvis autem jus occidendi fere obsoleverit, id tamen soli victoris voluntati ac clementiæ tribuimus, neque adeo negamus adhuc exerceri posse, si quis omnino jure suo uti velit. Omnis enim vis in bello justa est, si me audias, et ideo justa, cum liceat hostem opprimere etiam inermem, cum liceat veneno, cum liceat percussore immisso, et igne factitio quem tu habes, et ille non habet, denique cum liceat quomodocunque libuerit.—*Bynkersh. Quæst. Jur. pub.* Lib. ii. c. 3, 4.)

But whatever may be thought of the right to kill an unarmed enemy, to poison, &c. it is clear that the harsh conduct of one belligerent justifies equally harsh conduct on the part of the other.

"Two equally just wars," says Galiani, in his Rights of Neutrality, "do not give equal rights against an enemy when they do not spring from similar causes. For as a just war can be carried on on no other account than that of an injury either received or threatened, with the difference of the injury, its magnitude and proximity varies the right how much or how little we may undertake against others, either to indemnify ourselves, or to place ourselves in a state of security."

Vattel says—"When the war is with a savage nation, which observes no rules, and never gives quarter, it may be chastised in the persons of any seized or taken, they are among the guilty; that by this rigour they may be brought to conform to the laws of humanity."

It is well known that all the ferocity of the ancient mode of carrying on war is retained by the Turks—that wherever they have gained any advantages they murder their adult male prisoners, and make captives of the women and children. Those writers on the law of nations who, like Cocceji, Bynkershoek, &c. think that the whole population of an enemy may be put to death, still consider the Turkish practice of violating captives, as exceeding the utmost extension of right which can be given to the victor. *Captas stuprare non licet; quia actui huic naturalis turpitudo inest.* No extremity of reprisals, therefore, against the Turks, can exceed what all writers on international law would sanction.

In this we are far from wishing to give countenance to the cruelties which have characterised this and all wars, where one at least of the parties is in a state of barbarism. We merely state the rights of the Greeks with respect to the Turks, and consequently with respect to those ruffians of Englishmen who have joined the Turks, as the law of nations has been most absurdly introduced by the Lord High Commissioner in his proclamation, as a justification of his hostilities against the Greeks. Many horrid acts of cruelty are committed in every war, some of them reprobated by many writers on international law, as, for instance, the giving up the population of a town taken by storm to the besieging army, (and we may refer to St. Sebastian, taken by Lord Lyndock, as a case in point,) yet, though such an abandonment of the population to an infuriated soldiery may be reprobated, it has always been considered justified by the laws of war.

It has been well observed by an evening contemporary, that the Greeks, in saying that the vessels treated as enemies shall "be attacked, burned, and destroyed, with their crews," must have meant merely "that they should be subjected to capture and condemnation, and, in the event of resisting capture, exposed to the consequences of resistance." Though, therefore, the Greeks are justified, according to every recognized principle, in proceeding to the utmost extremity against those, who, having allied themselves to their ruthless enemy, are captured in the act of conveying troops to their shores, still it is probable that they merely stated the destruction of the crew as a consequence which might result from resistance, without any intention of sending the crew of a captured ship to the bottom, as a matter of course. But should we even in case of a war, not with a barbarous enemy like the Turks, but a nation which has always boasted of the highest civilization, the French, be very scrupulous with respect to neutrals, who might lend their ships to the French to invade us.

"Suppose," says the contemporary alluded to, "Suppose during the last war, when Bonaparte had his camp at Boulogne, a fleet of Pappenheimers or Russians (when Russia was neutral) had been taken up by the enemy to

convey 50 or 100,000 men to the coast of Kent and Sussex, should we have thought our Government acted with injustice to the weak or the strong—to Pappenheim or Russia—if it gave notice to the transporting parties that their vessels would be exposed to awkward consequences from our men of war—or even if it sunk, burnt, or destroyed, without notice, as many of these nominal neutrals as it could?"

So much with respect to the disgraceful measure of Sir Frederick Adam, the appearance of which, every man who has the character of his country at heart, must deeply regret. Whether we are indebted for it to the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, the Admiralty, or to Sir Frederick Adam himself, it leaves a stain on the country which will not soon be effaced.

We are happy to add, that since the destruction of the fleets in question, in which many of the vessels under English flags were burnt and destroyed with the rest, Sir Frederick Adam has made a visit to Greece, and matters have been adjusted by withdrawing the proclamation on each side; that of the Greeks being now indeed no longer necessary.

The progress of intelligence is rapid throughout Greece. A number of benevolent and public spirited individuals continue to visit the country from England, plans of education are fast maturing in many of the Greek towns, and another new Journal, called the Ephemeride, has been added to those already existing at Athens.

The differences between the Dey of Algiers and the British government have been arranged, by the latter conceding all the points required of him, which related to mere matters of form, and by his declaring his intention to conform to the treaty entered into between his predecessor and Lord Exmouth. When the last accounts left, the Dey had despatched a squadron of four ships to cruize against the Spanish and Sardinian flags, on the grounds that he had not received his usual tribute from those nations. It is really a disgrace to Europe, that tribute should be suffered to be exacted from any Christian nation, by such cruel and ferocious barbarians as the Algerines.

EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE.

East India Directors.—An extraordinary sensation has been created by the publication of the Hyderabad Papers, the perusal of which, by such as have gone at all into their details, has induced many to believe that a conspiracy existed, both in England and in India, to injure Lord Hastings in public estimation; and some even of the Directors are thought to be implicated in this charge. It is confidently said that some persons of great eminence, friends of the Marquis of Hastings, have it in contemplation to bring a formal charge of conspiracy against some of the Directors, and several other persons, carried on for years against the noble Marquis, while at the head of his government in India; and the supposed leading individuals in this combination are even named in conversation in the principal circles; but it would perhaps be hardly safe to indicate them more distinctly here. Time, however, will reveal all. Mr. Pattison, (whose able protests and dissents, in which he censures the conduct of his colleagues, are included in the Hyderabad Papers, and do equal credit to his head and his heart), is said to be one of those friends of the Marquis, who are determined to insist upon a public investigation of the whole affair, to clear up much that is now involved in very suspicious mystery, to say the least. We shall be heartily glad to see this done, for the sake of truth and justice, which can never suffer from inquiry; and our firm conviction is, that the more the matter is probed, the more certainly it will be made apparent, that in all these transactions the Marquis has acted an upright and conscientious part, while the conduct of his masters in England, and his fellow-servants in India, has been marked by the most crooked and miserable policy, quite unworthy the character of the nations they pretend to represent.

Reduction of Interest on India Bonds. The following notice, dated East India House, Sept. 29, was posted in the English Stock Exchange early in the past month :—

The Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, do hereby give notice,

That the present interest of (3*l.* 10*s.*) three pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum on the Company's Bonds, shall

cease and determine on the 5th day of April, 1825.

That from and after the said 5th day of April they shall carry only an interest of (3*l.*) three pounds per cent. per annum.

That the holders of bonds will be allowed to bring them in to be marked for continuation at the said interest of (3*l.*) three pounds per cent. per annum, until the 29th day of March 1825; and that such bonds as shall not be marked for continuation as aforesaid, on or before the 26th of March, 1825, shall be liable to be paid off on the said 5th day of April, 1825, with the interest due thereon; from which date unmarked bonds shall not carry any interest.

JOSEPH DART, Secretary.

Nabob of the Carnatic.—The papers mention that a sumptuous military equipment is about to be sent from this country to Madras for the Nabob in question. It is quite safe for the East India Company to indulge in these warlike presents to a man who cannot use them. The motives they avow for withholding them from others may be seen in another part of our publication.

Madagascar Youths.—Three young men, natives of this island, the eldest about 18 years of age, have been recently baptized in London, at the chapel of the Rev. Rowland Hill. They were sent over by the king of Madagascar, for the express purpose of being educated in the Christian faith; this being granted as some compensation to him (it is said) for his loss of the advantages of slave-dealing in his dominions.

Greek Committee.—The labours of this philanthropic body still continue; and their efforts for the assistance of the Greeks are unabated. At one of their recent sittings, Captain Blacquiere, who has just returned from Greece, presented to them nine interesting Greek youths, sent to England for education. There were originally ten, but one of them died on the passage, from a fever caught by bathing while his body was in a state of great heat. These youths were brought over in the Greek corvette, Amphitrite, to the crew of which the Committee voted from their funds a supply of warm clothing for the winter. A handsome sum was also appropriated to the education of the youths sent for that purpose, and every indication given by the members, of their continued interest in the fate of the Greek people. On the same occasion, Capt. Blacquiere presented to the Committee the Turkish flag captured by the brave Marcos Bozzaris, just before his death, and two cannon-balls cut from the marble of the Parthenon, which the Greeks had been compelled to use for this purpose, for the want of iron or lead.

On Wednesday, Oct. 20, the Lord Mayor gave a dinner at the Mansion House to a large party. Four young Greeks, the sons of some of the principal directors of the operations in Greece, were amongst the guests. They were introduced by Mr. Bowring, and were attired in the costume of the country, richly embroidered. At the request of Mr. Bowring, who communicated the wish of the Lord Mayor to the Greeks, they sang several of their national airs, and danced according to the style of their country. The ladies, of whom there were many of the party, were delighted at the musical display, which was completely scientific; but their dancing was incomparable. The names of the Greeks, who are four of the ten sent over to be educated here, upon the invitation of Mr. Jeremy Bentham, are Eustatio Rallis, from Napoli di Romania; Stamonacea, a Livadian, son of one of the Chiefs of that province, at whose house Lord Byron was accustomed to visit; Costa, son of a Suliot Chief; and Pericles, an Athenian.

We should add, that the idea of obtaining the Greek youths to be educated in England, originated with the venerable Bentham, who had sent to Greece for two, charging himself with the expense of their maintenance and instruction, and this encouraged others to be sent with them. We rejoice to learn that they are all to be sent to the excellent, and, we must say, unequalled institution at Hazelwood;* a place of education superior not only to all others in England, but, we sincerely believe, to all others in the world, for developing the natural powers of the pupils, and bringing, with the least expense of time and money to the parent, and with the greatest happiness to the child, whatever natural talents he may possess, to the greatest degree of perfection of which they are capable. The public school at Hazelwood should be visited by every man who takes an interest in the advancement of the human race, as one of the most interest-

* An account of this admirable establishment will be found in the first volume of the Oriental Herald, page 261.

ng institutions in existence. There are already nearly 100 English boys there; and, but very recently, some young gentlemen from South America, two of them sons of the late Chief Magistrate of Buenos Ayres, were added to their number. The nine young Greeks will be a valuable addition to their strength, and we doubt not but that in another year the children of other nations will be also sent there; so that an education at that school will partake of an advantage that perhaps no other in the kingdom could offer, and give the pupils some of the benefits of travel and intercourse with foreigners, before they even quit their homes.

We should be glad to see a thousand such excellent institutions scattered over the globe, and hope they will rapidly increase and multiply for the benefit of mankind.

We may mention that in the United States of America, the deep interest of all classes of people in the fate of the Greeks continues unabated; and while the great body of the English are merely talking and writing about the matter, the Americans are rendering them the most active and essential assistance. A letter from Achille Murat, son of the late King of Naples, addressed by him to Mr. Hume, from America, gives the most lively picture of the general feeling of that country towards the Greeks, and mentions that a large steam vessel, the Robert Fulton, was fitting up as an armed corvette, to be presented to the Greeks by the Americans, for the purpose of aiding them in their naval warfare against the Turks. Let this be contrasted with the conduct of the British Ministers and their servant, Sir Frederick Adam, and it will be immediately seen who are the real friends, and who the enemies, of Grecian independence.

African Institution.—The Eighteenth Report of this excellent institution has been published; but we can only find room for the following short notices of facts stated in it, referring the reader who desires further details to the Report itself:

France.—The remonstrances urged by Sir C. Stuart to the Government at Paris are stated at length, and the manner in which they have been received: the numerous French ships fitted out for the purpose, the large cargoes of slaves taken on board, protection granted by the French flag to the slave trader, the omission of instructions to the naval officers, &c. showing the violation of their own laws, and occasioning encroachments on the territories of friendly powers in Africa, and exciting bloody wars among the natives. These things have been brought under the notice of the French Government in all their horrid and disgusting details, and yet the French Slave Trade still proceeds as actively as before.

The Report ascribes to France the power to put an end to it if it pleases—the more awful becomes her responsibility for its continuance; and it suggests, that, "while the penalties attached to it are merely pecuniary, no degree of vigilance on the part of public functionaries can prevent its being carried on so long as the profits will pay for insurance;" and recommending some infamous punishment to be substituted—of a brand, or the galleys—(p. 22). But the establishment of a Society in Paris for the abolition, having marked their auspicious commencement by enlightened zeal, affords, by diffusing its information, very satisfactory hopes of awakening a more extensive feeling in favour of the African cause. The Royal Institution of France having offered a prize for the best written poem on the abolition it was adjudged to M. Chauvet; and another by M. Biguan is said to have been nearly equal in point of merit. The importation, and reprints with translations, of them, would render this cause an acceptable service in England.

Sierra Leone.—The state of this Colony is greatly improving its intercourse with the interior, almost to the Banks of the Niger. The merchants have occasionally received from five hundred to one thousand pounds' worth of gold in a single day in exchange for their goods! (p. 40.) Crime has diminished, cultivation has extended, substantial erections have been multiplied; churches have either been built or are building in every village; the blessings of education have been more widely diffused; and the influence of Christianity appears to prevail more and more among the inhabitants; and the reports of the unhealthiness and mortality of the Colony have been exaggerated. Among the improvements on the Gold Coast, it is stated that the superstitious ordeals which had been previously in use at the Forts had been suppressed; and the evil of *panyaring*, or seizing and enslaving the person of the debtor, or of any of his relatives or townsmen,

for debt, had been checked, and it may be hoped will soon be effectually suppressed. The Report then adverted to the late disaster, observing that the occurrence of war with the King of the Ashantees under these circumstances has been peculiarly unfortunate ; the details of which had not been received at the date of this Report. The commercial intercourse which has been opened with the interior of Africa from the different European settlements on the Coast is stated as likely to throw considerable light on its state, and information of its effect is given at some length in the Appendix G, by the Tartar Wadjee. After mentioning the loss of Mr. Bowditch and Mr. Belzoni, the Directors state that the most successful enterprise of this description hitherto made has been that of Major Denman, Lieut. Clapperton, and Dr. Oudney, who, proceeding southward, reached in February 1823 the capital of Bornou, 12½ deg. N. lat. 14 long. E.

Amongst the valuable documents of the Appendix that of the letter O will be read with much interest, being the Journey of Wadjee, a Tartar, from Tripoli to Cape Coast, &c. in which he describes Timbuctoo and Jinne : he never heard of any White man having been at Timbuctoo.

English Travellers.—The celebrated Captain Cochrane, of the Royal Navy, whose pedestrian excursion through Russia and Siberia lately excited such interest, arrived at Barbadoes on the 8th of August last, on his way to South America, where he intended to explore, on foot, all the yet untravelled parts of the country that he could find, and to explore the very summits of the Andes !

The following curious particulars respecting the late Mungo Park are from a summary drawn up from notes obtained in 1822 from a negro named Duncanno, a native of Yaourie, the spot where the great African traveller perished, and are thought worthy of insertion here.

Duncanno states that he was in his native country, Birnie Yaourie sixteen years ago (1808), when Mr. Park arrived there in a canoe with two masts. No person landed, and the canoe continued her course down the river with the travellers in her. The King of Yaourie, aware of their danger, sent off eight canoes to warn them, in one of which was a red cow, intended as a present to the white men. Mr. Park did not communicate with them, but continued sailing onward. The canoes followed, and at last Mr. Park, probably dreading some hostile intention, fired, but fortunately did not kill any one ; upon this the canoes returned, but the king, anxious for their safety, sent people after them requesting them to stop, and he would send proper persons to show them the safe passage in the channel of the river.

The messengers could not, however, overtake them, and Mr. Park and his companions continued their voyage, until the vessel got among the rocks off Boussa, and was, in consequence, "broke."

Birnie Yaourie is in Houssa, but Boussa is in the country called Burgoo. Birnie Yaourie is by land one day's journey from Boussa, but by water a day and a half.

Duncanno described the pass where the canoe was broke to be like the cataracts in the Scottish Highlands. The water ran with great force, the canoe was carried rapidly along, and, before they could see their danger, was dashed to pieces. The people of Boussa stood upon some rocks projecting into the river, desirous, if possible, of affording the white men some assistance, but the catastrophe was so sudden, and the violence of the stream so great, that they could not reach them.

The break of the river on the rocks is described as dreadful, the whirlpools formed, appalling, and the agitation of the water so great, as almost to raise the canoe off its end, and precipitate it stem forward into the gulf below. At the moment the vessel struck, Mr. Park held something in his hand which he threw into the water, just as the vessel appeared to be going to pieces. The water was so agitated that he could not swim, and was seen to sink. There were other white men in the canoe, all of whom were drowned. The river is there four miles broad. There was a black slave saved from the canoe, who spoke the Foulah language, and was slave to a Foulah man, and lived at Boussa when Duncanno left Yaourie.

Duncanno positively asserted that no person from Mr. Park's vessel landed, and that the black was the only man saved. Some expert divers among the people of Boussa dived into the stream, and picked up twelve pieces and two long muskets.

Mr. Park informed the black who was with him, that in a week or two he would carry him with the canoe

into 'a great ocean,' where the water was salt. Various accounts agree in stating, that from below Boussa to Benin the river is broad, deep, and navigable.

La Fayette.—The distinguished honours which have been paid in America to this veteran general, have gladdened more hearts than his own. The following brief extract from an American paper, which gives a long account of his reception in the United States, will be read with pleasure even in the opposite hemisphere of the eastern world :

"I must not forget to mention the interesting exhibition of the children. These, to the number of 800, between the ages of six and twelve, neatly dressed, and each wearing a badge of La Fayette, were arranged in six lines in the state-house-yard. Between these lines the general passed; and after he had passed through the whole, a gold medal, bearing upon it the inscription "Nous vous aimons, La Fayette," was presented to him, accompanied by the following beautiful lines :—

Welcome to Fredonia's clime,
Glorious Hero! Chief sublime!
Garlands bright for thee are wreath'd,
Vows of filial ardour breath'd;
Veterans' cheeks with tears are wet,
"Nous vous aimons, La Fayette."

Monmouth's field is rich with bloom,
Where thy warriors found their tomb;
Yorktown's heights resound no more
Victor's shout, or cannon's roar;
Yet our hearts record their debt,
"Nous vous aimons, La Fayette."

Brandywine, whose current roll'd
Proud with blood of heroes bold,
That our country's debt shall tell,
That our gratitude shall swell—
Infant breasts thy wounds regret,
"Nous vous aimons, La Fayette."

Sires who sleep in glory's bed,
Sires whose blood for us was shed,—
Taught us, when our knee we bend,
With the prayer thy name to blend:
Shall we e'er such charge forget?
"Nous vous aimons, La Fayette."

When our blooming cheeks shall fade,
Pale with time or sorrow's shade,
When our clustering tresses fair
Frosts of wintry age shall wear,
E'en till memory's sun be set,
"Nous vous aimons, La Fayette."

We have just been told that, while here, he was presented with the epaulettes which he wore as major-general in our army, and with the sash which he wore at the battle of Brandywine, spotted with the *blood* he shed in our cause forty years ago.—*American paper*.

Lord Charles Murray.—This young Nobleman, son to the Duke of Athol, died on the 11th of August, at Gastouini.

Captain Gordon.—On Sept. 27, 1822, at Welet Medinet, a day's journey from Sennaar, in Nubia, from whence he was proceeding in an attempt to penetrate up to the source of the Bahr-el-Abiad, died Capt. Robert James Gordon, R. N., who had often distinguished himself during the late war. He was the third son of Capt. Gordon, of Everton near Bawtry. His death adds another victim to the melancholy list of those who have perished in the cause of African Discovery.

Sir F. Adam.—[From the *Algemeine Zeitung*.]—Trieste, October 6.—Two days before Captain Diamandopulo, who arrived here in 16 days from Zante, left that island, the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, Sir F. Adam, arrived there from Napoli di Romania, and after performing 24 hours' quarantine, sailed for Corfu. He had been to Napoli di Romania with one frigate, one corvette, and three brigs, and had been received there with a salute of 105 guns, which he returned with an equal number. When he landed, about 8,000 Greek troops were drawn up on each side of the way, and on entering the city, he was received by 79 members of the senate, dressed in grand costume, each of whom had a white flag borne before him. At that time the object of his visit was not known at Zante.

Great Military Road.—Vienna, Oct. 12.—At the beginning of October, the great military road was opened which leads from Bormio, in the Valteline, passes over the ridge of the Braglio and the Stilferjock, and then descends into the Tyrol, to join the Inspruck road, in the plains of Pradt. It is the highest road in Europe, for the summit of the Stilferjock, over which it passes, is 8,400 feet above the level of the sea. In the inhospitable Alpine regions, where nature opposed, at every step, the efforts of art, genius has triumphed, with happy boldness, over every difficulty. The traveller is astonished when he sees how, sometimes by the erection of bridges, or by galleries hewn in the rocks, or built of stone, the most frightful precipices are surmounted, and obstacles of every kind overcome. It does honour to the Government, that, by the erection of very solid covered

passages of stone, it has provided a new retreat from the danger of avalanches along the whole road. In one part those galleries are carried to the length of 800 yards. Care has been humanely taken to provide shelter for travellers, who, when surprised by sudden storms of snow, or high winds, might be in danger of losing their way, or being buried in the snow. Six very spacious inns, built on the highest parts of the road, afford the wanderer at all times a secure retreat; where persons, appointed by the Government, will afford him every kind of assistance and refreshment. On the road near the Stilferjock, where nature appears in all her terrific sublimity, the attention of the traveller is attracted by the sources of the Adda, which rushes from a rock at a very great height, and by the celebrated summit of the Oitler, covered with eternal snow, which rises far above the clouds. The numerous beautiful waterfalls, and the diversified prospects, are as interesting as the singular forms of the rocks, and the immense glaciers which hang over the valleys beneath. The ascent and descent of the road are almost always easy; the railing on the side is erected on the whole road; and the magnificence of the work is the more calculated to excite astonishment, when it is recollected that it was first begun in the summer of 1821, and that in these rude and elevated regions the work could be carried on only for a few months in the year.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Nearly ready for Publication.

Journals of the Seiges of the Madras Army, in the years 1818, 1818, and 1819, with Observations on the System, according to which such operations have usually been conducted in India, and a statement of the improvements that appear necessary. By Edward Lake, Ensign of the Honourable East India Company's Madras Engineers. With an Atlas of Explanatory Plates.

The Proceedings of the Agricultural Society of Sumatra, consisting of the First and Second Reports of the Society; with an Appendix containing the principal Papers therein referred to, and also the Reports of the Education Committee and Bible Society. In 1 volume, 8vo.

A Map of India, compiled from the latest surveys, and other authentic sources. Engraving by John Walker, on four large sheets; the scale will be two inches to a degree, and the size five feet six inches in length, by four feet four.

In a few days will be published, a Second Part of the East India Military Calendar, by the Editor of the Royal Military Calendar.

New Volume of Poems.—Our Indian readers will learn with pleasure that Mr. D. L. Richardson, who has recently arrived in England from Bengal, has a volume of poems in the press, from which we have been furnished with several smaller pieces for our present Number. These will serve, to the English reader, as specimens of the author's talents: but to the Indian reader, the earlier productions of the same pen are already sufficiently well known to induce them to look forward to the promised volume with expectations of pleasure that will not, we think, be disappointed.

Anglo-Chinese College.—There is an institution at Malacca, called the Anglo-Chinese College, which is intended to promote the study by Europeans of Chinese literature, and the study of English by native Chinese, with the ultimate view of transferring to Eastern Asia, and the islands beyond it, the literature of Europe. The Anglo-Chinese College is still in its infancy; there are in it, as students, about twenty Chinese youths, of from ten to twenty years of age. The late Dr. Milne, a missionary of the London Missionary Society, was the first Principal of the College, and he is succeeded by two gentlemen, whose names are Humphreys and Collie. Amongst other voluntary subscriptions, we hear that a gentleman, a friend of literature, has given 1,500*l.* to the College, together with a valuable collection of upwards of 300 volumes, to the library.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[*From the London Gazettes.*]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS.

BENGAL.

11th Light Dragoons. Capt. H. Bond, from half-pay, 19th Light Dragoons, to be Captain, vice T. P. Barlow, who exchanges, receiving the difference, dated Sept. 16, 1824.

13th Foot. Ensign J. Jones to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Rothe, deceased, dated Nov. 18, 1823; R. W. Croker, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Jones, ditto.

38th Foot. Lieut. C. J. Boyes, from 2d West India Regt. to be Lieutenant, vice J. W. Boyes, who retires upon half-pay of 21st Foot, dated Sept. 23, 1824.

41st Foot. Ensign H. C. Tathwell to be Lieutenant by purchase, vice Smith, who retires, dated Oct. 7, 1824.

87th Foot. Lieut. C. M. Christian, from 1st Regular Veteran Batt. to be Lieutenant, vice Moon, appointed to 35th Foot, dated Sept. 23, 1824.

MADRAS.

30th Foot. J. C. Battley, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Vanderzee, deceased, dated Dec. 19, 1822.

48th Foot. Assistant Surgeon R. N. Starn, from half-pay of the Regiment, to be Assistant Surgeon, dated Sept. 16, 1824.

69th Foot. Ensign J. Penn to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Smith, promoted, dated May 11, 1823; Ensign J. E. Muttlebury to be Lieutenant, vice Roy, deceased, dated Jan. 28, 1824; W. Semple, jun. Gent. to be Ensign, vice Muttlebury, dated Sept. 23, 1824.

STAFF.

Lieut. H. Anderson, from 69th Foot, to be Adjutant of a Recruiting District, vice J. Mimbee, who retires upon half-pay 69th Foot, dated Sept. 23, 1823.

Memorandum.—The Commission of Ensign Battley, 30th Foot, as Ensign in the Army, has been antedated to Jan. 1, 1821, that being the date it ought to bear, but he has not been allowed any back pay.

BOMBAY.

4th Light Dragoons. Lieut. R. Lewis, from 17th Light Dragoons, to be Lieutenant, vice Quintin, who exchanges, dated Sept. 23, 1824; Lieut. G. Shaw, from 17th Light Dragoons, to be Lieutenant, vice J. Cart, who retires upon half-pay 17th Light Dragoons, dated Sept. 27, 1823.

Memorandum.—The Commission of Ensign Hewson, of 47th Foot, as Ensign in the Army, has been antedated to Oct. 1, 1819, that being the date it ought to bear; but he has not been allowed any back pay.

CEYLON.

83d Foot. Lieut. R. Brough, from half-pay 99th Foot, to be Paymaster, vice A. Greig, who reverts to his former half-pay, dated Oct. 7, 1824.

MAURITIUS.

82d Foot. Capt. H. A. Magenis, from 28th Foot, to be Captain, vice Brutton, appointed Sub-Inspector of the Militia in the Ionian Islands, dated Sept. 30, 1824.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

57th Foot. Brevet Major J. Owens, from half-pay 74th Foot, to be Captain, vice W. W. Lewis, who exchanges, dated Sept. 16, 1824.

War Office Circular.—The following Circular, dated Aug. 31, 1824, has appeared in the public journals during the month:—

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit, for your information and guidance, a Copy of the King's Warrant, dated 8th April last, for discontinuing the use of the Saddle Blanket in his Majesty's Regiments of Cavalry in India, and substituting in its stead a fixed Pannel or Pad; and at the same time directing that the Horse Cloth, to which it will be necessary to revert in consequence of the disuse of the Saddle Blanket, shall be provided at the cost of the soldier as an article of necessaries.

I have further to acquaint you, that as the price of the Saddle Blanket is 15*s.* 6*d.*, and that of the Horse Cloth, 8*s.* only, the difference of 7*s* 6*d.* between those sums will be deducted from the allowance of 2*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*, hitherto granted by the public to provide necessaries for each recruit raised for his Majesty's Cavalry Regiments in India, thereby reducing the said allowance to 1*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* per man. I am, &c. Palmerston.

Addressed to the Colonels of Regiments of Cavalry.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

[*From the Indian Gazettes.*]

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—March 26. Major J. Macdonald, of the Military Establishment of Fort St. George, to be Envoy to the Court of Persia; Capt. H. Willock, of the Military Establishment of Fort St. George, to be Secretary and Assistant to the British Mission in Persia; Lieut. J. R. Campbell, of ditto ditto, to be Second Assistant; Mr. Assistant Surgeon Magrath, of ditto ditto, to be Medical Officer attached to the Mission; Lieut. R. Macdonald, 8th Bengal N. I. to command the Escort attached to the Mission.—April 1. Mr. G. W. Bacon to be Superintendent of Police, in the Divisions of Benares and Bareilly.—19. Mr. E. Shakespeare to be Superintendant of the Shakespearian Bridges.

PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, April 23, 1824.

46th Foot. Ensign W. N. Hutchinson to be Lieutenant, vice Law, deceased; Ensign T. Cleesom to be Lieutenant, vice Skelton, deceased, without purchase. The latter is since cancelled.

Royal Regt. Lieut. L. H. Dobbin to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice Gill, deceased, dated Feb. 19, 1824. —Ensign J. Williamson to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Dobbin, dated Feb. 19, 1824.

30th Regt. Lieut. J. Magill to be Captain of a Company without purchase, vice Perry, deceased, dated April 13, 1824.—Ensign J. S. Torrens to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Magill, dated April 13, 1823.

47th Foot. Brevet Lieut. Col. and Capt. J. W. O'Donoghue to be Major without purchase, vice Warren, deceased, dated March 20, 1824.—Lieut. J. Clark to be Captain of a Company without purchase, vice O'Donoghue, ditto.—Ensign W. Snow to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Clarke, ditto.—H. H. F. Clarke, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Snow, ditto.

The following are promoted to the rank of Captain by Brevet:—

14th Foot. Lieut. G. M'Kenzie, dated April 5, 1824.

20th Foot. Lieut. C. Connor, dated Feb. 23, 1824.

54th Foot. Lieut. R. Kelly, dated Feb. 16, 1824.

59th Foot. Lieut. N. Hovenden, dated April 6, 1824.

FURLOUGHS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.—April 23. Assistant Surgeon Rutledge, 20th Foot, for two years, to Europe, on medical certificate.—Capt. Cassidy, 67th Foot, for two years, to Europe, on urgent private affairs.

BOMBAY.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Bombay Castle, April 26.—In consequence of a recommendation by his Excellency the Commander in Chief, the Governor in Council is pleased to place Mr. Andrew Robinson, late Captain of the European Regiment, who was cashiered by the sentence of a General Court Martial, on the Invalid Pension List, from the 21st inst. for the sum laid down in General Orders, dated Dec. 20, 1820, for an Officer of the rank he lately held; and is further pleased to permit him to proceed to England for the purpose of obtaining the permission of the Honourable the Court of Directors to reside in England on the half-pay of his late rank.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—April 8. Mr. J. W. Langford to be Supernumerary Assistant to the Political Agent in Cattywar.—30. Mr. W. Gordon to act as Assistant to the Chief Secretary to Government.—June 3. Capt. J. W. Graham, 6th Regt. N. I. to be Chief Interpreter and Translator of the Supreme Court of Judicature.—19. Mr. J. H. Cherry to be Collector in the Northern Concan; Mr. A. Crawford to be Collector at Ahmedabad; Mr. J. B. Simson to be Sub-Collector at Sholapore; Mr. T. Williamson to be First Assistant to the Collector at Poona and Acting Collector at Kaira; Mr. J. H. Jackson to be First Assistant to the Collector at Ahmedabad; and Mr. A. Steele to be Second Assistant to ditto.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—May 18. The Rev. S. Payne to be Chaplain at Danollee, in the Southern Concan; and the Rev. Ambrose Goode to succeed Mr. Payne as Chaplain at Kaira and Ahmedabad.—April 27. Rev. M. Davis, B. A. to be Junior Chaplain at Poonah, in the room of the Rev. R. Ward, A. M., on furlough to England.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—April 8. Assistant Surgeon Richmond to be an Oculist for the subordinate Stations.—May 22. A. Cuthbert, Second Hospital Assistant, to be attached to the Escort of the Resident at Baroda.—29. Mr. J. Magie to be an Assistant Surgeon.—June 5. Assistant Surgeon J. Burns, 2d Batt. 9th Regt. to be Surgeon to the Resident of Bhooj, vice Henderson, returned to Europe.—10. Senior Assistant Surgeons W. Purnell, D. C. Bell, and W. Fraser, to be Surgeons on the New Establishment.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—April 20. Lieutenant Strong, of Bombay European Regt. to

command the Escort attached to the Political Agent in the Persian Gulf.—May 6. Lieut. Col. J. R. Kemp to command the Field Detachment lately assembled at Deesa, for operations in Sirohee.—12. Sub-Conductor Barnes, of the Commissariat Department, to be Conductor, vice Willocks, deceased. — 15. Mr. T. W. Gardner to be a Cadet of Infantry, agreeably to certificate.—22. Ensign Grant, of the Corps of Engineers, to be Draughtsman to the Chief Engineer.—24. Capt. A. Moore, 1st Regt. N. I. to be Assistant Quartermaster General to the Guicowar Subsidary Force. — 24. The following Cadets having arrived are admitted and appointed Ensigns: Messrs. J. E. Carpenter, D. E. Mills, J. Shelton, W. Long, S. C. Balwin, E. Winchelo, G. Pope, T. D. Fallow, D. A. Malcolm, and F. C. Hall: all of Infantry, date to be hereafter fixed.—June 3. The following are appointed Cadets from May 25:—Mr. D. C. F. Scott, of Cavalry, and Messrs. J. Davidson and G. Clarkson, of Infantry. Mr. Scott is since appointed Acting Cornet; and the Cadets, Ensigns.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, April 13.

Regt. of Artillery. Senior Second Lieut. J. Liddell to be First Lieut. vice Jervis deceased, dated 7 April 1824.

30.—*Infantry.* Senior Officer Colonel of a Regiment, Lieut.-Gen. A. Anderson to be placed on the Senior List, vice Lieut.-Gen. J. Peché, deceased, dated 24 April 1823.—Senior Lieut.-Col. of Infantry E. Baker to be Lieut.-Col. Commandant of a Regt. of Infantry, vice Anderson, dated 24 April 1823.—Senior Major F. F. Staunton to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Smith, deceased, dated 28 Sept. 1823.—Senior Capt. J. Brown to be Major, and Lieutenant A. Morse to be Captain, vice Staunton, promoted, dated 28 Sept. 1823.—Ensign J. Harvey to be Lieutenant, vice Saltwell, deceased, dated 10 Dec. 1823.

May 13.—*Infantry.* Lieut. Col. D. Prother to be Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, vice Cooke, deceased, dated 30 Sept. 1823.—Senior Major D. Campbell to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Prother, promoted, dated 30 Sept. 1823.—Senior Major F. D. Ballantyne to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Williams, deceased, dated Dec. 1, 1823.

9th Regt. N. I. Capt. Garraway to be Major, Lieut. Reddell to be Captain, vice Ballantyne, promoted, dated Dec. 1, 1823. —Ensign G. Le Grand Jacob to be Lieutenant, vice J. D. Saltwell, deceased, dated Dec. 10, 1823.

9th Regt. N. I. Capt. Garraway to be Major, Lieut. and Brevet-Capt. J. T. Ellis to be Captain of a Company, in succession to Campbell, promoted, dated 30 Sept. 1823.—Ensign W. Campbell to be Lieutenant, vice Harvey, deceased, dated Nov. 6, 1823.

17.—Cadet J. S. Grant of the Engineers to be Lieutenant, and Cadet G. Tollenache of Infantry to be Lieutenant.—Cadet E. R. Prother to be Second Lieutenant of Artillery.

The following Cadets for the Cavalry and Infantry having reported their arrival at the Presidency on board the Duke of York, on the 6th instant, they are admitted from this date. The Cadets for the Cavalry are promoted to Cornets, and those for the Infantry to Ensigns:—

Cavalry. Mr. C. R. Babington, Mr. G. Rowley, and Mr. W. Varden.

Infantry. Mr. H. S. K. Christopher, Mr. H. Aston, Mr. S. Landon, and Mr. A. Goldie.

April 26.—*European Regt.* Lieut. R. A. Meriton to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign T. Tapp to be Lieutenant, in succession to Robinson, cashiered, dated April 21, 1824.

2d Regt. N. I. Lieut. W. Spratt to be Brevet Captain, dated 21 April 1824.

3d Regt. Cavalry. Lieut. H. Jameson to be Brevet Captain, dated 21 April 1824.

6th Regt. N. I. Lieut. P. D. Ottey and Lieut. Cazalet, to be Brevet Captains, dated 21 April 1824.

12th Regt. N. I. Lieut. J. Rankin and Lieut. T. D. Morris, to be Brevet Captains, dated 21 April 1824.

April 6.—*European Regt.* Ensign R. St. John to be Lieutenant, vice Hubbard, deceased, dated 2 April 1824.

May 20.—*7th Regt. N. I.* Ensign D. M. Scobie to be Lieutenant, vice Burrowes, dated 14 May.

10th Regt. N. I. Lieut. D. W. Shaw to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign J. C. Coventry to be Lieutenant, vice Jones, retired, dated 4 Sept. 1823.

June 2.—*Artillery.* Senior Lieut.-Col. G. H. Bellassis to be Colonel Commandant on the New Establishment, dated May 1.

Corps of Engineers. Senior Lieut.-Col. W. Brooks to be Lieut.-Col. Commandant on the New Establishment; Senior Major S. Goodfellow to be Lieut.-Col., vice Brooks, ditto; Senior Lieut. G. R. Jervis & J. Jopp to be Captains on ditto; Ensign F. M'Gillivray to be Senior Lieutenant, vice Jopp; Ensigns A. C. Peat and R. Forster to be First Lieutenants on the New Establishment; dated 1 May.

Infantry. To be Lieutenant-Colonels on the New Establishment:—Senior Lieutenant-Colonels G. M. Cox, J. A. Wilson, G. M'Konochie, G. R. Kemp, H. Roome, J. Cunningham, J. F. Dyson, W. D. Cleland, B. W. D. Sealey, W. Gilbert, H. Kennett, J. P. Dunbar, A. Aitcheson, W. Turner; dated May 1.

Senior Majors
R. A. Willis to be Lieut.-Col. vice Cox
H. Tovey .... vice Kennedy
I. Kinnersley .... vice Wilson
P. Delamotte .... vice M'Konochie
W. P. Tacher .... vice Kemp
J. Hickes .... vice Roome
H. Smith .... vice Cunningham
V. Kennedy .... vice Dyson
G. A. Litchfield .... vice Cleland
W. Grant.............. vice Sealey
J. Taylor.............. vice Gilbert
E. Frederick.............. vice Kennett
W. Miles .... vice Dunbar
G. B. Brookes .... vice Aitcheson
T. Burford.............. vice Turner.

1st Regt. L. C. Senior Capt. R. Thomas to be Major, and Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) G. Melville to be Captain, in succession to Smith, promoted; dated May 1, 1824.—Lieutenants B. Sandwith and P. Hunter to be Captains on New Establishment, ditto; Cornet J. Liddell to be Lieutenant, vice Melville, promoted, ditto; Cornet H. Fawcett to be Lieutenant, vice Sandwith, ditto; Cornet S. Poole to be Lieutenant, vice Hunter, ditto; and Cornets R. D. Mackenzie and H. Wilks to be Lieutenants on the New Establishment; dated May 1, 1824.

2d Regt. L. C. Senior Capt. G. F. Gordon to be Major, and Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) J. Bayley to be Captain, vice Litchfield, promoted, ditto; Lieutenants F. E. Rybot and P. P. Wilson to be Captains, ditto; Cornet H. J. Robinson to be Lieutenant, vice Bayley; Cornet A. Urquhart to be Lieutenant, vice Rybot; Cornet W. Turner to be Lieutenant, vice Wilson; Cornets C. Thuillier, A. Balmanno, and C. Torin, to be Lieutenants on the New Establishment, ditto.

3d Regt. L. C. Senior Captain S. Mitchell to be Major, and Lieut. H. Jameson to be Captain, vice Delamotte, dated 1 May.—Lieutenants J. Southerland and G. Marshall to be Captains, ditto; Cornets J. K. E. Johnston, W. H. Ottey, C. H. Delamaine, E. Waller, and A. D. Graeme, to be Lieutenants, ditto.

European Regt. Senior Lieutenants J. F. Osborne and G. C. Taylor to be Captains, dated 1 May.

1st Regt. N. I. Senior Lieutenants J. Reynolds and D. Forbes to be Captains, dated 1 May.

2d Regt. N. I. Senior Captain D. H. Bellasic to be Major, and Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) J. S. Canning to be Captain, vice Hickes, dated 1 May.—Senior Captain C. Gray to be Major, and Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) W. Spratt to be Captain, vice Kennedy, promoted.—Senior Lieutenant G. Taylor, and J. M'Cullum, to be Captains, and Ensign G. Candy to be Lieutenant; dated 1 May.

3d Regt. N. I. Senior Capt. P. Fearon to be Major, and Lieut. H. Adams to be Captain, vice Tovey.—Senior Lieut. P. M'Keever, and G. B. Aitcheson, to be Captain, and Ensign Hart to be Lieutenant, vice Aitcheson; ditto.

4th Regt. N. I. Senior Captain T. Morgan to be Major, and Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) Sealey to be Captain, ditto.—Senior Captain G. Tweedy to be Major, and Lieut. F. Sharp to be Captain, vice Frederick, ditto.—Senior Lieutenants G. C. Massey, and T. Marshall, to be Captains.—Ensign H. Stockley to be Lieutenant, vice Massey, and Ensign F. B. B. Keene to be Lieutenant, vice Marshall; ditto.

5th Regt. N. I. Senior Lieutenants J. Farquharson and E. F. Hart, to be Captains; ditto.

6th Regt. N. I. Senior Lieuts. (Brevet Capts.) P. D. Ottey and W. Cazalet, to be Captains, ditto.

7th Regt. N. I. Senior Capt. E. Davies to be Major, and Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) T. Leighton to be Captain, vice Burford; ditto.—Ensign H. Forbes to be Lieutenant, vice Burrowes, dismissed, dated 14 May.

8th Regt. N. I. Senior Lieuts. (Brevet Capts.) F. M'Cy Iredel, and J. B. Goodwin, to be Captains, dated 1 May.

9th Regt. N. I. Senior Capt. W. Morrison to be Major, and Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) G. Moore, to be Captain, vice Willis.—Senior Lieuts. J. Simpson, and J. Worthy, to be Captains; and Ensign H. W. Pukford to be Lieutenant, vice Worthy; ditto.

10th Regt. N. I. Senior Captain G. Hutchinson to be Major, and Lieut. W. Nixon to be Captain, vice Taylor, ditto.—Senior Capt. A. J. O. Browne to be Major, and Lieut. S. D. Scondell to be Captain, vice Miles.—Senior Lieutenants G. S. F. Plaistead, and J. Forbes, to be Captains; and Ensign J. Thornlin, and W. A. Wall, to be Lieutenants; ditto.

11th Regt. N. I. Senior Capt. F. Farquharson to be Major, and Lieut. J. Clarke to be Captain, vice Brookes, ditto.—Senior Lieuts. E. Mason and H. Dunbabin, to be Captains; and Ensign S. H. Hart to be Lieutenant, vice Dunbabin; ditto.

12th Regt. N. I. Senior Capt. H. R. Deschamps to be Major, and Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) R. Ogilby to be Captain; ditto.—Senior Capt. D. Barr to be Major, and Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) R. Waite, to be Captain, vice Tucker, ditto.—Senior Lieutenants (Brevet Captains) C. Newport, and T. D. Morris, to be Captains.—Supernumerary Lieut. Liddell, to be brought on the strength, vice Newport, and Senior Ensign W. Stewart to be Lieutenant, vice Morris, promoted; ditto.

FURLOUGHS.

Bombay Castle, Mar. 29.—Lieut. A. A. Woodhouse, 3d Regt. L. C., to Europe, for three years.—April 30: Ensign E. Neville, of Grenadier Regiment, to Eu-

rope, on sick certificate.—May 15. Surgeon A. Henderson, for three years, to Europe, on account of his health.—June 9. Cornet W. Walker, 1st Regt. Madras L. C., to Europe, for three years.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Bombay Castle, May 13.—*1st Regt. N.I.* Lieut. James Harvey to take rank vice Reddell, promoted, dated 1 Dec. 1823.

9th Regt. N. I. Lieut. T. B. Forster to take rank, vice Ellis, promoted, dated 30 Sept. 1823.—Lieutenant R. H. Faucett to take rank, vice Kinsey, deceased, dated 6 Nov. 1823.

Infantry. Lieut.-Col. R. H. Hough to take rank vice Baher, dated 24 April 1823.—Lieut. J. K. Gloag to take rank vice Morse, promoted, dated 8 September 1823.

8th Regt. N. I. Major A. C. H. Lamb, Capt. M. F. Collis, and Lieut. J. Dawes, to take rank in succession to Hough, promoted.

REMOVALS.

Bombay Castle, June 5.—Lieutenant-Colonels Commandants J. A. Wilson, P. Dunbar, and W. Turner; and Lieutenant-Colonels P. Delamotte, H. Smith, and G. O. Litchfield, from Infantry to Cavalry.

MARINE DEPARTMENT.

APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, April 19.—Lieut. J. J. Robinson to be Secretary and Accountant to the Marine Board, and Marine Judge Advocate, dated Feb. 28, 1824.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, Apr. 19.—The Hon. the Governor in Council having been pleased to abolish the rank of Commander in the Honble. Company's Marine, and to increase the number of Senior and Junior Captains to twelve of each rank, the following Promotions are made, with date of rank from 12 April 1824:—

Junior Captains—R. Morgan, G. Walker, D. Ross, W. T. Graham—to be Senior Captains.

Commanders—W. Maxfield, P. Maughan, D. Jones, W. Arrow, H. Hardy, C. J. Maillard, J. Crawford, R. E. Goodridge; First Lieutenant T. Tanner—to be Junior Captains.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—March 12. At Saugor, the lady of Capt. M'Mullan of a son.—26th. At Ishapore, the lady of Capt. A. Galloway, agent for gunpowder, of a daughter.—April 4th. At Burisaul, the wife of Mr. S. J. Benbow, of a daughter; at Dacca, Mrs. C. Leonard.—8th. At Mymensing, Mrs. J. Radcliffe of a son.—10th. At Calcutta, lady of Capt. C. E. Smith, of the ship John Adams, of a son and heir.—11th. At Chittagong, the lady of Capt. J. Taylor, Deputy-assistant Commissary-general, of a daughter; at Calcutta, Mrs. J. Madge, Jun. of a son.—13th. At Calcutta, lady of J. C. Burton, Esq., of a daughter; in Fort William, the lady of Lieut. Graham, 25th Regt. of a still-born child; at Muttra, the lady of Cornet W. Alexander, 5th Regt. L. C. of a daughter.—15th. At Calcutta, the lady of A. Mactier, Esq. of a son.—16th. At Burdwan, the lady of the Rev. Mr. Peronne of a son; at Calcutta, the lady of Mr. J. T. Lawrence of a son.—17th. At Ballygunge, the lady of Capt. E. C. Sneyd, Assistant Commissary-General, of a daughter.—18th. At Saugor Bundlecund, the lady of Capt. F. Dangerfield, of Bombay Establishment, deputy opium agent in Malwa, of a son.—21st. At Calcutta, the lady of T. B. Swinhoe, Esq. of a daughter.—22d. At Benares, the lady of the Rev. W. Frazer, Chaplain of Benares, of a daughter.—25th. In Fort William, the lady of the Rev. Dr. Parish, of a son.—29th. At Calcutta, the lady of E. Coulson, Esq. of a still-born child.—At Keitah, the lady of Capt. R. L. Anstruther, 6th L. C. of a son.—May 9th. At Azimgurh, the lady of W. T. Robertson, Esq. C. S. of a daughter.—10th. At Purneah, Mrs. J. Smith of a son.—23d. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. Steuart of a son.

Marriages.—April 16th. At Calcutta, M. D. Poirel, Esq. of Chandernagore, to Mary, only daughter of the late J. Hamilton, Esq.—21st. At Calcutta, Mr. G. Gogerly to Miss A. L. H. Ferris, daughter of the late P. Ferris, Esq.—29th. At the cathedral, J. D. Smith, Esq. eldest son of the Rev. D. Smith of Worcester, to Caroline Birch, third daughter of the late Capt. Gray, Muster-master of H. M. Forces in Bengal.—May 1. At Hussingabad, E. R. Jardine, Esq. 12th Regt. Bengal N. I. to Miss C. M. Menlius.—12th. At Agra, B. A. J. W. Boyd, Esq. Assistant-surgeon, Horse Artillery Brigade, to Miss H. Merchand.—24th. At Dacca, W. Dampier, Esq. Bengal C. S. to Emma, the daughter of Lieut Col. Commandant J. M. Johnson.

Deaths.—March 16th. At Moisgung, Charlotte Harriet, the lady of T. Sari, Esq.—21st. At Calcutta, Capt. J. Daniels,

of the Country Service, aged 35.—5th. At Calcutta, A. MacDougal, Esq. M. D., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons at Edinburgh, and Assist.-Surg. in the H. C. Service.—7th. At Calcutta, Major J. Ferris, Commissary at Cawnpore.—12th. At Fort William, Capt. J. P. Perry, H. M. 38th Foot, and Acting-Paymaster; at Rassa Pagla, His Highness Prince Ahmed Shah, one the sons of Tippoo Saib.—14th. At Saugor, Mrs. E. S. Logie, wife of Lieut.-Col. Logie of the Malwa Force; at Pedair, C. Johnson, Esq. —15th. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. Metcalfe, the lady of T. Metcalfe, Esq. C. S.—19th. At Calcutta, Miss C. Gika, aged 16, eldest daughter of the late Major D. Gika of the Mahratta Service.—20th. At Kedgeree, on board the Bengal Merchant, Mr. A. D. M'Intyre.—21st. At Calcutta, W. Robertson, Esq.—27th. At Calcutta, Mr. J. Means, Assistant to the New Mint.—29th. At Serampore, E. K. Muler, Esq. of his Danish Majesty's Civil Service.—30th. At Calcutta, S. Massingham, Esq. Commander of the ship Victory; Lieut. J. Nish, of H. C. Marine.—May 3. Maria Louisa, infant daughter of J. A. Shaw, Esq. of Bengal Civil Service.—4th. Near Pitmillie, Capt. W. Smith, H. M. Dragoons.—7th. At Chinsurah, Mrs. B. N. Ellis; J. Hare, Junior, Esq.—12th. At Cawnpore, William Littlejohn, infant son of Capt. J. Pearson, 61th Regt. N. I. —20th. At Calcutta, W. Rees, Esq.—27th. At Calcutta, Napoleon George Buonaparte, Esq.—At Ballygunge, T. Alsop, Esq. Magistrate of Calcutta.

MADRAS.

Births.—April 1. At Bellary, lady of J. Burton, Esq. Garrison Surgeon, of a son.—At Tranquebar, Mrs. R. Harris of a son.—2d. At sea, on board H. M. S. Liffey, the lady of G. J. Morris, Esq. Bengal C. S. of a daughter.—4th. At Pondicherry, the lady of J. Benjamin, Esq. of a daughter.—8th. At Mangalore, lady of Lieutenant and Adjutant Locke, 2nd Batt. 25th Regt. N. I. of a daughter. —9th. At Madras, lady of A. B. Angelo, Madras Civil Service, of a daughter.—12th. At Masulipatam, the lady of Major Wahab of a daughter.—19th. At Belgaum, the lady of Capt. Paske of Artillery of a daughter.—20th. At Vizagapatam, the lady of Capt. G. Jones, Major of Brigade, of a son.—22d. At sea, on board the Dunvegan Castle, the lady of J. W. Brett, Esq. 1st Royal Regt. of a daughter.—25th. At Madras, the lady of the Rev. W. Roy, Chaplain, of a son.—26th. At Madras, Mrs. Nish of a son.—27th. At Madras, the lady of J. E. Elderton, Esq. Bombay Military Establishment, of a son; Lady of H. Burne, Esq. of a son. —29th. At Madras, the lady of T. Boileau, Madras Civil Service of a son.—31st. At Madura, Mrs. D. Bushby of a son.—May. 8th. At Mangalore, the lady of Lieut. and Adjut. Locke, 2d Batt. 25th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.—16th. At Koraptie, lady of Lieutenant-Colonel W. Lamb. 1st Battalion, 26th Regiment Bengal N. I. of a daughter.—22d. At Madras, the lady of Major G. M. Stewart, commanding 1st Batt. 1st Regt. N. I. of a daughter.—27th. At Madras, the lady of Lieut. Dewar, 7th Regt. N. I. of a son.—31st. At Madura, the lady of N. Bannerman, Esq. of a daughter.

Marriages.—April 3d. At Fort St. George, Lieut. J. Clough, 1st Batt. 9th Regt. N. I. to Miss E. Dixon, daughter of Lieut. Dixon, formerly of 19th Regt. —7th. At Madras, Mr. R. Taylor to Miss A. Campbell.—19th. At Madras, Mr. F. A. Wright to Miss M. Frith.—24th. At Madras, Mr. C. R. MacMahon, Assistant Surveyor, of the Surveyor-General's Department, to Miss E. Chambers, daughter of the late Captain Chambers.—May 1st. At Fort St. George, Lieut. G. Warren, of the Bengal Establishment to Clara Jessey, third daughter of — Connell, Esq. —9th. At Madras, Lieut.-Col. Torrens C.B. Deputy Adjutant-General of H.M Forces in the East Indies, to Maria, third daughter of the late Col. Marley, Deputy Quarter Master-General. — 24th. At Mangalore, Lieut. J. Edgar, 2d. Batt. 25th Regt. N. I. to Miss A. F. Jones, only daughter of the late Major A. Jones, Madras Establishment.

Deaths.—March 28th. At Vellore, Lieut. and Adjut. C. Mansfield, 1st Batt. 7th Regt. N. I.—30th. At Mysore, Capt. M. Lawlor, 10th Regt. N. I. and Fort Adjutant at Seringapatam.—April 1st. At Poonamallee, Robert, eldest son of Lieut. Woodgate, of his Majesty's 54th Regt.; at Bellary, S. Goodrich, son of Lieut. Ross, Super. Eng., Calcutta Division.—5th. At Jaulnah, Ensign A. Robertson, 1st Batt. 8th Regt. N. I.—9th. At Madras, Mrs. J. Mayers.—11th. At Chingleput, Capt. R. Bye, 2nd Native Batt. commanding at that station.—16th. At Seringapatam, Lieut. P. Gordon, Interpreter, &c. 1st Batt. 11th Regt.—20th. At sea, on board H. M. S. Liffey, Rosa, infant daughter of G. J. Morris, Esq. Bengal, C. S.—21st. At Fort St. George, Mrs. Smith, wife of J. Smith, Esq. Quarter master of H. M. 41st Regt.—30th. At Vepery, Capt. P. Davie, 1st Batt. 24th Regt. N. I.—May 1st. At Madras, Adjutant W. Hea, 1st N. V. Batt.—7th. At Bangsecottah, Lieut. H. Baker, 2d Batt. 12th Regt. N. I.—13th. At Julnah, Lieut. H. W. Yonge, 1st Batt. 8th Regt. N. I.—17th. At Mangalore, Hon. M. T. Harris, second son of Lord Harris.—18th. At St. Thomas' Mount, Lieut. J. G. Dalzell, 1st Batt. of Artillery.—At Poonamallie, Dr. J. Kellie, Acting Garrison Surgeon.—23rd. At Wallahjabad, Capt. T. G. Coote, H. M. 54th Regt.—31st. At Madras, R. Richardson, Esq. Oculist to

the Hon. Company; at Madras, Susan Elizabeth, only daughter of A. J. Drummond, Esq. Civil Service.—June 3d. John Douglas, infant son of the late J. D. White, Esq.

BOMBAY.

Births.—March 24th. At Sattara, the Lady of Major J. Briggs, Resident at the Court of His Highness the Rajah, of a daughter.—29th. At Sattara, the Lady of C. Kane, Esq. of a daughter.—April 2d. At Colabah, the lady of F. W. Frankland, Esq. Captain of His Majesty's 20th Foot, of a son.—9th. At Jaulnah, the lady of Captain W. Locke, of His Highness the Nizam's Horse, of a daughter.—19th. At Tannah, the lady of H. H. Glass, Esq. C. S., of a daughter.—23d. At Poonah, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Southerland, of a son.—May 4th. At Colabah, the lady of Lieut. G. W. Thompson, of His Majesty's 30th Regiment, of a son.—9th. On the Esplanade, the lady of D. Malcolm, Esq. of a daughter.—16th. At Bombay, the lady of J. Saunders, Esq. of a son.—June 7th. At Colabah, the lady of J. Morley, Esq. of a son.—18th. At Bombay, the lady of W. C. Bruce, Esq. C. S. of a daughter.

Marriages.—May 5th. At Nagpore, Lieut. T. Warlow, Bengal Engineers, to Miss M. P. Ord.—19th. At Bombay, Mr. W. Spencer, of the Secretary's Office, to to Miss Morin.—June 1st. At Nagpore, George Adams, Esq. Surgeon of the Madras Establishment, to Mary, daughter of the late G. Ricketts, Esq. of Madras.—14th. At Poonah, Captain W. Havelock, of His Majesty's 4th Dragoons, Knt. to Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of A. Chaplin, Esq. and niece of the Commissioner in the Deccan.

Deaths.—March 15th. In Quilon Roads, J. Campbell, Esq. eldest son of the late Lieut. Col. W. Campbell, H. M. 78th Regt.—23d. At Hingolee, Mrs. C. St. John Grant.—April 1st. At Bombay, Lieut. F. Hubbard, Bombay European Regt.—6th. At Bombay, Mr. H. C. Moorhouse, Surgeon of the Ganges; at Byculla, Lieut. J. J. S. Jervis, of the Bombay Artillery, and Deputy Commissary of the Stores in Guzerat.—17th. At Bombay, Ensign E. Thompson, Bombay European Regt.—18th. At Bombay, G. A. C. Hyde, Esq. Hon. Company's Civil Service.—21st. At Kaira, the infant son of Capt. Stevenson, of the Horse Artillery.—May 3d. At Poonah, Mr. Conductor R. E. Willock, of the Commissariat Department.—10th. At Bombay, Eliza, wife of Capt. Frith, of the Country Service.—12th. At Bombay, Mr. J. Mason, Jun.—16th. At Sattara, Lieut. H. Locke, 26th Regt. Bengal N. I.—June 4. At Bombay, Mr. Conductor A. Easi—8th. At Maligaum, Capt. E. Shaw, commanding the Kandeish Local Battalion.

PENANG.

At Penang, J. Carnegie, Esq. the oldest merchant in the Straits of Malacca.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—Oct. 11. At Glasgow, the lady of Capt. Taylor, E. I. Comp. Service, of a daughter.—14th. At Chichester, the lady of Lieut. Wolfe, of the 98th. Regt. of a son.—22d. In Clarges-street, the lady of H. W. Powell, Esq. of a son.—24th. At Dunpashill, Croydon, the lady of W. S. Owens, Esq. of a daughter.

Marriages.—Oct. 5. At Aberdeen, A. Warrand, Esq. Madras Medical Establishment, to Emilia Mary Davidson, 2d. daughter to H. R. Duff, Esq. of Muirtown, Inverness-shire.—12th. At Mayfield, Lieut. W. Bremmer, 24th Regt. Madras Army, to Georgiana Huntly, 4th daughter of late J. Robertson of Mayfield, Esq. Writer to the Signet.—20th. At Aylesbury, C. Hickman, Esq. Hon. Company's Bengal Medical Staff, to Ann, eldest daughter of the late H. Hickman, Esq. of same place.

Deaths.—Sept. 29th. At Greenwich, the lady of Capt. J. Ross, E. I. Comp. Service.—Oct. 14th. Capt. J. Caldwell, formerly in the Corps of the Bengal Engineers, and late Barrackmaster at Chelmsford.—15th. In the New Road, F. Duncan, Esq. M. D. in the Hon. E. I Comp. Service.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.	Date.
Oct. 1	Portsmouth	Commodore Hayes	Moncrief	Bengal	April 16
Oct. 1	Off Portsmouth	Mexborough	Tarbutt	Madras	April 14
Oct. 1	Deal	Medina	Brown	Batavia	May 10
Oct. 1	Deal	Venus	Kilgour	Cape	July 11
Oct. 1	Portsmouth	Isabella	Wallis	Bombay	May 24
Oct. 3	Off Dover	Lady Nugent	Boon	Madras	Oct. 15
Oct. 4	Portsmouth	Luna	Knox	Cape	July 11
Oct. 4	Off the Start	Wm. Parker	Brown	Mauritius	May 27
Oct. 7	Bristol	Cumbrian	Birbeck	Cape	July 10
Oct. 8	Deal	Albion	Best	Mauritius	June 8
Oct. 9	Off the Start	Mary Ann	Cragie	Bombay	June 22
Oct. 11	Gravesend	Britannia	Bourke	Cape	July 30
Oct. 16	Portsmouth	Wm. Shand	Kenn	Batavia	June 25
Oct. 17	Deal	Francis	Benson	Singapore	April 30
Oct. 17	Deal	Mary	Steele	Penang	May 9
Oct. 11	Liverpool	Bengal	Pearse	Bengal	April 24
Oct. 18	Liverpool	Lady Kennaway	Surflen	Bombay	June 3

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Mar. 22	Bengal	Sir E. Paget	Geary	London
May 1	Batavia	Shannon	Kendal	London
May 3	Bengal	Berwickshire	Shephard	London
May 6	Bombay	Duke of York	Campbell	London
May 8	Bengal	Barrossa	Hutchinson	London
May 8	Bengal	Providence	Remmington	London
May 10	Bombay	Barkworth	Cotgrave	London
May 13	Bombay	Bombay Merchant	Kemp	London
May 15	Bengal	Bengal Merchant	Brown	London
May 19	Bombay	Thomas Coutts	Chrystie	London
May 19	Bombay	Mary Ann	Craigie	London
May 19	Bombay	H. M. S. Alligator		Cruize
May 20	Bengal	City of Edinburgh	Wiseman	London
May 23	Bengal	Princess Charlotte	Mackean	Liverpool
May 25	Bombay	Hannah	Shepherd	London
May 26	Bombay	Resource	Pritchard	London
May 28	Bombay	Acteon	Briggs	London
May 30	Bengal	Duchess of Athol	Daniel	London
May 30	Bengal	Macqueen	Walker	London
June 1	Bengal	York	Talbert	London
June 1	Batavia	Guardian	Sutherland	London
June 6	Bombay	Cambridge	Barber	London
June [illegible]	Bombay	Dunira	Hamilton	London
June 8	Bombay	Castle Huntly	Drummond	London
June 8	Batavia	Rasanna	Johnston	London
June 12	Mauritius	Orpheus	Findlay	London
June 14	Batavia	Caroline	Harris	London
June 22	Batavia	Nourmahal	Scott	London
June 26	Mauritius	Lonach	West	London
July 4	Cape	Eleanor	Mitchell	London
July 7	Mauritius	H. M. S. Arachne	Chads	England
July 15	Mauritius	Eliza	Frith	London
Aug. 24	St. Helena	Resolution	Parker	Newcastle

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Sept. 25	Portsmouth	Sophia	Barclay	Madras
Sept. 29	Liverpool	Richard Rimmer	Nicholl	Singapore
Oct. 3	Plymouth	Cyprus	Rand	Cape & Mauritius
Oct. 4	Portsmouth	Cornwallis	Henderson	Cape
Oct. 8	Deal	Harriet	Fulcher	Singapore
Oct. 10	Deal	Alfred	Lamb	Bombay
Oct. 12	Portsmouth	Ganges	Lloyd	Madras
Oct. 12	Portsmouth	Charlotte	Hector	Bombay
Oct. 12	Deal	England	Reay	Bombay
Oct. 22	Portsmouth	Aurora	Earl	Madras & Bengal

DEPARTURES—*continued.*

Date.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port. of Depart.*
Oct. 24	Deal	Madras	Crosley	Madras & Bengal
Oct. —	Deal	City of Rochester	Coppin	Madras & Bengal
Oct. —	Cowes	Calcutta	Helm	Bengal
Oct. —	Deal	Patience	Kind	Cape
Oct. —	——	Alexander	Richardson	Mauritius

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL IN THIS MONTH.

Date.	*Port of Depart.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
Nov. 1	Portsmouth	Boyne	Lawson	Madras and Bengal
Nov. 1	Deal	Ogle Castle	Weynton	Bombay
Nov. 1	Portsmouth	Earl St. Vincent	Reeves	Cape, Batavia & Singap.
Nov. 1	Portsmouth	Monmouth	Simpson	Cape and St. Helena
Nov. 5	Portsmouth	Venus	Kilgour	Cape
Nov. 5	Portsmouth	Rockingham	Beach	Madras and Bengal
Nov. 10	Portsmouth	Waterloo	Gardner	Madras and Bengal
Nov. 10	Portsmouth	Abberton	Percival	Bombay
Nov. 15	Portsmouth	Margaret	Simpson	Batavia and Singapore
Nov. 15	Portsmouth	Lady Campbell	Irvine	Madras and Bengal
Nov. 15	Portsmouth	Palmira	Lamb	Madras and Bengal
Nov. 20	Portsmouth	Royal George	Ellerby	Bombay
Nov. 30	Portsmouth	Isabella	Wallis	Madras and Bengal

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	*Lat. and Long.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*From whence.*	*Where bound.*
June 28	Tristan d'Acunha	Orwell	Farrar	London	China
July	12	K. S. Forbes	Chapman	London	Bombay
	On the Line	Mars	Bishop	London	Cape
Sept. 6	9 N. 26 W.	Mediterranean	Stuart	London	Ceylon
Sept. 12	15.25 N. 26.1[illegible] W.	Morley	Halliday	London	Bengal
Sept. 28	14 N. 15 W.	Florentia	Wimble	London	Bombay

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the *Isabella.*—From Bombay: Mrs. Thew, Dr. Rae, R. N., Dr. Henderson, G. Dirom, Esq. A. and M. Hopkins, and Master Hopkins.

By the *King George the Fourth.*—From the Mauritius, wrecked at the Cape: Lieut. Hewisson, 32d Regt., Charles Carter, Esq. M. D., R. N., M. P. Garnot, M. D., Mr. W. Young, R. N., Mr. G. G. H Munning, Jun., Miss K. Harrington, Lieut. J. and Mrs. Harrington and two children, Lieut. J. M. Bayone.

By the *Commodore Hayes.*—From Bengal: Mr. Torbett, Master Torbett, E. C. Lawrence, Esq., C. S. died on the passage, and Mrs. Lawrence left at the Mauritius.

By the *Mary.*—From Bengal and Madras, wrecked in Moselle Bay: Capt. Anthony, and Lieuts. Taylor and Briggs, of N. I.; Lieut. Butler, 45th Regt.; Lieut. Thomas, 54th Regt.; Lieut. Armstrong, 30th Regt.; Lieut. Porlesse, R. N.; Mrs. and Master Browne; and Mr. J. Blackhouse, of the Ceylon Service.

By the *Barkworth.*—From Bombay: Capt. and Mrs. Holroyd and child; Captains Southerland and Cassidy; and W. Gordon, Esq.

By the *Albion.*—From St. Helena: Lieut. Col. Molesworth, Lady, and four children; Mrs. Hewitson, and Master Paton.

By the *Mary Ann.*—From Bombay: Mr. Clerk, of Bombay.

By the *Cumbrian.*—From the Cape: Mr. Greig, proprietor of the South African Advertiser.

By the *Victory.*—Expected from Bengal: Capt., Mrs., the two Misses, and Master Drysdale; Mrs. Rutledge; Misses M. Da Costa and Burrell; Lieuts. Alston, Brind, and Shaw; and Mr. Blackwood.

By the *Bombay Merchant.*—Expected from Bombay: Messrs. Clark and Seton.

By the *Gilmore.*—Expected from Bengal: Mrs. and Miss Massingham; Mrs. Law and child; Lieut. Wilson, H. M. Service; Miss H. Lathrop, and Masters C. and T. Alsop.

By the *Britannia.*—From the Cape: Messrs. Young and Huntson, from the late ship, King George the Fourth.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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ESSAYS ON THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

No. 9.—*Government of the Imams.*

The imagination takes fire at the bare mention of Arabia the Happy. Poets and historians have concurred to give it importance in our estimation; and commerce has more than once made it a scene of affluence and splendour. Myrrh, alabaster, frankincense, and gold, whether native or not, were drawn from it by the ancients; and, in modern times, its ports have been resorted to with little less assiduity for coffee and aloes. It does not however appear, notwithstanding its connexions with commerce, that any very correct notions, either geographical or political, have ever been obtained respecting it. Of *Hadramaut*, the incense country, we know next to nothing; and of the interior of *Yemen*, little more than what may be gleaned from Niebuhr, and the French 'Voyage to Arabia the Happy.'

Sir William Jones, a poetical imaginative man, considered Arabia Felix the fittest country in the world to be made the scene of pastoral poetry; and Milton speaks of

> Sabean odours from the spicy shore
> Of Araby the Blest:—

while others have represented it as an unpicturesque and barren waste, destitute of every thing that could delight the eye, or furnish the comforts of life. Truth lies between these two opinions. The plains extending inward from the shore for about thirty or forty miles, are most commonly sandy and barren; though vegetation in some places, as about Aden, approaches the sea, and enlivens the arid view; but in the interior are well-watered valleys, and spots of great beauty and fertility. The country round Sana has been compared to the environs of Damascus, which Mohammed himself pronounced to be "too delicious;" and the coffee mountains, when that beautiful plant is covered with its jasmin-like flowers, and disposed in extensive terraces along the hills, are said by travellers to present a *coup d'œil* that rivals an Andalusian landscape.

Such is the country of the Imams. The people are no less curious. Although reckoned among the first nations of the earth that felt the influence of civilization, they have always remained in a kind of middle state, avoiding with equal dexterity the yoke of foreign powers, and the enslaving effect of imperfect moral culture. They have been subdued by

foreigners and natives, but the yoke has quickly crumbled from their necks, and left them to that degree of liberty with which a comparative state of ignorance is compatible. Boldness and impatience of restraint are their characteristics; they are also more petulant and vivacious than other Asiatic nations; and, what is very surprising, unite to these qualities a deep and earnest enthusiasm not to be found in any other Oriental people. These elements of character approximate in some measure to those of the Greeks; and if they have never led to the same results in Arabia as in Europe, geographical position may possibly account for it. There was a line of separation drawn by destiny between them and the great road of political vicissitude and experiment; and while the tempest of change and violence swept along their frontiers, and overturned the vast empires of Nineveh, Sardis, and Babylon, they possessed their mountains and deserts in peace, and followed their herds, and watered their camels, as if no such persons as Nebuchadnezzar and Darius had ever existed. The Arabs may well be proud of this: but, nevertheless, it has kept them perpetually in a state of political infancy. No political institution has ever been matured in the country: Mohammed conquered it, and founded his religious empire; but it was like stamping figures in wax exposed to the sun, or writing in water—every trace was obliterated almost as soon as made. The Mamelukes made an incursion, the Turks invaded, and the house of Saladin founded a principality at Aden; but all were momentary and ineffectual; the Arabian character resisted all these attempts, and they inevitably fell.

About 1630, however, a prince of the family now reigning at Sana, (one of those innumerable petty chiefs who have always divided Arabia among them,) succeeded in dispossessing the Turks of all those places which they held on the sea coast. This prince's name was *Khassem Abu Mohammed.* His eldest son, who succeeded to the power created by his father, was the first who took the title of *Imam,* and upon his accession he dropped also his original name for that of *Metwokhal Allah;* which has since grown into a custom among his successors, who always assume a new name on their accession, like the Popes. These early Imams, like the founders of most dynasties, were frugal, and sparing of the public revenue. His son, *Mejid Billa,* succeeded him, and thus established an hereditary succession, which, nevertheless, is often disputed, and sometimes set aside by the voice of the people. It is not said how the determination or choice of the people is known; but it seems that the eldest son of the Imam, or king, if approved by them, is the legal successor.

The monarchy, though its limits are ill defined, is not absolute. It is checked by the Supreme Tribunal of Sana, composed of a certain number of Kadis, or magistrates, which alone possesses the power of life and death. The Imam is president of this tribunal, and enjoys the power of making peace or war, but has few means of swaying them to injustice; as every member is for life, and generally a person of incorruptible virtue. They are at first nominated, however, by the Imam; who sometimes also, when they oppose him, disgraces them in order to extort their suffrages. But it has been remarked, that he has seldom recourse to violence; for such is the energy of the Arab character, that deposition and death usually close the tyranny of their princes:—a powerful guarantee against oppression! Public offices are numerous in his domi-

nions; but titles of honour very few. The Imam coins money, upon which he styles himself *Emir-al-Mumenin* (Commander of the Faithful); and his subjects entitle him *Caliph*, denying that the Ottoman Sultan has any right to be so called. Amurat II. acknowledged Seid Hassan ibn Mohammed as King of Yemen, reserving, indeed, to himself and his successors, a nominal sovereignty, which is laughed at in Arabia.

But in the Imam's own territory, there are independent Sheikhs, who neither acknowledge his authority nor respect his power. They are invincible in their fastnesses. Nature has provided for their freedom by producing in their hills every thing necessary to maintain so hardy a race; and the Emir's forces, who subdued the Turks and expelled them from the country, have never been able to make any impression on the Kobails, or Highlanders of Yemen.

The government of the provinces, is committed to *Dolas* or *Emirs*, who command the forces, regulate the police, and collect the taxes. The Emirs are recalled from rich districts every three years. When a Dola is continued for a fresh period, he receives from the Imam, a horse, a sabre, and certain robes. He is compelled to render an account of his administration; and is punished, if found guilty of misgovernment, by confiscation or imprisonment; seldom capitally. Each town has a Sub-dola, with a small garrison to maintain order. The chief of a large village is called a *Sheikh*; of a small one, a *Hakim*. Each Dola of a large government is attended by a *Baskateb*, or Comptroller, who is in reality a spy upon his conduct, and not unfrequently succeeds him in his government; to be in turn watched by another Baskateb. Every city which is governed by a Dola, has a Kadi, dependent on the chief Kadi of Sana, who is sole Judge in all affairs, both sacred and civil. The Dolas can neither oppose nor reverse the decisions of the Kadis, who throughout Arabia have a great reputation for wisdom and integrity. The Emir Bahr, or inspector of the port, is the next in dignity to the Dola. The Dolas pay the troops belonging to their governments, defray the expenses of the police, and, deducting whatever may be required for public affairs, remit the remainder to the Imam's treasury. When the governors of cities have any particular reason for absenting themselves from court, or wish to remain longer in their government, they send costly presents to the Imam; who, if he receives their excuses favourably, accepts their presents, and sends them others in return. These the Dolas receive with great ceremony. The Emir's own sons are often promoted to the government of cities. When the French travellers were in Arabia in 1711, they found one of the Imam's sons commanding in Tagi, and another at Gabala.

The revenue is considerable; not less, it is thought, than a million sterling; though, by some strange mistake, it is stated by Malte Brun, to be no more than 80,000*l*. This is raised by a species of poll-tax, and by a duty of one-fourth on all coffee sold in Yemen. Pliny observes that the same was anciently paid to the Sabean Kings. There is a tax also on aloes and myrrh; but it is not very productive.

The number of the Imam's military forces, Niebuhr could not ascertain correctly; he thought they might amount to about four thousand foot and a thousand horse. Neither horse nor foot wear any uniform, are very ignorant, and do not know how to handle a musket. Except on review days, and other occasions in which they are required to make a show, they ride on asses, says Grandpré; of which there is an excellent

breed in that country. The Imam of Muskat's soldiers are chiefly Caffrarian slaves.

"The principal commanding officers of the Imam of Sana's army," says Niebuhr, "were the four Sheikhs of Hamdan, Wada, Sefian, and Khaulan. Besides these four general officers of high birth, many Nakibs, or officers of inferior descent, some of whom had even been slaves in their infancy, were also in the army. Nakib is the highest title that the Imam can confer; *Sheikh* is a title that can only come by descent, and is peculiar to sovereign princes and independent lords. In time of peace, a soldier serving in the cavalry has nothing to do, but to take care of his horse, and attend the Imam or Dola to the mosque, according as he happens to be quartered at Sana or in one of the provinces. Most of those who serve in the cavalry, have likewise some civil employment, in which they occupy themselves in time of peace. Their arms are sabres and lances, and some carry pistols in the holsters of the saddle."

The infantry are not more actively employed. Their whole duty consists in standing sentinel at the gates of cities, and in attending the Dola to and from the mosque, firing off, at his return, irregular discharges of musquetry. On these occasions they are preceded by men in arms, who perform various antic gestures.

It seems, however, that numerous or highly-disciplined troops are by no means necessary to the personal security of the people; for travellers may pass through the whole of Yemen in the most perfect safety. This circumstance cannot fail to strike the attentive reader of Niebuhr; for he describes himself and friends as passing from place to place alone, or attended only by a native, and bearing property about them, with a degree of confidence they would not have felt under similar circumstances in any country in Europe. The inhabitants are equally secure. Humanity and generosity are inherent in the Arab character; great crimes are rare among them, for they are simple and content. Government with them is a thing which does not interfere very sensibly with the national character; it is a separate matter; it is tolerated, but never embraced heartily: and they always keep in mind the possibility of shaking it off altogether, if it should become intolerable. Their brethren of the desert are an eternal memento that man may subsist without it, or may modify and soften it in any manner he pleases; this keeps both governors and governed in proper spirits; the former fear to drive the latter to extremities; and the latter knowing this, and always seeing the remedy at hand, are independent and unbending. The officers of government dispersed over the face of the country, in the various states of Europe, assume an insolent and usurping air, as if they were lords paramount of the soil; but they would not dare to do this in Arabia. The inhabitant of Yemen passes the Dola of his city with perfect indifference; the Kadi is respected but not feared; even the Imam apprehends more evil from the people than they from him. It is conjectured by the author of the Voyage to Arabia the Happy, that this new Commander of the Faithful prays in the fields, because he fears to enter a mosque; but be that as it may, the Imam has often found to his cost that the Arabs were no long-suffering people; for if he has ever dared to transgress what are considered the just bounds of his authority, he has paid for it with his head. A people who defend their rights in this manner can never be enslaved; and the very aphorisms and sayings of the Arabs

evince their determinations on this point. "Whoever," said one of their wise men, "has conquered the fear of death, is lord of any other man's life whatever." It is easy to see where this pointed.

But the Government of the Imams is essentially defective in one thing, it holds forth no encouragement to any kind of industry. The state of the arts in Yemen is deplorable. Even commerce, formerly the boast and glory of Arabia, has dwindled to nothing in Yemen; and even in Oman, where the best sailors in the country are found, it is much inferior in activity to what it was formerly. The Trankies of Muscat, however, have canvas sails (those of Yemen being of matting), but are of awkward construction, and the planks are sewed together. We learn from Strabo, that in the age of Augustus, the Sabeans carried on a very prosperous commerce, the advantages of which were all on their side. They bought no foreign articles for their own consumption, and only adorned their houses and temples with the gold and gems which they received from the Romans and Persians. This commerce continued up to the time of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese; from which period it has declined constantly, and is now next to nothing. From Hadramaut the exports are confined to myrrh, frankincense, common gum, dragon's blood, and aloes, which are shipped for Muskat and India; and for Yemen, stuffs, carpets, and large knives, which the Arabs wear in their belts.

Agriculture is very little encouraged in the Imam's territories. The plough is extremely simple, and mattocks and pickaxes are used instead of spades. In harvest the corn is pulled up by the roots, and the hay cut down with a sickle. Provisions are sometimes so scarce that the people in the interior are reduced to feed on wild dogs.

Education is very imperfect among them; and appears to be totally neglected by the Government. In general every father instructs his own children. The women are taught to read as well as the men; for in the Voyage to Arabia the Happy, we find the ladies reading Romances at their windows. Beyond this, however, education, or rather learning, seldom proceeds; but we find the greater virtues strongly and successfully inculcated. The Arabs are sober, patient under pain, brave, enterprising, magnanimous; Niebuhr represents them as also very polite; but though this should prove incorrect, we could not consider the Arabs as an uncultivated people. Our ideas of mental culture are confined too exclusively to a knowledge of books; in this knowledge the Arabs are very deficient; but it does not appear, whatever may be the case with us, that literature is absolutely necessary to wisdom or rational happiness. It undoubtedly heightens and increases both, when directed into the right channels; otherwise the effects it produces are unfavourable to energy and freedom. Men do not appear to require any very exalted or extensive knowledge to enable them to perceive the superiority of liberty over slavery; the Arabs possess more freedom than the most enlightened nations of Europe, and in the confederacy of Haschid-u-Bekil, have approached the republican form of government, the most sublime effort of the human intellect. Europeans may smile at the ignorance and awkwardness of these simple people; but if there be a circumstance on earth that raises one nation above another, it is freedom; this, however ignorant, they contrive to preserve, and transmit unimpaired to their children: a glorious and enviable legacy!

To recapitulate:—the Imams resemble the Popes by uniting the spiritual with the temporal power; their authority is limited by law and custom; the throne is hereditary in the family, but the succession may be set aside in case of extreme unworthiness in the prince; the cities and provinces are governed by deputies, whose authority is limited by ancient customs; the magistracy is the most respected power in the country; the taxes are moderate; the people poor, but content; education simple; learning scanty; arts imperfect; sciences almost unknown. This description applies, as far as we know, to the kingdoms of Oman, Hadramaut, and Fartach, as it is called by Europeans. But, it should be remembered, that throughout Arabia, in the very heart of these kingdoms, as well as where no regular government prevails, there are independent Sheikhs, who preserve the ancient mode of rule, which seems to flow among the Arabs from a natural instinct. These acknowledge no relation to any superior power, except that of allies or enemies; and occasionally pierce through the territories of the most powerful princes, for purposes of depredation or irregular trade. Those of the hills exact tribute from the subjects of the Imam, who may be sending any merchandise into the interior, and that prince never thinks of refusing it. His power is unequal to subdue them, and he acquiesces quietly in their rude independence.

A SOLDIER'S DREAM.

—— The godlike form
Of man subjected to the crawling worm
For food, for habitation, will awake
Desperate contention in the soul, and make
The stoutest shudder, 'cause the picture brings
Stern, cruel reminiscences of things
We've thought on oft, but which we would forget,
Home to the heart. Abdallah.

—— One murder made a villain;
Millions a hero! Porteus.

The foe had fled—the fearful strife had ceased—
And many an ardent bosom proudly thrilled,
As the loud trumpet's wild exulting voice
Proclaimed the victory! With weary tread,
But spirit unreprest, the victors passed
On to the neighbouring citadel; nor deemed
Nor recked they, in that moment's pride,
Of aught but glory won. Or if a thought
Dwelt on the fallen brave, 'twas like the cloud
That flits o'er Summer's brow—a passing shade!

Yet, on the battle-plain how many lay
In their last dreamless sleep! And there were those

Who vainly struggled in the mighty grasp
Of that stern conqueror, Death! while the last throes
Of parting life at intervals would wring,
E'en from the proudest heart, the piercing cry
Of mortal agony!——In pain I sunk,
Worn and disabled, 'mid the dead and dying.
Night's shadows were around; the sad dull Moon,
Dim and discoloured, rose, as though she mourned
To gaze upon a scene so fraught with woe!

And there was one who passed me at this hour,
A form familiar to my memory.
In youth we met, with feelings undefined
And passions unreprest. There was a taunt
On his proud haughty lip distracted me;
There was a language in his scowling eye
My spirit ne'er could brook. His presence bore
The bane of early joy; and he would shrink
At boyhood's happy laugh and guileless smile,
As though they mocked him!

E'en like a vision of the fevered brain
His image haunted me, and urged to madness.
And when exhausted nature sunk to rest;
The blood-red sod my couch—the tempest-cloud
My canopy—my bedfellows the dead—
My lullaby the moaning midnight wind;
I had a dream—a strange bewildered dream,
And *he* was with me!

Methought I heard the Messenger of Death
Tell of another world; and awful shrieks
Of wild despair, and agony, and dread,
Shook the dark vault of heaven!—Suddenly
Deep silence reigned, and all the scene was changed!
A bright, insufferable radiance blazed,
And mocked the dazzled eye. In robes of light,
High on a gorgeous throne, appeared a form
Of pure celestial glory! In deep awe
A silent and innumerable throng
Of earth-born warriors bowed. That glorious form,
In these benign and memorable words,
The pure in spirit blessed: "Ye who have owned
Religion for your leader, and have loved
The Family of Man, and toiled and bled
For Liberty and Justice; ye the good fight
Have fought. Yours is the glorious meed—
The immortal crown—the never-fading wreath:
A bright inheritance of endless joy—
A home of endless rest!"——Now straight appeared,
With lineaments divinely beautiful,
Fair shapes of bright-winged seraphs, holy guides

To realms of everlasting light and love!
Alas! how few of that surrounding host
Were led to happier worlds! That hallowed band
In radiant light departed; and the form
That sat upon the throne now sternly rose,
With clouded brow and majesty severe,
And this dread judgment gave, while darkness wrapt
The strange and unimaginable scene:—
"He that can love not Man, loves not his God!
And, lo! his image ye have dared to mar,
In hate and exultation; and for this
Shall ceaseless strife, and agonies of death,
Be your eternal doom!"

Now, with triumphant howls of mockery,
More horrible than shuddering Fancy hears
Raising dread echoes in the charnel-vault,
Uprose the fiends of hell! and urged us on
Through paths of awful gloom, 'till one broad plain
Of endless space burst on the startled eye!
In the dim distance glittered shafts of war;
Despair's wild cry, and Hate's delirious shout;
The din of strife, and shrieks of agony
Came on the roaring blast! A mighty voice,
Piercing the dissonance infernal, cried
"On to the *Hell of Battle*, and the war
Coeval with eternity!" That voice,
Whose sound was thunder, breathed resistless spells;
For straight a sudden impulse fired the soul,
And, wrought to maddening frenzy, on we rushed
To join the strife of millions.
One alone,
Amid that countless throng, mine eye controlled.
His was the form I loved not in my youth,
And cursed in after years. We madly met—
A wild thrust reached him—then he loudly shrieked,
And imprecated death—Alas! in vain!
The spirit dwelt not there. With unquenched rage,
He turned again on his eternal foe,
In hate's extreme, and he was victor now;—
And in unutterable pain—I 'woke!

'Twas morning—and the sun's far levelled rays
Gleamed on the ghastly brows and stiffened limbs
Of those that slumbered, ne'er to wake again!

D. L. Richardson.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE INDIAN BAR, AS MAINTAINED BY THE LAWYERS AT CALCUTTA.

In a useful as well as entertaining article, contained in a late Number of the New Monthly Magazine, under the title of "Specimens of a Patent Pocket Dictionary, for the use of those who wish to understand the meanings of things as well as words," the Independence of the Bar is said to be "like a ghost, a thing much talked of, but seldom seen." Every country blessed with lawyers, will no doubt furnish illustrations of the truth of this remark; and if our only object were to show its general accuracy, we need not go beyond the limits of England to search for proofs. But the state of the Bar in India is not so well known as it deserves to be; and when we assert that in no country on earth is the independence of its members more loudly vaunted in words, or more effectually belied by facts, the British Public will, no doubt, feel some curiosity to hear the evidence by which we have been enabled to arrive at this conclusion.

We shall, perhaps, on some future occasion, present our readers with a history of the legal establishments of India generally, since the introduction into that country of British Courts of Judicature: and it will be found, whenever it shall be undertaken, pregnant with instructive matter. For the present, however, we confine ourselves to the Court at Calcutta, and to the personages of modern times. There was a period, when the Judges of that, as well as of other Courts in India, were honest enough to fulfil the mission they were sent to perform, to interpose the protecting shield of the law between the oppressions of arbitrary and tyrannical rulers, and oppressed and helpless subjects. This was the express purpose for which they were originally sent to India; and some few have been upright enough to fulfil that purpose to the letter and the spirit. The Judges of later times can hardly, however, be included in that number. One of these was too desirous of obtaining the smiles of those around him in power, even to run the slightest risk of encountering their frowns; nor would the general disesteem in which he was held by those who dared be honest in the expression of their opinions, admit of his dispensing for a moment with the favour and countenance of the few by whose influence alone he was enabled to maintain his claim to even ordinary respect. Another has not yet been enabled to perceive how surely and inevitably contempt must follow a subserviency that knows no limits, or a devotion to power, purely as such, which knows no exceptions. And a third, though possessing many of the qualities that belong to good men, has them so strangely mingled and confounded with others, that what is gained by fervid feeling, is lost by passion and caprice; and what is done by honest intentions, is undone by blind and ungovernable obstinacy. The first of these, with great affectation of impartiality and care, was sure to be found on the side of Government, however just the cause of those opposed to it. The second, with no pretensions of any kind, seemed to possess so instinctive a veneration for authority, that his being known even to doubt its infallibility, would have been regarded as something out of the ordinary course of events. And the last, with everlasting boasts of independence on

his tongue, and much, we really believe, of sterling honesty in his heart, has contrived, in his brief career, to load Englishmen in India with heavier chains than they had ever before been doomed to wear; to legalize the most odious censorship over the thoughts of his fellow-men, that was ever before attempted by the wildest and most furious despot of the East; and to chain down the human intellect by laws which would be considered a disgrace to the most ignorant and contemptible people that have ever yet been known; laws without a parallel even in bigoted and blood-thirsty Spain, and unknown either at Cairo or Constantinople!

The two most recently appointed Chief Justices promised better things; but their lives were shortened by disease, and the auspicious morning of their career was soon closed by gloomy and hopeless night. Who will next succeed, it is not easy even to conjecture. But while we have Judges in India who can pronounce the great safeguards of liberty, the habeas corpus, the trial by jury, and the freedom of the press, to be null and void—and all this has been done within the last few years;—while we have men there who scruple not to legalize regulations which command all their fellow-subjects, on pain of summary banishment, to abstain from indulging the slightest scrutiny or comment on *their own* proceedings and decisions; we cannot but look with anxiety to the nomination of some new candidate, who may offer hope at least, that such a state of abject and grovelling slavery is not to last for ever.

This prostration of all independence on the Bench might, however, be productive of much less evil than it has been, and now is, were it corrected by the existence of some small portion of independence at the Bar: but alas! we are compelled, on evidence beyond our power to resist, to believe, that of this there is also really little or none. We can remember one distinguished barrister, a reputed Whig, and editor of a Whig newspaper, in Calcutta, who was the first to betray the cause of the press by which he lived; by insisting, in opposition to those who regarded the liberation of that press by Lord Hastings as sincerely meant to be made effectual, on the superior validity of the secret regulations which forbade all political discussion whatever. We remember the same advocate, full, as he was at the time, of professions of independence, contending against the publication of evidence, in cases of public trials, and wishing to impose fetters on every press but his own: we remember him also unable to resist the temptations of patronage and rank, and consenting to hang on upon the skirts of a Judge, whose circle of friends and visitors was more circumscribed than that of any other person in the settlement. But, we need not dwell on the frailties of second-rate enemies to the interests of freedom and independence, while more conspicuous foes to the cause of liberty in India are to be found. Of these, therefore, let it be " our bent to speak."

Mr. Robert Spankie, now a King's Serjeant in England, was, before his going to India, a writer in the Morning Chronicle, in conjunction with Mr. Perry; the difference between these joint co-operators being said to be this: that Mr. Spankie's sentiments were so decidedly democratical, and his mode of expressing them so much too forcible and unequivocal, even in Mr. Perry's estimation, that it was deemed necessary to exercise some discretionary revision of them before they were given to the world. Mr. Spankie went to India, as Advocate-General to the East

India Company in the Supreme Court of Bengal; and being considered an excellent lawyer, (our readers will hereafter understand what this term means,) grew into great, and perhaps deserved, practice. In all his intercourse with society, however, he still retained his old, and, as every body there believed, his sincere opinions; and many are the aspirations that have been known to escape him after more of freedom for mankind than they have ever yet enjoyed. He continued to practise in his profession; and, in fulfilment of one of the duties of his office, was employed to wage war against the press, and to denounce its most harmless effusions as full of bitterness and gall. It is one of the curses of this profession, as at present constituted, that they who practise it are called upon to kill as well as cure. A physician is never hired to undermine the constitution and destroy the life of his patient; he uses his skill only to remove evil; but a lawyer is often hired, and strange to say, often yields a willing assent, to hunt down and destroy whatever victim his employers may select on whom to wreak their vengeance. The persecuted sufferer may be his private friend; he may be the most virtuous and injured man even in the estimation of the lawyer himself; but he is *instructed* to prosecute; and because he will not relinquish profit, he considers himself bound to obey. It was thus that Mr. Spankie either had not wealth enough, in his estimation, to be independent, or he had not virtue enough to break through the trammels of a deceptive and hypocritical custom to which lawyers pretend that they are bound to adhere, and which makes it a merit to utter falsehoods by the hour; to try to convict the innocent, and bring off the guilty; to cover the virtuous man with shame and confusion, and to heap wealth and honours on successful villainy. It was a humiliating spectacle to see this democrat of the Morning Chronicle (we do not use the term invidiously) putting forth all his energies, and arguing, apparently *con amore*, against the evils of a licentious press in India; a press, which, in the course of its whole career of short-lived freedom, never contained as much of licentiousness (in the sense in which the term is here used, to express boldness of censure on the acts of rulers), as could be found in the Morning Chronicle under Mr. Spankie's own management, in the course of a single day! It was really pitiable to see one who, as a man, had been all his life panting to give his fellow-men an increase of freedom and happiness, thundering forth, as a hired advocate, his anathemas against those who merely desired that Englishmen in India should have the benefit of trial before punishment, so as to put them on an equal footing with the negroes in the West; and that they should have the same liberty of speech and publication enjoyed by the people they had conquered, and the mixed race sprung from their union with these, in the East. Mr. Spankie, however, was defeated: the public virtue of the Jury that he addressed, was of a higher standard than his own; and all his denunciations against the evils of a free press in India, only made those who heard him cling to its very shadow the more.

The period came in which Mr. Spankie was to leave India for England; ill health being the immediate cause of this determination. One might have hoped that the same principle which causes so many deathbed repentances, would have led Mr. Spankie to make a last effort, before he left the country, to redeem the errors into which his professional situation had led him. It would have wiped away many of the dark spots of

this forced career of hostility, had he been enabled, on quitting India, to have evinced that a sense of the value of independence yet remained in his bosom; and had thus voluntarily lent his aid to resist the efforts made by others for enslaving more and more their fellow-men. But, alas! it is notorious that the young warrior, who has once shed the blood of an enemy by his own hands, is not more greedy after fresh carnage, than those who have once deserted the ranks of freedom to strengthen those of tyranny, are eager after fresh opportunities to bind and fetter those whom they dread as well as hate, because they have betrayed and deserted them. Mr. Spankie, for years the avowed advocate of the most enlarged freedom of speech and publication, who had illustrated and defended by his pen the doctrines entertained by his mind, not only did nothing on his leaving India to redeem his professional hostility to the press of that country, but left behind him, as a legacy, the greatest curse with which the country has ever yet been afflicted—the Licensing Laws of Mr. Adam,—worse than the most galling of censorships. It is well known that neither the Governor-General nor the Secretaries in India would venture to undertake such a measure as the one in question, without consulting the principal law-officer of the Government thereon. Mr. Spankie held the place of Company's Advocate-General in the months of February and March, 1823, when these Licensing Laws were framing, and when they were actually passed through the Supreme Court. Mr. Money, the Company's Junior Counsel, though not wanting in disposition, would be entirely wanting in ability to draw up such laws as these: and Mr. Poe, the Company's Attorney is not a person likely to have been intrusted with them. From the coincidence of dates, therefore, and the knowledge of the usage in all similar cases, we have sufficient evidence (if even more direct knowledge were wanting) to conclude, that these abominable laws, which still disgrace the statute-book of India, and which are without a parallel in the annals of the most despotic countries on the earth, are the approved production (if not the actual suggestion) of Mr. Robert Spankie, not long since one of the most violent of the democratic writers of the London Press![1] With such examples as the Bench and Bar of England place before his eyes, he may not be much cast down; and the silk robe which now graces his shoulders may, in the eyes of the world, cover a multitude of sins; but we do not envy him his new-made honours; and, as long as his name or history shall be remembered, they will interpose a world of doubts as to the pretended Independence of the Indian Bar.

We are aware of the indulgence extended to lawyers, by the unreflecting part of mankind, who see nothing wrong in the usage of their profession, which enjoins them to speak on that side of the question only for which they are first paid: and we do not attribute to Mr. Spankie any greater degree of subserviency to this usage in India than is to be found in hundreds of equally respectable lawyers at home. That judges, barristers, and attorneys, should do their utmost to maintain this system, is

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[1] On a reference to the published report of the proceedings in the case of these Licensing Laws, we have direct evidence that Mr. Spankie, then the Company's Advocate-General, was actually in Calcutta, but did not attend the Court in person, owing to indisposition: though his colleague, Mr. Money, expressed his (Mr. Spankie's) intention to have done so, had he been well enough for the purpose.

not to be wondered at; since it is for the interest of the whole body that it should be upheld. But the rest of the world are beginning to think differently on this subject; and, ere long, we have no doubt, there will be a great revolution of opinion in this respect. At present, if a clergyman delivers from his pulpit, doctrines which he is known not to believe, he is called a hypocrite, and is despised accordingly. If a member of parliament advocates in his place, opinions which are known to be foreign to those formerly professed by him, and still really entertained by him in private life, he is called a renegade and a traitor, and held in contempt by both parties. If a public writer openly espouses the cause of a party to which he is known to be hostile at heart, and lends himself, from any motive, to deceive the world, by professing opinions that he does not really entertain, he is deservedly scouted by all honest men, and considered a disgrace to his species. If a judge pronounces a sentence contrary to his previously-avowed conviction; if a juror joins in a verdict which he subsequently admits was in opposition to his real views; or, if a witness so distorts his testimony, as to make truth appear falsehood, and falsehood truth, each would be liable, and justly so, to the punishment of the law, as well as to the indignation of mankind. In short, deception among every rank and class of people, is considered criminal, save and except among lawyers; with whom, the greater the deception practised, the higher the degree of merit that is supposed to be attained.

In what consists the difference? Men of reflection would say in this: The criminality of deception, as far as relates to the actor or deceiver himself, must be nearly the same in all cases; but, as far as it affects the interests of society, that species of deception which is intended to confound all distinctions between right and wrong, to convict the innocent, to shield the guilty, and to make even the tribunal of justice itself an organ of evil, ought, because of its more pernicious consequences, to be held in the highest degree of execration; and its practisers and abettors to be censured accordingly.

Some, however, pretend to say, that the difference consists in this:—the clergyman, the member of parliament, the public writer, the judge, the juror, and the witness, are neither of them paid for delivering opinions that they do not really entertain; whereas, the lawyer is expressly *hired* for that purpose, and is therefore bound to do so. The excuse only makes the crime the greater. To deceive without a motive of gain is in itself sufficiently reprehensible; but to deceive for hire is infinitely worse; and if the contrary notion be correct, then, a judge who receives a bribe for giving a charge contrary to his own conviction; a juror who is rewarded for recording a verdict contrary to his belief; an editor who is paid for maintaining particular opinions, or an assassin who destroys an innocent victim merely because he is *hired* to do so by another, are all more justifiable than if the several acts performed by them were done without such pecuniary reward. The dilemma is unavoidable: and all the subtlety of all the lawyers on earth, paid or unpaid, is incompetent to effect their escape from it. The evil is in the present usage of the profession; and cannot too soon be remedied.—We return, however, to our subject.

From Mr. Robert Spankie, the transition is immediately suggested to his equally distinguished successor, Mr. Robert Cutlar Fergusson, who, by the time these sheets are published, will also, we hope, be in England, to

hear the opinions pronounced on his public conduct, and enter, if necessary, on his defence. The early public history of Mr. Fergusson (with the private life of himself or others we have nothing to do) is well known. His avowed advocacy of the most liberal principles; his early association with the Earl of Thanet; his long-continued intimacy with Lord Erskine, which was maintained by correspondence up to the time of his Lordship's death; and, indeed, the whole of his history and connexions in England, placed him in the foremost ranks of the friends of freedom there. On his landing in India, his distinguished talents soon made him one of the most conspicuous objects at the bar; and, on the whole, it may perhaps be said, that no man among all those who have ever visited that country, possessed so much public favour in his professional capacity, or amassed, in so short a period, so splendid a fortune. Of the first years of Mr. Fergusson's career in India, we can speak only on the authority of others, from whom we learn that it was quite as straight-forward and upright as that of the most distinguished members of a profession, whose road to eminence lies through the most crooked and tortuous paths, and who must (according to the demoralizing usage among themselves) as frequently attempt to make innocence appear guilt, and guilt innocence, as to show things in their true colours, provided they are fee'd and instructed to mislead and deceive, as often as they are directed to pursue an honest course. During the latter period of Mr. Fergusson's stay in India, however, and when freed from the trammels of professional instructions, we speak from our own experience, when we say, that no man in that country, not excepting even Lord Hastings himself, ever professed, more frequently, more vehemently, or apparently more sincerely, his love of freedom in all its branches, but of the freedom of speech and publication more particularly, than this Mr. Fergusson;—whatever occasion presented itself, wherever he had an opportunity of expressing his opinions, he never failed to embrace it for the purpose of professing his devoted and unalterable attachment to the Freedom of the Press in India, and his determination to maintain unimpeached the Independence of that Bar of which he had long been (and most deservedly so) an honoured and distinguished member. He it was who first publicly denounced the Censorship on the Indian press as illegal, as without even the shadow of lawful authority to countenance it. He it was who characterized the new Laws for Licensing the Press, framed by his Brother Spankie, and sent by the then acting Governor-General, Mr. John Adam, to the Supreme Court for its sanction, as "odious restrictions"—as "repugnant to the Law of England, and destructive of its first and most sacred principles"—as "fit only to be compared with the acts of the Star-chamber and the Inquisition"—as "suited to the Press of Constantinople or St. Petersburgh, (were there presses there to regulate), but utterly abhorrent from the principles of that law by which he contended we had a *right* to be governed in India, and which no power in that country had a right to infringe." Up to the period, therefore, of this law being passed by Sir Francis Macnaghten, in March 1823, Mr. Fergusson had "held fast the faith delivered to him;" and was considered throughout all India as the great apostle of liberty, the firm friend of freedom, and the undaunted advocate of the rights of his fellow-men.

Matters soon began to wear a different aspect. The retirement of Mr. Spankie from the office of Advocate-General in India, left that post vacant.

The rulers of that country offered him the temporary advantages of filling the vacant place. He was already at the head of his profession in India as a lawyer; and he had already filled, on a former occasion, the very post here offered to him: so that its *honours* could be no temptation. What other advantages it promised, we need hardly say. But though it was certain that these advantages could not be enjoyed for more than a few months, as a new Advocate-General would be sure to be appointed from home, the temptation, weak as it may seem in the eyes of other men, was such as Mr. Fergusson could not resist; and this champion of the freedom of his fellow-subjects, and advocate of the Independence of the Indian Bar, became a servant of the very Government whose projected law he had but just before characterized as odious, infamous, and unjust!

The first public event that occurred after his acceptance of office, (we confine ourselves purposely to publicly recorded facts) was the instalment of Mr. Fergusson, as chairman of a committee, to wait upon Mr. John Adam, on his laying down the temporary power he had exercised as acting Governor-General; and saying of him personally, and face to face, (without a blush too, as far as we can learn,) that "his purity of heart and sterling *public worth* entitled him to the highest consideration in the power of the meeting to bestow;" that "British India owed the major part of its present prosperity to the arduous exertions, the indefatigable attention to duty, and the strict integrity which had distinguished him in the execution of the duties of the various and responsible situations which he had filled;"—that "in unassuming benevolence, sound judgment, and purity of heart, he was surpassed by no man;"—and that "he was justly proud of his friendship." He says this of the very individual whose law for licensing the press (for he knew it was *his* law rather than that of his colleagues) he had but a few weeks before characterized as a disgrace to the statute-book, and as calculated to inflict the most serious evils on the country! None but a lawyer could reconcile such extremes as these.

The second public event during Mr. Fergusson's brief and temporary Advocate-generalship in India, exhibited him in the ranks of power, contending for the right, as well as justice, of seizing and imprisoning Mr. Arnot in the strong room of Fort William, previously to his being sent to Bencoolen in the ship Fame. But the third and last great injury to the cause of which he had hitherto been the avowed friend and advocate, (we know not how many minor instances may have intervened,) remains to be told; and it will illustrate at least as powerfully as any thing that precedes it, on what a rotten and insecure foundation reposes the pretended Independence of the Indian Bar.

When the editor of the Calcutta Journal was banished from India by order of Mr. Adam, it was believed by almost every one in that city, that this act had been previously determined on, even before Lord Hastings resigned his functions, as Governor-General, to Mr. Adam's temporary exercise. His Lordship had scarcely embarked, indeed, before Mr. Buckingham's banishment (or transmission, as it is called in India) was publicly talked of as a measure long resolved to be carried into immediate execution. In a public ball-room at Calcutta, two of Mr. Adam's intimate friends, Mrs. M'Clintock and Mrs. Lushington, were said to have expressed their conviction that Mr. Buckingham's stay in India would now be very short, as Mr. Adam had long since determined on sending him away. Witnesses of this, and other similar proofs of a previous determi-

nation to commit the aggression alluded to, were then on the spot, and the evidence appeared to be so strong, that it was determined to proceed legally against Mr. Adam, in an action for damages, on the ground of malicious and predetermined hostility. Mr. Fergusson, who had hitherto always acted as Mr. Buckingham's leading counsel, was consulted on the affair; and, fully concurring in the cruelty and injustice of Mr. Adam's proceeding, he consented to undertake and conduct so much of the preliminary proceedings as were to be carried through in India, as the basis of a subsequent prosecution in England; though at the same time he admitted, that, from the state of the law on the subject, and the difficulty of obtaining redress for injuries inflicted by men high in power, he was not sanguine in his expectations of ultimate success.

The state of the law on this subject is briefly this—No Governor-General or Member of Council can be prosecuted in the Supreme Court of Justice in India, for any act of injustice done by them, however glaring it may be. The Parliament has so far protected them in their exercise of power, as to shield them from all responsibility to law on the spot, and to make it impossible to proceed against them there. The prosecution must take place in England. But before even that can be done, all the necessary evidence must be collected and authenticated before the Supreme Court in India. Before, however, one tittle of this evidence is allowed to be taken even there, the injured party prosecuting is obliged to give a bond, in such sum as the Court may determine, that he will prosecute to the issue, be the nature of the evidence, that he can obtain, favourable or unfavourable to such a perseverance. When this bond is given, evidence may be gone into in India; and this is to be transmitted to the Court of Law in which the action may be tried in England. If, from any unforeseen difficulties, the prosecutor should be unable to proceed, his bond becomes forfeited; and should he proceed, and, from the "glorious uncertainty of the law," be unsuccessful, he would have to pay treble costs! Such a premium on tyranny, such a protection to evil doers, and such an obstacle to the true ends of justice, is too characteristic of the state of English law generally to excite much wonder: but it must be clear to all, that it interposes fearful odds between the oppressor and the oppressed, particularly when the oppressions are exercised in India.

In the present instance, however, it seemed so desirable that the evidence should be collected, and the question tried, that it was determined on to pursue the necessary steps for that purpose. A petition to the Supreme Court was drawn up by Mr. Fergusson himself, stating that Mr. Buckingham "had been greatly oppressed, aggrieved, and injured, by an act done, and an order passed, by the Hon. John Adam," and praying "that the Court would grant an order, compelling the said John Adam to produce all the correspondence which might have passed between himself and any person or persons whatsoever touching the premises, and that the same might be authenticated, and witnesses examined in that Court, upon the matter of the said complaint." Before this petition was presented, Mr. John Palmer, (whose lively interest in the fate of every injured individual has long since associated his name with justice and benevolence) suggested to Mr. Buckingham the importance of his remaining in India for a month or two longer, partly to await the issue of the action then pending between himself and the libellers of the

John Bull, (subsequently found guilty and sentenced to pay damages accordingly), but principally to collect this evidence required for the prosecution of Mr. Adam, and take it home with him for proceeding at once. The objections to any further stay in India, under existing circumstances, were, first, a desire to arrive in England as soon as the intelligence of these proceedings could reach, so as to be on the spot to prevent misrepresentations, and take early measures for proceeding here; and secondly, the fact, that if the opportunity of the ship then sailing were not embraced, no other would be likely to occur for some time afterwards, when the passage home would have been tedious, stormy, and of protracted length. Still, however, the importance of completing the measures then pending in India was admitted, and it was agreed that if Mr. Fergusson should think his client's further stay of importance to that end, all other considerations should be waived, and the stay prolonged accordingly. In the visit made to Mr. Fergusson, for this purpose, Mr. Buckingham was accompanied by Mr. Palmer himself, so that there is living evidence of the fact; and it was there distinctly asked, whether the immediate departure of the former for England would in the slightest degree prejudice his case; or, whether, if he so departed, he might safely rely on every thing being done for him in the Court at Calcutta as effectually as if he were present. The reply of Mr. Fergusson to this question was explicit and decisive. He was not only already pledged, as leading counsel in the case he had undertaken, to see the interests of his client protected to the end, and to omit nothing which could secure the success of his cause; but he added to this tacit and universally understood engagement of all who consent to undertake the management of a legal cause, his personal and verbal assurances, as an individual friend of that cause, that nothing should be neglected in consequence of his client's absence; but that every thing should be done, and that too without delay, to procure the evidence required, and transmit it immediately to England for ulterior proceedings there; accompanying this assurance with a letter to Mr. Scarlett, the barrister, introducing his client to his acquaintance, and recommending his case to his personal as well as professional attention.

It should be added that Mr. Fergusson knew distinctly what the nature of the evidence was that would be required. He knew that it would involve the necessity of calling certain ladies into Court, and putting them on their oaths as to whether they did not use the expressions attributed to them, of Mr. Adam's determination to banish Mr. Buckingham from the country; and when and where they obtained this information. Mr. Fergusson knew that a list of witnesses, capable of speaking to this fact, had been furnished to Mr. Comberbach, the solicitor in the case; and, in short, the whole course to be pursued was as distinctly known to him, at this early period, as it could have been at any subsequent stage of the proceedings. With this knowledge, he consented to open the business in the Supreme Court on the 1st of March 1823, which was done by his presenting the petition before alluded to, stating the injuries, and praying for leave to take evidence as the means of pursuing the action for redress. The Court heard Mr. Fergusson on this point; and consented, on Mr. Buckingham's giving a bond, with competent sureties, for 12,000 rupees, to grant his prayer. The bond was accordingly deposited in Court, and Mr. Buckingham left India.

On his arrival in England, all the expensive measures which such a suit involves, were entered into, and carried on as far as they could go, without the promised evidence from India: and although the death of the solicitor, which occurred soon afterwards, might have retarded this a little; yet, after the sacred professional charge undertaken by Mr. Fergusson, and strengthened by the solemn personal pledge before adverted to, it was thought impossible that it could be wholly neglected. The parties who indulged that hope were, however, mistaken. Day succeeded day, week succeeded week, and month succeeded month, without a single line being received from any party in India on this important subject. The solicitor was dead—the junior counsel did not feel it his particular duty to do more than press it by his suggestions on the spot—and the senior counsel did nothing whatever to redeem his pledge. In his hands was intrusted the conduct of this cause against the Government of India, on the issue of which depended the decision of the greatest question that was ever yet agitated in that country; namely, whether the laws of England would protect any Governor-General who might oppress an individual that happened to be obnoxious to his favourites; or whether these laws would afford the injured party redress. Yet, instead of conducting this cause, as he pledged himself to do, he accepted temporary office under the very Government he had bound himself to proceed against; and consented to flatter, in the grossest terms, as a man almost without an equal in excellence and virtue, the very individual whom he had but a few weeks before characterized in the petition drawn up by himself, as being guilty of "oppressing, aggrieving, and injuring" his unhappy client. The result was, that his client's interests were wholly sacrificed; and, what is of still higher importance, the great public question intrusted to Mr. Fergusson's confidence, was betrayed by this acceptance of the paltry honours, and still more paltry profits of the Advocate-generalship of India, for a few months at the utmost; and, as the event proved, for a few weeks only. In consequence of this entire suspension of all proceedings in India, the prosecution was obliged to be abandoned in England; and the unfortunate client subjected to the loss of all the money expended in costs in this country as well as in India, with the probable forfeiture of the bond given to prosecute to the issue, although the failure of that prosecution arose from circumstances altogether beyond his power to control. After a silence of nearly twelve months on this subject, without a single line being written, or a single step being taken by Mr. Fergusson in the matter, this independent lawyer quitted India for England, to enjoy the fortune made in that country, by his professional career; which no one can regret more poignantly than we do, that he has closed with so irredeemable a blemish on its purity and independence as this.

As soon as Mr. Fergusson's departure from India had taken place, the agents left in charge of Mr. Buckingham's affairs in that country having despaired, as it would seem, of any measures being undertaken by the leading counsel, while he held his client's briefs as such, applied to the junior counsel, Mr. Turton, on whom the duties of his colleague might then be supposed to have devolved, to know why proceedings had not been already entered into on this subject; and whether there existed any obstacle to their being prosecuted then. The answer to this application was frank and manly, and appears to us to leave Mr. Turton's

reputation quite untouched. It was given in a formal and official manner, as a written opinion, to be made use of as circumstances might require: For the purpose, therefore, of supporting the positions we have before assumed, as well as of showing the true grounds on which the delay complained of really rested, we shall give the document entire, as well as the letter in which it was enclosed to us, when transmitted to this country. They are as follows:—

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, 25th February 1824.

We enclose you copy of an opinion given by Mr. Turton, on a reference which was made to him by Mr. C. Hogg, successor to Mr. Comberbach, on the subject of carrying on the proceedings in your prosecution against the late Governor-General.

The unexpected death of Mr. Comberbach has occasioned embarrassment, and Mr. Hogg does not regard himself authorized to proceed in the matter without special instructions.

From Mr. Turton's opinion, you will infer that he is averse to the business. The fact is, as the further proceedings are supposed to involve the necessity of examining Ladies and others, in the Court, on points of a delicate nature, there is evidently a want of readiness to carry them on.

Should you decide to proceed, we advise your sending out formal instructions, addressed to Mr. Charles Hogg, on the subject.[2]

MR. TURTON'S OPINION.

Both before and after Mr. Comberbach's death, I frequently represented the necessity of proceeding immediately in the examination of witnesses, if it was intended to proceed at all.

I always thought it ought to be done immediately on the proceedings being commenced, and so stated my opinion to the late Mr. Comberbach, previous to the appointment of Mr. Fergusson as Advocate-General, which deprived Mr. Buckingham of the value of his services; a circumstance I much lamented, as his age, experience, and judgment, might have made the examination of the persons whose evidence was required on matters of considerable delicacy, not only much less unpleasant to those persons than they would probably be in the hands of a much younger and less experienced advocate; but also more advantageous to Mr. Buckingham, as to what was to be elicited from them. I however then again urged that no further delay should take place, and stated my readiness to proceed, if required. No instructions were given until the arrival of Mr. Compton again placed Mr. Fergusson in the situation of Mr. Buckingham's leading counsel, when I again stated that if this cause was to be further prosecuted, I thought it should be done while Mr. Fergusson was here. As that was not done, I can only conclude that Mr. Fergusson was adverse in opinion to the further prosecution of the cause, in which case I cannot be expected to set up any opinion contrary to his; or that some other cause, of which I am not aware, has occasioned the delay already incurred.

In either case, after what I have previously done, I must decline taking upon myself the unpleasant responsibility of advising any steps whatever, without a reference to Mr. Buckingham himself, which I should recommend Mr. Charles Hogg to make. If so desired, I am ready to act as Mr. Buckingham directs; but, to repeat what I have said, I must decline further advice, which I am asked to give, without any further facts being stated or reasons assigned why it should not have been followed before.

Calcutta, 10th Feb. 1824. T. TURTON.

Let any man who reads this, say, whether the interests of an absent and oppressed individual have not been sacrificed in a manner that it

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[2] It should be stated that two of the principal witnesses intended to have been called, are since dead; and three others are now at a great distance from India; so as to render it almost impossible to proceed with effect at this protracted period, while every month's delay, in such a climate and country, only increases the chance of failure.

can hardly be necessary to use any epithet to characterize? The duty to be performed, was of the simplest kind: it was as well known and defined, when its performance was first undertaken, as at any subsequent period: and it might have been done without wounding the delicacy of the most sensitive and fastidious person. It required only that two ladies should have been examined in Court, and asked to declare, on their oaths, whether they did or did not use the expressions attributed to them, as to Mr. Adam's avowed determination to banish Mr. Buckingham from the country. If they denied having so said, other witnesses would have been called to prove it. If they confessed having so expressed themselves, they would have been asked the authority on which they ventured so to do. In all this, where would there have been aught to wound the most refined delicacy? Mr. Fergusson could not surely have dreaded any disclosures that he would be unwilling to be instrumental in promoting, by such an examination. He could not have thought that the friendships which existed between these individuals and the distinguished personage of whose confidence they boasted, ought not to be disturbed by a public judicial investigation. What Mr. Turton can mean by the phrase "matters of considerable delicacy," and why so much anxiety should be evinced to make this inquiry as little "unpleasant" to these ladies as possible, it is not easy to understand. In matters of an infinitely more "delicate" nature than we should ever have thought this likely to be, we do not find barristers, either in England or in India, shrinking from their duty to their clients, or to the public, on such slender grounds; so that there must be "something more than meets the eye" in the objections of Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Turton.

The pretended scruples of delicacy, therefore, in the present case, where not a single indelicate question was required to be asked, and where it ought not to have been considered "unpleasant" for even English ladies to have affirmed or denied on oath the use of expressions imputed to them, when their truth or falsehood involved considerations of the highest importance to the public interests, as well as those of an individual, will be regarded as mere affectation. The world at large will see what must have been the leading motives for this extraordinary conduct: and whenever the Independence of the Indian Bar shall in future be made a subject of eulogy and exultation, the reader will think of those who have been here shown to have betrayed it; while posterity will number, among the most striking instances of treachery to the cause of freedom, with which the history of lawyers in every country abounds, those which have taken place in India, among men who have no plea of want to urge in their excuse, but who were especially bound, by their exemption from the ordinary temptations which beset more needy men in England, to show the world that lawyers could sometimes be as honest as other men.

If, in the course of the preceding observations, we may appear to any one to have trenched at all upon the affairs of private life, we must defend ourselves from such an imputation by saying, that the little we have disclosed (and that is but an inconsiderable fraction of what we could do, if required), has been so closely interwoven with the public question to which it relates, that it could not be separated from it. It was first the act of the ladies, already named, to make the private intentions of Mr. Adam, matter of public notoriety and general conversa-

tion in a public ball-room. It was next the act of the Court to permit evidence to be taken on this point. After this, Mr. Turton embodied an allusion to the fact in his professional opinion: and, lastly, the communications and the influence here alluded to, are as much matter of public notoriety in India, as the influence of any court lady, who happens to be in high favour with any distinguished individual, in England. A time may come, when much more may be said on this subject than has ever yet been published here: and although Mr. Adam and his friends have been saved, by the conduct of Mr. Fergusson, from the exposure that awaited them in the Supreme Court of India, it is not altogether impossible but that the disclosures which might there have made their due impression on the public mind, may yet effect this purpose through some other channel.

THE FISHERMAN.

NONE live with Nature like the fisherman,
Who, from his cottage on the woody shore,
Through slender openings views the tossing sea,
Or sees it, calm as summer, steal along.
I love, in mind, to trace his footsteps through
His curious labour: 'neath some rural hedge
To view the net grow as he shoots the thread,
And forms the meshes; then his pannier see
Snatched up at midnight after short repose,
To visit the shelled margin of the deep.
  Now o'er the ridgy sand he trots alone
While all the golden stars of heaven let down
Around their influence, and speck the deep
With twinkling fires; or else the silver moon
Throws her long wake along the waves, and tips
Some far-bound vessel's lofty spreading sails
With liquid splendour pale. His dripping nets,
Left by the changeful sea, he reaches now,
And his heart gladdens as the scaly tribe
He eyes, involved and panting 'neath the moon;
For, twinkling in their scales, he sees his home
Stored with huge loaves, and all his children round
The social board rejoicing, and his spouse
In mute content partaking of their bliss.
These thoughts elate him as he trudges home
Long before dawn, while other labourers yet
Sleep warm; he gaily whistles as he goes,
Puffs from his pipe long clouds, and to the winds
Gives all the cares and brief turmoil of life.

BION.

ON THE AFFINITY OF THE SANSCRIT, THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE OF INDIA, TO THE GREEK, THE LATIN, AND OTHER ANCIENT LANGUAGES OF EUROPE.

THE existence of a close and remarkable affinity between the Sanscrit, or ancient language of India, and the Persian, and some of the ancient languages of Europe, has for a long time past been well ascertained; but as the proofs by which this fact is supported, do not appear to be generally known, we shall endeavour to give a correct view of them, and at the same time point out some of those historical conclusions at which this fact enables us to arrive. As, however, we shall frequently have occasion, in our future Numbers, to touch upon subjects connected with Oriental history and literature, we desire the remarks now offered to the reader, to be considered as introductory to such subsequent articles.

Before we proceed, it will be necessary to state the principles on which an examination of the affinity that exists between different languages should, according to our apprehensions, be conducted, and the principal points to be attended to, in determining their relations.

A very common mode of comparing languages, is to take a certain number of words out of one language and to compare them with terms of a similar import in another. To this method there are several objections. In the first instance, many terms in one language, though very similar in sound to another, do not prove the existence of any real affinity, because the similarity of sound in each case is referrible to the object which the words represent. This applies not only to *interjections*, which certainly cannot afford any proofs of affinity, because a Chinese and a Greenlander, a German and a New Zealander, will express their joy or affliction in nearly the same inarticulate sounds; but it extends also to the numerous class of appellations for animals, which resemble the sounds uttered by some animals in every country. A certain bird is called a *cuckoo* in England, and the Indian name for the same bird is *kokila*. No one would be justified, however, in inferring any affinity between the English and Sanscrit tongues from that or similar words; yet a great number of the pretended similarities of languages is founded on no better ground than the one exhibited in this example. Were such a test admitted, it would not be difficult to trace by it a connexion between all the languages in the world.

Errors of a more serious nature arise out of the comparison of those words in different languages, which actually *are* the same, but which in one language are original, and in the other imported: such words prove historical relations, not original affinity. In these cases, where the connexion is historically known, whether it be in matters of religion, science, politics, or commerce, mistakes are not so likely to occur; because suspicion will be excited, and the inquirer will be led to a stricter examination of the words, than if he had no idea that such a connexion had ever existed. No one who should find a number of Arabic terms in use amongst a people who had adopted the doctrines of Mohammed, would be induced to suppose that any original affinity existed between the Arabic language and that of the people in question; but let any one remark that the word *hora* in Sanscrit corresponds to the Greek ὥρη, and the Latin *hora*, and he

will have no hesitation in adding this word to his comparative vocabulary of these three languages, and think it an additional proof, to those which he already possesses, of their original affinity. The fact is, however, that the word *hora* in Sanscrit does not originally belong to that language, but is merely an astrological term borrowed from the Greeks, to whom the Indians, as Mr. Colebrooke[1] has clearly shown, were indebted for this branch of their astrology.

Similar instances, from these and other languages, might easily be added, if additional proofs were needed; but those already given will no doubt be sufficient to show that a mere comparison of words is extremely fallacious, and requires the greatest care before it can be admitted to be conclusive. The similarity of words, also, may be merely accidental; and in addition to this, it should be remembered that we possess but very inaccurate and imperfect vocabularies of many languages, without any means of determining the exact extension of the signification of many of the words, and the proper and original meaning of their most expressive terms.

It may, perhaps, be asked by the reader, whether the resemblance of words is then of no importance whatever? We are far from asserting this: but we contend that the resemblance, to be of any value, must be of another description than the mere resemblance of sound. It is the *roots* of a language which we ought to compare with those of another language; if the affinity exists in the roots, it must necessarily exist in the derivatives; and if the affinity of a root be once established, it at the same time implies the affinity of all terms derived from that root. By roots we do not mean verbal roots only, but such primitive words in a language as are deducible from no other source, and which are appellations for the most simple ideas or natural objects; as, for instance, the words for father, mother, and similar relatives, names for animals, when they bear no resemblance to their voice or shape; and further, such abstract words as are necessary for the very existence of a language, and not easily derived from roots expressive of animal beings or actions, as the pronouns, prepositions, original particles, and numbers.

Before the resemblance of words be admitted to be conclusive of original affinity, it is necessary to establish the genuineness of such words as really belong to the language in which they may be used, and their proper and original signification in such language. The genuineness of a word may be established by proving that it contains no sounds contrary to the genius of the peculiar tongue, that it is formed according to acknowledged rules of derivation, and that it is connected by derivatives to the whole body of the language of which it forms a part.

Important as the resemblance of words on such principles undoubtedly is, there is another part of language which in this point of view is still more important, and this is its grammatical structure. A nation may, by intercourse with another, adopt many foreign terms, and exclude part of its own language from use; the grammatical structure may in some degree be effaced, but it can never adopt the grammar of any foreign language without destroying its own idiom. The grammar of a language shows how the mass of its words should be joined together; in proportion

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[1] See Colebrooke's Indian Algebra—Introduction.

to the number and importance of the grammatical inflexions, the greater or smaller will be the capacity for boldness of expression. Richness of inflexions gives the power of diversifying speech, of placing the words at that part of a sentence where they are most impressive, and indicating by few words the nice and abstract relations, which a poorer language must express by circumlocution. In a comparison of languages, the grammatical structure will therefore not only be a safer guide to ascertain their affinity, but it will at the same time indicate the *degree* of affinity which each language bears to another of the same family. It is by the grammar only that we are enabled to distribute the different branches of each family into their various languages and dialects. We will state a few instances in illustration of this:—In the Persian, the mixture of Arabic words is so great, that almost half the language is of Arabic growth; and, by the mixture, the peculiar structure of the Persian is almost entirely effaced; but, the remaining grammatical structure is certainly different from the Arabic, and retains a very evident similarity to the other branches which belong to the same family as itself. The English language has at present but few of those inflexions which the old Saxon possessed, and which are peculiar to all Teutonic languages; the remaining inflexions, however, as for instance, the *s* of the genitive case, the persons of the verbs, and all the irregular verbs, strictly coincide with other Teutonic dialects.

We have before hinted that we consider an artificial grammatical structure as more ancient and original in a language than the simple mode of employing prepositions instead of the cases, and auxiliary verbs instead of the tenses. We are perfectly aware that most persons would think otherwise, and contend that a change from a simple to an artificial system appears more in the natural order of things. Be this as it may, the reverse is really the case with respect to the languages to which we allude, and which can only be denied by those who never compared two languages together, or never reflected on the history of languages at all.

The Sanscrit has no prepositions for the cases, and no auxiliaries in its verbs. All modern Indian dialects have recurred to this simple system. The modern Greek is much more simple than the ancient. The languages which are derived from the Latin have lost almost all the original inflections of the parent tongue. The Gothic is rich in inflections. The present German has very few. The same is the case with Icelandic, and the present languages of the North; and the Anglo-Saxonic is much more artificial than the present English. It would lead us at present too far from our subject to make any observations on this remarkable fact, which it is impossible to controvert. Whether the modern languages have lost or gained by this change is another question, into the discussion of which we shall not now enter.

We proceed, therefore, to give a rapid enumeration of those languages which constitute the different branches of the Sanscrit. The first class consists of those Indian languages, of which the Sanscrit is the parent. This class does not contain all the Indian dialects; as the dialects of the Dekhan, the Telinga, Carnata, Tamool, and Malabar, are of a different stock; a point which has been established beyond all doubt, by the late M. Ellis, of the Madras Civil Service. The rest are all derivatives from the Sanscrit. Besides those, the Pali, or the sacred language of all the nations that adhere to the tenets of Buddha, is a dialect of

the Sanscrit. The second class consists of the different Persian dialects, which, according to the enumeration of Ferhengi Jehangiri, were originally seven; but we have now only the remains of the Pehlevî, and modern Persian, which is derived from the ancient Parsî. As to the Zend, we may justly leave it out of this enumeration, because it is extremely doubtful whether it was at any time a spoken language of Persia; it was probably, indeed, only the language of the priesthood. The Greek is the third; and the languages of ancient Italy, of which only the Latin, and some fragments of the rude dialect of Umbria are left, make the fourth class. The languages derived from the Latin—the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Italian, and French, are naturally included under this head. The fifth class contains the widely-spread branch of Teutonic languages, which again are divided into two minor classes, the pure Teutonic, and the Scandinavian. The ancient Teutonic languages were principally the Gothic, the Franconic, the old Saxon, and the Anglo-Saxon; from which the respective modern dialects are derived. The old Scandinavian is preserved in its greatest purity in the present Icelandic, and the Danish and Swedish are derived from it. The sixth class consists of the Lettic dialects, of which only the idioms of Livonia and Lithuania are still existing; that branch of it which once prevailed over Prussia proper, has been entirely superseded by the German. The seventh is formed by the numerous Sclavonic languages, which are divided into an Eastern branch, of which the old Sclavonic and Russian are the principal; and a Western branch, amongst which the Polish and the Bohemian are the most remarkable. To these may be added some other ruder dialects of different mountaineers, in the Caucasian mountains, and on the frontiers of Persia, viz. the languages of Afghanistan, Beloochistan, Kurdistan, and of the Ossetians in the Caucasus. We are, however, not yet in complete possession of the means of determining their affinity, with any degree of certainty. The Armenian, which was probably connected with the ancient and extinguished languages of Asia Minor, has certainly some affinity to this large family; but its harsh and corrupted pronunciation makes the comparison very difficult. The whole of this family extends, consequently, from the Ganges to the shores of the Atlantic, and forms one single chain, which in some tracts only is interrupted by an invasion of tribes of a different family; and when we consider, that two derivative languages of this stock, the English and Spanish, have occupied almost the whole of the new world, we cannot but admire this extensive ramification of two single languages, which once were each probably only minor dialects of the same original tongue.

After this enumeration, it will be well to point out the most striking affinities which the Sanscrit bears to some of the other languages of this family. In doing this, we shall chiefly select our examples from the Greek and Latin, these languages being more generally understood: and we shall occasionally make some comparisons also with the ancient Teutonic dialects. To include a greater number of languages in our present article would only excite confusion, without strengthening our inferences; and as to a comprehensive consideration of the matter throughout all its philological subleties, and in all its bearings, such an undertaking would form a volume of no small size, and require the industry of years to accomplish; this, therefore, is equally beyond our province.

In a merely philological work, it would be necessary to begin the ana-

lysis by comparing the number of peculiar sounds in each language, and fixing the number of letters which in one idiom correspond to those of another. In our present sketch, however, this would lead us into too minute as well as innumerable details; we shall, therefore, content ourselves with one instance only. The Sanscrit language possesses five labial letters, the *p*, *ph*, *b*, and *m*, to which an aspirate *bh* succeeds. The Greek and Latin have only the four first, viz. π, φ, β, μ; *p*, *f*, *b*, *m*. By a comparison of similar words, it appears that the Sanscrit *bh* corresponds to the *f* of the Latin, and the φ of the Greek. The instances are these: *bharati*, φέρει, *fert*, he bears; *bhás*, φῶς, light; *bhintê*, *findit*, he breaks, he divides; *bhaírava*, *ferax*; *bhú*, *fuo*, φύω, &c. This method of establishing the correspondence of sounds must be applied to the whole phonetic system of each language; and it is only by those means that we can obtain an accurate comparative etymology. It is the more necessary to pursue this long and laborious operation, as it is undeniable that etymology has hitherto been, as Voltaire says, a science, in which the consonants are of *small* importance, and the vowels of *none whatever*. Many etymologists, indeed, have derived words in such way, as to have given rise to the following epigram:

> *Alfana* vient d'*equus*, sans doute;
> Mais il faut avouer aussi,
> Que pour arriver jusqu' ici,
> Il a bien changé sur la route.

With respect to the nouns, the Sanscrit possesses three numbers, the singular, dual, and plural; and besides the six cases, which are to be found in the Latin, two additional ones; one to express locality (as *ayôdhyáyám vasati*, he lives in Ayôdhyâ); and one which expresses the instrument, by which a thing is done (as *asiná hanti*, he kills with the sword). It would be an interesting investigation to inquire whether the Greek and Latin ever possessed cases of a similar import; we shall here merely hint, that we consider the Homeric terminations in φι, and φιν, as remains of an instrumental case in Greek: as in this example. (Od. VI. 6.)

Βίηφι δὲ φέρτεροι ἦσαν.

Now, here, βίηφι is used in a construction, which exactly corresponds with the Sanscrit instrumental, which generally ends in *bhih*; and we have already shown, that the *bh* of Sanscrit, and φ of the Greek, are corresponding letters. We may further remark, that amongst the Sclavonic dialects, the Russian possesses exactly the same eight cases as the Sanscrit; and in the most ancient German, there is an instrumental case in the singular. As to the numbers, the Greek, as is well known, has a dual; and in Latin the two words *duo* and *ambo* seem to have preserved the traces of a dual number also; the corresponding Sanscrit words are *dváu* and *ubháu*.

The terminations of nouns in those languages also resemble each other; the Sanscrit is in this point, as in most others, the richest. The Sanscrit nouns in *as* (masc.) *á* (fem.) *am* (neut.) are the same as the Greek in ος, α, or η, ον, and the Latin *us*, *a*, *um*. The nouns in *i*, correspond with the Greek in ις, as in πολις; and the Latin in *is*, as *ensis*; and those in *u*, to the Greek in υς, and Latin in *us*. The Sanscrit in *aú*, is exactly the Greek in αυ (as ναῦς, Sanscrit nom. sing. *naúh*, or *naús*). The Latin is

here different in the nominative (*navis*), but the accusative is evidently the same as in Sanscrit (Lat. *navem*, Sans. *návam*). The Sanscrit in *aî*, corresponds with the Latin in *ē*, as *raí*, nom. *ráh*, Lat. *res*. Lastly, the Sanscrit has a great number of nouns, which terminate in consonants, to which the Greek and Latin of the third declension may be compared, in which the consonant that precedes the inflexions, radically belongs to the word, as in φλὸξ, gen. φλογὸς, or in *flos*, *floris*.

In order to avoid further tedious details, we shall give some examples from words, which are the same in all those languages; as, for instance, *mátá*, μήτηρ, *mater*.

		Sanscrit.	Greek.	Latin.
Sing.	N.	mâtâ	μήτηρ	mater
	G.	mâtuh	μητρός	matris
	D.	mâtrê	μητρί	matri
	Ac.	mâtaram	μητέρα	matrem
Plur.	N.	mâtarah	μητέρες	matres
	G.	mâtrâm	μητέρων	matrum
	D.	mâtribhyah	μητράσι	matribus
	Ac.	mâtrîh	μητέρας	matres

In Latin, the accusative of the plural in the third declension is the same as the nominative. This is exactly the case in the corresponding class of Sanscrit nouns also. Further, the neuter gender in Greek and Latin makes the nominative, accusative, and vocative, alike in all nouns. This is also the case in Sanscrit.

Another example is the following:

		Sanscrit.	Latin.	Sanscrit.	Greek.
Sing.	N.	karma	carmen	jaras	γέρας
	G.	karmanas	carminis	jarasas	γέραος
	D.	karmane	carmini	jarasê	γέραϊ
	Ac.	karma	carmen	jaras	γέρας
Plur.	N.	karmâni	carmina	jarânsi	γέραα
	G.	karmanâm	carminum	jarasâm	γεράων
	D.	karmabhyah	carminibus	jarôbhyah	γέρασι
	Ac.	karmâni	carmina	jarâñsi	γέραα

As a specimen of the coincidence between the Sanscrit and the Teutonic dialects, we shall give one example only; but one in which the word is exactly the same.

		Sanscrit.	Gothic.	Anglos.	Icelandic.
Sing.	N.	sûnus	sunus	sunu	sun
	G.	sûnôh	sunâus	suna	sonar
	D.	sûnavê	sunâu	sunu	syni
	Ac.	sûnum	sunu	sunu	sonur
Plur.	N.	sûnavah	sunjus	suna	synis
	G.	sûnûnâm	sunivê	sunena	sonu
	D.	sûnubhyah	sunum	sunum	sonum
	Ac.	sûnûn	sununs	suna	sonu

As a specimen of the affinity of the Sanscrit to the Lettic, we subjoin the same word, in those two languages:

		Sanscrit.	Lettic.		Sanscrit.	Lettic.
Sing.	N.	sûnus	sunus	Pl.	sûnavah	sunus
	G.	sûnôh	sunaus		sûnûnâm	sunû
	Dat.	sûnavê	sunui		sunubhyah	sunums
	Ac.	sûnum	sunu		sûnûn	sunûs
	Instrum.	sûnunâ	sunumi		sûnubhih	sunumis
	Locat.	sûnaû	sunuje		sûnushu	sunûse
	Vocat.	sûnô	sunu		sûnavah	sunus

It may perhaps be objected to the examples here adduced, that the terminations are not exactly the same. The answer to this is, that a perfect coincidence in sound would prove *more* than it ought to do; it would prove the *identity*, not the *affinity* of idioms. The affinity is proved, as soon as we can show, that the interchange of sounds is the same in all analogous cases, and that the principles, on which the grammatical structure is founded, are also the same.

The adjectives being declined after the same forms as the nouns, it will be sufficient merely to advert to two peculiarities; to the formation of genders, and of the degrees of comparison. The resemblance is here again very striking; the masculines in *as*, make their feminines in *á*, their neuters in *am*, as the Greek in ος, fem. α or η, neut. ον, the Latin, *us*, *a*, *um*; those in *us*, have the fem. in *vî*, neut. in *u*, as the Greek in υς, εια, υ; those in *is*, make *is*, *is*, *i*; in Greek, ις, ις, ι; and *is*, *is*, *e*, in Latin: at the same time there are adjectives, which make all the genders alike, just as in Greek and Latin.

The form of the comparative is *tara;* the superlative, *tama;* to which the Greek τερος, and τατος, evidently correspond; besides, some adjectives in Sanscrit are irregular, and make the comparative in *íyas*, the superlative in *ishtha*, which again coincide with the Greek ιων, and ιστος. It is curious, that in Latin, the irregular superlatives in *imus*, as *ultimus*, agree with those which are regular in Greek and Sanscrit: while the regular formation of the degrees in Latin more exactly approaches to those forms which are irregular in the two other tongues.

The pronouns are irregular in all languages; when, therefore, there is any coincidence in these irregularities between different tongues, the affinity is proved on stronger grounds, than where it is of a more general nature. We shall first remark, as a striking coincidence, the following: Some pronouns, and other adjectives of a similar importance, make their neuter gender in Sanscrit terminate in *d*, not in *am*, after the general rule; as, for instance, *tad*, that; *anyad*, other. This is exactly the same, as when the Latin make the corresponding words end in this gender in *d*, and the Greek in ο; as *aliud*, ἄλλο. The affinity of the personal pronouns appears clearly from the following table:

N.	*aham*, I.	*tvam̃*, thou.
G.	*mama*, or *mé*	*tava*, or *té*
D.	*mahyam*, or *mé*	*tubhyam*, or *té*
Ac.	*mám*, or *má*	*tuám̃*, or *tvá*.

The plural of the pronoun of the first person in Latin, *nos*, agrees with the Sanscrit *nas;* and of the second person *vos*, to the Sanscrit *vas*. The Greek is here more distant; νωι, however, is evidently to be compared with the Indian dual *náu*.

The coincidence of these three languages in the conjugation of verbs is perhaps still more striking, and of greater importance, as the verbal inflexion may be considered the principal part of grammar.

But as Mr. Bopp has dwelt on the comparison of the verbal inflexion, in a very able paper, which appeared a few years ago, in the first Number of the Oriental Annals, we refer the reader to the information which he will find there on this subject.

The following are instances of identical words in the three languages before named: it would be easy to give a much more numerous list; but these will, perhaps, be sufficient for the present.

Sanscrit.	Greek.	Latin.
asis	———	ensis
anya	ἄλλος	alius
antara	———	inter
arishtha	ἄριστος	———
iti	———	ita
itara	———	iterum
idam	———	idem
uda	ὕδωρ	
dâru	δρῦς	
vîra	———	vir
yuvan	———	juvenis
yuga	ζύγον	jugum
unda (moisten)	———	unda
hrid	καρδία	cor, cordis
axi	ὄσσε	oculus
nâsâ	———	nasus
pad	ποῦς, ποδός	pes, pedis
nara	ἀνηρ	———
nava	νέος	novus
dêva	θέος	deus
varman	———	arma
varya	———	varius
svâdu (sweet)	ἡδύς	———
vala	———	valor, valeo.

It is remarkable how nearly the names for parents and relations resemble each other, as will be seen in the following instances:

Sans.	Gr.	Lat.	Sans.	Gr.	Lat.
pitâ	πάτηρ	pater	dêvâ	δαηρ	(levir)
mâtâ	μήτηρ	mater	bhrâtâ	(φρατρία)	frater
naptâ	———	nepos	svasâ	———	soror
svasura	ἕκυρος	———			

The numbers are almost exactly the same in each of the three languages;

êka	εἷς	unus	shash	ἕξ	sex
dvi	δύω	duo	sapta	ἑπτα	septem
tri	τρεῖς	tres	ashta	ὀκτω	octo
chatur	τεσσαρες	quatuor	nava	ἐννέα	novem
pancha	πεντε	quinque	dasa	δέκα	decem, &c.

A peculiarity in the Latin, in forming the numbers next before any *tens*, as, for instance, 19, is exactly corresponding to the Sanscrit *ûnavinsati*.

The most remarkable coincidences of all, are, perhaps, to be found in the verbs; as for instance.

dadâmi	δίδωμι	do	astî	ἐστί	est, &c.
dadhâmi	τίθημι	———	tupâmi	τύπτω	———
tishthâmi	ἵστημι	sto	labhâmi	λαμβάνω	———
asmi	εἰμί	sum	lambê	———	labor
asi	ἐσσί	es	vahâmi	———	veho, &c.

The prepositions are the same in all the three languages:

apa	ἀπό	ab	pari	περί	———
abhi	ἐπί	———	prati	πρός, (προτί)	———
â	———	ad	pra	πρό	pro
antar	———	inter	parâ	———	præ
upa	ὑπό	sub	ni	ἐν	in
upari	ὑπερ	super	sam	συν	cum
anu	ἄνα	———			

In our anxiety to make our illustrations satisfactory and complete, we fear we have already trespassed on the patience of the general reader; though there are many to whom these philological details will, we know, be acceptable. We pass, however, now, to more general matter.

It is only by a general comparison of all those languages, which we have enumerated as bearing an affinity to the Sanscrit, that the nature and different degrees of this affinity can be placed in its real light. We have only given a few instances of the similarity between them, but we have no hesitation in saying that if this mode of comparison were carried to its full extent, it must be acknowledged by all, that these languages are dialects of one original tongue. We do not agree with those who endeavour to derive either Sanscrit from Greek, or Greek from Sanscrit, because the Sanscrit has peculiarities which are not in the Greek, nor can be deduced from the structure of the Greek language, and *vice versâ*. It would therefore be more correct to consider them all as derivatives of one original tongue which is lost, and the very existence of which is only known to us from the branches it has left. The Sanscrit comes perhaps nearest to this great original; and next to the Sanscrit, undoubtedly the Greek.

It may be asked, whether this original language possessed any affinity to other families, to which we have alluded, particularly to that which has been called the Semmetic, and of which the Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac are dialects. This is a question of the highest interest and importance to a true knowledge of the history of mankind; but, at the same time it is one of which it is extremely difficult to afford any solution which would be satisfactory to all parties. It is in fact the question, whether all languages can be deduced from one parent stock, or whether it is necessary to admit of more than one original language at the beginning of things. In a merely philological point of view, we confess that we are inclined to the latter opinion; because we do not conceive how it would be possible to derive all languages from one primeval tongue. It must be confessed at least, that we do not possess the means of tracing them all back to one common source. Any one may make the trial for himself; but we will venture to say, that if he does not begin the investigation with the fixed determination of *finding* a resemblance between all languages, he will undoubtedly arrive at the conclusion expressed above. That *certain* points of resemblance *can* be traced between all tongues, cannot be denied; but they are mostly such as arise out of the general laws of the human mind, and do not amount to much more than sufficient to prove that all languages possess nouns, verbs, and particles; declensions and conjugations: even cases and tenses are not necessary to the existence of a language, though they are always expressed in each by some contrivance or another. The general resemblances, therefore, cannot prove any affinity, any more than the fact of all men having five senses, would prove that all nations belonged to the same race.

The comparison of languages, which at present begins to be carried on with much more zeal and judgment than at any former period, and in aid of which examination we are every day receiving additional facilities, has given birth to a new philological science, which may be called *Comparative Grammar.*

Comparative Grammar is the connecting link between the special grammar of any language, and the philosophical grammar, which teaches

the principles common to all languages, without regard to any individual idiom. The object of Comparative Grammar must first be, to classify all languages under their respective heads of dialects, languages, and families of languages; to show the degree of affinity between the different branches of the same family; to determine which branches are to be considered as original, and which as derivative; to account for their peculiarities, and to point out the general grammatical character of each family. It must then proceed to a comparison of the different families, to see whether there be any real historical affinity; or, merely a general and necessary resemblance. Comparative Grammar will furnish ample materials for the reflection of the philosophical grammarian; and will make the study of languages much easier, because it will teach the principles on which any peculiar class of languages is formed. To a person who knows the general principles on which the Arabic tongue is founded, it is extremely easy to acquire all the dialects which are connected with that language: and so it will be equally with all others.

Comparative Grammar is a science of the greatest value in pursuing investigations into the history of the ancient world, as it affords the means of classifying the different nations under their respective families, and of giving the most important information as to their various migrations.

By the affinity of the ancient languages of Europe to the Sanscrit and Persian, it is established, as an historical fact, that these people were originally inhabitants of Asia, and at some very remote period migrated from their original abodes to the countries where we find them at the dawn of history. As to the course which they took, or the place which was the original habitation of all those tribes, Comparative Grammar can of course give no information; and this is a question which we shall perhaps never be able satisfactorily to answer. We may safely assert, however, that this place is to be sought in some part of Interior Asia; but in what exact part, it is not so easy to determine. As to India, we think that nothing can be more erroneous than the idea that the earliest tribes of men originated there. We have even strong reasons indeed for believing that the Brahmins themselves migrated into India from a more northerly country, to which they originally belonged. It would be foreign to the object of this article to state any of those reasons here; we may perhaps at some future time, however, have an opportunity of treating this interesting and extended subject in the manner which it deserves.[1]

A Comparative Grammar of all the languages derived from the Sanscrit, is a work that would throw considerable light on Oriental literature and history, and be a valuable acquisition to literature in general. It is to be regretted that none of those gentlemen engaged in the Company's service in India, who are acquainted with the Sanscrit, and who have the best opportunity of studying the vernacular dialects of the country, have ever undertaken this laborious but useful and interesting task. The East India Company has already published several expensive works on Oriental literature, which are executed in such a manner as to be not at all worth the expense bestowed on them; but the Directors have held out

[1] An affinity of language implies always a certain affinity of religious and mythological ideas; and this affinity certainly does exist between the ancient nations of Asia and Europe, a circumstance which alone would give a great extension to the investigation of this subject, if pursued in all its ramifications.

no inducement for a great and perfect work of this kind, the advantages of which must be apparent to all who will take the pains to reflect on the subject. Although we can hardly expect the Directors to be themselves acquainted with the merits of any work that might be produced on Comparative Grammar; yet we may venture, perhaps, to hope that the hint here thrown out will be not altogether lost on them. They have only to offer a liberal reward, and we have no doubt the volume would be soon produced. It is for them to determine whether such an application of their funds would not be as honourable to themselves as it would be beneficial to the interests of knowledge.

In a succeeding Number, we shall endeavour to present our readers with a general view of Sanscrit literature, embracing the principal topics of interest which its investigation presents.

STANZAS.

Rosa! I will not ask thee now
A pardon for my simple lays;
For well I feel thine heart will glow
To hear my voice of love and praise.
Though all on earth to thee I owe,
And higher meed thy virtues claim;
Yet must the numbers sweetly flow,
That breathe and bless thy name.

And think not he, whose faithful heart
Dictates the rude but honest strain,
Could ever feel one moment's smart
From the world's coldness or disdain.
Enough, if thou approve the lay,
And own that grateful love is mine;
Though haply it may ill repay
A tenderness like thine!

But not alone the Muse's care—
For thee the fervent heart shall glow,
Still prompt and proud thy fate to share
Through every change of weal or woe.
Oh! heed not then the false world's smile,
Thine is one fond and steadfast friend,
Who from its insult and its guile
Will guide thee and defend!

D. L. R.

THE EVILS OF AN UNPAID MAGISTRACY: AND THE BENEFITS OF PUBLICITY.

So much has of late been written and said on the subject of Unpaid Magistrates, in the way of comments on the acts of particular individuals, that we deem no apology necessary for laying before our readers the following inquiry into the merits of the system itself. The branch of this inquiry, which is confined to the subject of an Unpaid Magistracy, consists of two parts; first, to ascertain whether in any case an unpaid magistracy would be desirable; and, secondly, whether the unpaid magistracy of England, in particular, is a useful and effective institution.

And, first, as to an Unpaid Magistracy in general. To render our conclusions at all satisfactory, it will be necessary that the object or end, in establishing any such institution, should be constantly kept in view. The only legitimate object of any such institution, is the giving due execution and effect to the laws of the land. Supposing these laws to be good, the more numerous the facilities afforded for obtaining their protection the better; and this cannot be attained without having a considerable number of individuals, dispersed through the country, whose duty it will be duly to administer those laws, and ready to administer them at all times, either personally, or, in some cases, by a responsible deputy: otherwise, were they to act only when they pleased, it would be in their power, in most cases, to commit great injustice by their mere refusal to act. For as injustice may at any time have place, so ought the remedy at all times to be at hand.

Some of our country gentlemen will be apt to exclaim, "What! are we to have no respite, no recreation, constantly liable to be called upon to settle any paltry squabble which it may please any low ignorant fellows to bring before us?"—Respite? Yes; so far as is necessary for health: provided a deputy is substituted in the place of all such absent magistrates, liable to the same regulations as their principal. As to the rest, all we have to say is, that our object is not to inquire what would, and what would not, be most likely to *please* magistrates; but, on the contrary, our object is to show that the public interest demands that certain things should be done; namely, that the laws should be duly administered, and that to this end certain functionaries should be appointed to administer them. Now, as it would seem that squabbles, whether paltry or not, are seldom likely to arise from a desire to plague magistrates, but generally from a desire to injure some one or other of the parties concerned in them; and as moreover these squabbles, *alias* acts of injustice, do not happen at stated periods, it seems to us that there is no reason why the course of public justice should be stopped, merely to suit the convenience of the magistrates, who are the servants of the public, and are appointed for the express purpose of preventing and putting an end to injustice.

As the due exercise of the functions of a magistrate, like that of any other *non-sinecure* function, requires appropriate aptitude, no individual should be appointed to that office, without having undergone an examination, by which he has proved and shown himself to have possessed that nowledge.

These magistrates must necessarily possess great power. But as magistrates are but men, and as all men possessing power will most probably, and generally do, abuse that power whenever it is their interest so to do, unless restrained by some efficient check, so will magistrates.

We shall therefore endeavour to show what will constitute an efficient check. The most obvious check that presents itself is responsibility: by making the magistrate responsible for all his acts to some assignable individual, say the functionary who appointed him, and to the Legislature, by either of whom he might at any time be displaced. This would certainly be a check as far as it went; but it would be almost nugatory, unless conjoined with another check, namely, publicity; and when so conjoined, we think the check would be rendered efficient.

The grand object for which it is desirable that justice should be administered is, that the people may *know* that it is administered: and in proportion to the extent of this knowledge will be the feeling of security on the part of the public. That the public may know that justice is administered, it is absolutely necessary that the public should have access to the room in which it is alleged that it is administered. By this means too, the check to the power of the magistrate is rendered complete; for the force of the popular or moral sanction is such, that it would restrain a magistrate from doing many an unjust act, which he might otherwise be tempted to commit, notwithstanding his liability to be called to account for it. The punishment inflicted by the moral sanction for any abuse of his power, would be certain and immediate, and would of course lead to ulterior punishment at the hands of his superior: whereas, were the public excluded, any such abuse might never reach the ears of the Minister or the Legislature, and consequently no punishment whatever be inflicted: in any case the punishment could not but be remote and uncertain.

The desirable end to be obtained, however, is, that the greatest *possible* portion of the public should know what is going on in the Courts of Justice; but as a very small portion indeed of the public can at any one time be present in any such courts, it remains to be seen whether any *other* means can be found to promote that end: and undoubtedly no better means can be devised than that of permitting reports of the proceedings before these magistrates to be published in the public journals: no other organ could possibly convey in so efficient a manner the desired information as these spontaneous reports, in which a spirit of competition will ensure to the public the fullest and best accounts that can be given of what takes place.

Under a plan such as the above, where the magistrate would possess the appropriate aptitude, would be responsible for any negligence in the exercise of his functions, or for any abuse in the exercise of them, all his proceedings being public,—under such a plan as this, it is evident that in so far as regards the administration of justice, it will not matter whether these functionaries are content to serve without a salary or not. As a matter of economy, it would undoubtedly be desirable that they should serve *gratis*. It is not probable, however, that under such restrictions, men in sufficient numbers would be found willing to serve without a salary, and in this case the most economical plan would be that recom-

mended by the venerable Bentham,[1] namely, that a *patriotic auction* should be held, at which the candidate for election should declare what he is willing to give, if any thing, to the common fund of the territory, in the event of his being elected to the office; each candidate being allowed to bid against every other, as at a common auction. The only difference we should propose would be this, namely, that out of a number of candidates equally well qualified, he who bid the highest should be chosen, which cannot be the case in the other plan, as the election is to be made by a number of electors—in this plan by a single individual.

We now come to the second part of our inquiry, namely, whether the Unpaid Magistracy of this country is an institution adapted for the due administration of the laws.

Our unpaid magistracy has sprung originally from an institution of rather a democratic nature, which, like so many others, has been wrested out of the hands of the people by the Crown. They were formerly called "Conservators of the Peace," and were elected by the freeholders in each county, except some who became such in virtue of their office. In the reign of Edward III., however, we find they were appointed by the King's Commission, for by 1 Ed. 3. st. 2. c. 16. it is said that, "For the better keeping and maintenance of the peace, the king will, that in every county good men and lawful, &c. shall be assigned to keep the peace": and by 18 Ed. 3. c. 2. "Two or three of the best of reputation, &c. shall be assigned, &c. by the king's commission."

But it was not until the statute 34 E. 3. c. 1. that this body became of much importance, for by it they were empowered to hear and determine felonies and trespasses. This statute provided, that in every county one lord, and three or four of the most worthy, with some learned in the law, should act as justices of the peace, for so they were styled after the passing of this act: the body afterwards increased to such a degree, that their numbers were limited to six; and then increased to eight, for each county, by 12 R. 2. c. 10, and 14 R. 2. c. 11. It need hardly be stated, that at present these statutes are not acted upon, as the number of justices amount in many instances to eight times the number laid down by them as the maximum. Besides the eight, provided for specially by the statute, all dukes, earls, barons, and bannerets, could act as justices of the peace. These latter, however, were not obliged to reside in the county, which it was provided by 2 H. 5. s. 1. c. 4. the former should do.

The following from the statute of 18 H. 6. c. 11. is so striking a picture of the effects of placing power in the hands of ignorant and irresponsible men, that we cannot help quoting it:

> Now of late in many counties of England, the greatest number have been deputed and assigned, which before this were not wont to be, whereof some be of small behaviour, by whom the people will not be governed nor ruled, and some for their necessity do great extortion and oppression upon the people, whereof great inconveniences be likely to rise daily, if the King, &c. thereof do not provide a remedy.

A remedy was, however, provided: it was this, that no one could be

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[1] We allude to that profound writer's admirable work, intituled Draught of a New Plan for the Organization of the Judicial Establishment in France, &c.—See Tit. iii. Sect. ii. p. 6.

a justice who was not possessed of lands of the yearly value of 20*l.*, and this sum, by 5 Geo. 2. c. 11. is altered to 100*l.*, which amounts to nearly the same value as 20*l.* of Henry the Sixth's time.

After searching all the statutes[2] which have any relation to the subject, it will be found that there is not any the slightest provision made for ascertaining whether or no any individual before he is appointed as a justice, possesses the appropriate knowledge for the exercise of the functions of his office; we merely find vague terms made use of, such as "*good*" men, "*most worthy*" men. Now we apprehend, men may be good and worthy, without knowing any thing more of the duties of a justice of the peace than the man in the moon: and what sort of men these were who were appointed for their worthiness in the reign of Henry the Sixth, we may form some conception of, by the emphatic language used by Parliament, namely, that, so bad were they, that "the people will not be governed nor ruled by them."

The only qualification *now* required, besides their being "worthy" men is, not that they should understand the duties of their office, and be responsible for any abuse of their power, but that they should have a certain yearly income! It would be equally puzzling to find out how this, any more than the possession of worthiness, could instil into an individual the knowledge requisite to the due performance of certain functions: but so it has been settled by act of parliament,—and what is it that an act of parliament cannot do?

As to their responsibility, they are appointed under the direction of the King, by the Lord Chancellor, and under him again by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and their office subsists during the King's pleasure. Of course the Chancellor is not responsible to any body for having placed an unfit individual in the commission; in fact, as we stated at the beginning of this inquiry, it would be necessary to have a functionary whose principal duty (owing to the number of magistrates requisite in such a populous country,) should consist in examining and appointing individuals desirous of serving as justices. But as we do not doubt the system is found to 'work well;' of course, it matters not whether efficient or inefficient individuals get into the commission.

For a view of the remedy provided, in case any of these "worthy men" should ever happen, by any possibility, to abuse their power, we must call the attention of our readers to the following, from Judge Blackstone:[3]

> And as to the powers given to one, two, or more justices by these several statutes, that from time to time have heaped upon them such an infinite variety of business, that few care to undertake, and fewer understand the office; they are such and of so great importance to the public, that the country is greatly obliged to any worthy magistrate, that without sinister views of his own, will engage in this troublesome service. And therefore, if a well-meaning justice makes any undesigned slip in his practice, great lenity and indulgence is shown to him in the courts of law: and there are many statutes made to protect him in the upright

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[2] Namely, 1 Ed. 3. c. 16: 4 Ed. 3. c. 2: 18 Ed. 3. St. 2. c. 2: 34 Ed. 3. c. 1: 12 Rich. 2. c. 10: 13 Rich. 2. St. 1. c. 7: 2 H. 5. St. 1. c. 4: 18 H. 6. c. 11; and 1 Ed. 4. c. 2: 1 R. 3. c. 3: 3. H. 7. c. 1: 4 H. 7. c. 12: 1 M. St. 2. c. 8: 1 & 2 P. & M. c. 13: 2 & 3 P. & M. c. 10: 7 Jac. 1. c. 5: 21 Jac. 1. c. 12: 6 Geo. 1. c. 21. sec. 10: 9 Geo. 1. c. 7: 5 Geo. 2. c. 18 & 19: 15 Geo. 2. c. 24: 16 Geo. 2. c. 18: 18 Geo. 2. c. 26. sec. 11: 24 Geo. 2. c. 44 & 55: 26 Geo. 2. c. 14 & 27: 27 Geo. 2. c. 16 & 20: 30 Geo. 2. c. 24: 1 Geo. 3. c. 13; and 7 Geo. 3. c. 21.

[3] Commentaries on the Laws of England, &c. 1st ed. vol. i. p. 342.

discharge of his office; which, among other privileges, prohibit such justices from being sued for any oversight without notice beforehand; and stop all suits begun, on tender made of sufficient amends. But on the other hand, any malicious or tyrannical abuse of their office is sure to be severely punished; and all persons who recover a verdict against a justice for any wilful or malicious injury, are entitled to double costs.

By this it appears, that few *care* to understand the business of a justice of the peace: and what is the reason of this? is it not because they are not required to understand it? The interest of the public demands that they *should* understand it; and therefore, if unpaid magistrates will not undertake to understand it, paid magistrates should be appointed who did understand it. As to redress in case of injustice on the part of any of these magistrates, it is almost perfectly nugatory; for to the great majority of the people, the carrying on a suit against a justice would be impossible, from the enormous expense attendant upon it: and then who is to distinguish between "*slips*" or "*oversights*," and "*malicious*" or "*tyrannical*" abuses of power, more especially when he knows that "great lenity and indulgence" is shown to them in the courts of law? And even with respect to those who can afford it, it would be a very difficult matter to get redress; for it is no easy matter in such cases to prove that "wilful or malicious injury" is not part and parcel of the "upright discharge of his office."

There is, however, another mode of redress in certain cases, which is by appeal to the Quarter Sessions, *i. e.* to the justice himself who is appealed from, assisted by his brother magistrates of the same county: and of course it would be nothing less than evidence of insanity, to suppose that such "*worthy*" men could do so unworthy a thing as that of ever being biassed in their judgment, by any sort of sympathy towards any fellow-labourer in so "*troublesome a service.*"

No provision whatever is there, requiring that the proceedings of the unpaid magistrates should be in public: they may and do hear and decide cases in their closets, in their kitchens, or wherever else they please. Is this a likely way to ensure the due administration of the laws? On the contrary, if the end in view had been the contriving a system for their *undue* administration, could any better plan have been hit upon? Irresponsible power is placed in the hands of individuals whose interest it will oftentimes be to abuse that power; and for fear the eye of the public might deter them from so doing, they are allowed to act in the dark. Under such a system, is it to be wondered at that we continually hear of acts of the grossest *oppression* on the part of these magistrates? No: the wonder is, that any body should expect, under such a system, different results.

But latterly, publicity more or less has had place, more especially in our police offices;[4] and reports of the proceedings have accordingly appeared in the newspapers, and have been attended with the most beneficial effects, not only acting as a check upon the magistrate, but also in furthering the ends of justice, by contributing to the prevention and detection of crime in various ways. In short, the many good effects resulting from these reports seemed to be universally acknowledged, when, lo! it was thundered from the bench, that these reports were not only illegal but mis-

[4] The magistrates attached to these offices receive a stated salary.

chievous.[5] This is not the first time that they have been anathematized: on the contrary, it is merely a revival of a warfare which always has existed, more or less openly, on the part of the Judges, against publicity.

We shall examine the arguments brought forward to show that these reports have a mischievous tendency; because, if they are just, as far as regards police offices, they will be just, as regards the offices of the unpaid magistrates, or of any judge, whatever may be his denomination.

Mr. Justice Bayley is the champion on this occasion. None of the other Judges are reported to have urged any thing. Mr. Justice Bayley is reported to have said, on this subject, as follows:—

> I am of opinion that to publish *ex-parte* depositions against a man before he is put on his trial, is highly criminal, because it has a tendency to prevent his having a fair trial afterwards. . . . . Do you think it no personal injury to a man to be down upon his trial with a prejudice against him? . . . . . . The question is, whether, by law, a police office ought, or ought not, to be open to the public. . . . . There is a very material distinction between a court of justice and a police office.

As the learned Judge has vouchsafed to give his reasons for his *opinion*, we shall take the liberty of examining whether those reasons are valid or not. And first, as to the alleged tendency which these reports have to prevent a fair trial, by creating a prejudice against the individual to be tried. This, we think is nothing but a vulgar error; were it true, it would go to prove that all trials are unfair, a doctrine which we suppose the learned Judge would hardly be prepared to maintain. For, as it is certain that judges and juries can only hear one statement at a time; and as they must necessarily hear first the statement *against* the individual to be tried, it follows, if the reasoning of the learned Judge be correct, that because they have heard an *ex-parte* statement first, therefore they will be prejudiced against him. Now all that the newspapers do in giving these reports, is to give that statement which is always made to the jury, by the counsel for the prosecution. So that if they prejudice the jury, so does the speech of the counsel; this statement, however, is either proved or disproved by evidence: but, because the jury has heard an *ex-parte* statement first, will they believe it, when it is disproved by evidence?

This prevalent notion of a prejudice against a prisoner, arises no doubt from that ridiculous maxim of law which we now and then hear even the Judges boasting of; namely, that the law supposes every man innocent until found guilty. Why then are offenders apprehended? their apprehension must of itself be a piece of injustice, on the supposition of their innocence. According to English law, a magistrate may commit a man to prison, where he may lie for three months before he is tried; and yet that man may be declared innocent, as is frequently the case, by the verdict of a jury. Is this *supposing* a man innocent until found guilty, by locking him up in prison for three months?—He is, on the contrary, first taken up because he is believed to be guilty, and is kept in close custody until his supposed guilt is either confirmed, or his innocence established, by the result of the trial that follows.

The learned Judge then shifts his ground, and setting aside the merits of the case, says, the real question is, whether *by law* these Police Offices should be open. Here of course we cannot cope with his

[5] We allude to the case of Duncan *v.* Thwaites.

Lordship, as it depends entirely upon his will, and that of his colleagues, to make any thing law which they please.

The next objection is, that a Police Office is not a Court of Justice. Now this has nothing to do with the question; the question is, whether Police Reports produce a greater portion of good or evil. But in fact it is a mere quibble. The Judges in the one Court do not possess so much power as the Judges in the other, and have not the same rank. The only "material distinction" is, that the room in which the Magistrate decides cases is not so large as the room in which the Judge presides.

Upon the whole, then, it would appear, that any thing which could be in the least calculated to provide an efficient check to the power of the unpaid magistrates, has been most carefully avoided. And the reason of this is plain. Those country gentlemen, and others, who now officiate, officiate in most instances in order to fill up their time, to prevent *ennui*: so that those who now act for the sake of amusing themselves for a few hours in the day, by convicting poor wretches under the Game Laws, would not be disposed to act under such restrictions as we have pointed out, and such as it is absolutely necessary for the ends of good judicature should be imposed on them; although, if these restrictions were imposed, the Crown would lose its influence over that class of individuals, which by the non-imposition of any such restrictions it at present possesses.

It is not our intention to give instances of abuse of power on the part of these magistrates, (indeed, this would be an endless task,) because we have been arguing on general principles, by which we think it has been proved, that the efficiency of a magistracy depends upon three essential points: viz.—I. Their appropriate aptitude—II. Their responsibility, and—III. The publicity of the proceedings.

Not one of these points has been provided for in constituting the magistracy of this country: consequently, such a magistracy can be no otherwise than inefficient.

When, however, any complaint is made against any of these magistrates, the ready reply is, "O! but they are *unpaid*: think of the obligations under which the country lies to them for their disinterested exertions. If you find fault with them in this way, how can you expect that gentlemen will trouble themselves about keeping the peace of the country; that they should devote so much of their valuable time to public purposes?"

It is true they are not paid a stated salary; but it is not the most difficult thing in the world to conceive, that possessing the power they do, they may, by possibility,—although, far be it from us to impute bad motives to them,—we say, they may, by possibility, find out other means by which to pay themselves. But, however this may be, it matters not whether they are paid or unpaid; it is not *that* which constitutes an efficient magistracy, as we have before stated. In fact, the circumstance of their not having a salary, we are inclined to think, makes them less responsible than they would be, were they to receive one. At any rate, it would serve to remove a blind (which fortunately, however, is becoming more and more transparent,) as to their disinterestedness; which at any rate, would not appear to extend to the whole of the members of this worthy body; for the Hon. Grey Bennett is

reported to have said at the last Surrey Quarter Sessions, speaking of unpaid magistrates:—

His own experience had taught him the extent of the corruptions now practised. He had been the chairman of the committee in the House of Commons: that committee sat for two years, and he could take upon himself to say that there never had been, in the most corrupt imagination of the most corrupt of men, a more scandalous scene of corruption than was developed in evidence before that committee.[7]

In concluding this article, we take the liberty to give our readers a piece of information, which will be, no doubt, new to most of them, and which may serve to put them on their guard when speaking of magistrates; while at the same time, it will evince the extreme anxiety of the law to have people called by their proper names: it is this, namely, that, "To call a justice of peace a buffleheaded fellow, or to say he doth not understand law, are indictable."[8]

REQUIEM.

"Weep ye not for the dead."—Jer. xxii. 10.

THE day of woe, the mortal strife,
The dark vicissitudes of life,
Have had their influence; but the day,
The strife, the change, have passed away:
The loud storm howled—and was no more—
The thunder burst—then died the roar;
'Twas all an agonizing scene—
A dream which is not—but hath been.
O weep not for the dead!

They rest upon their quiet bed,
Sleeping with undelirious head.
The deep distraction of the breast
Subsides into a placid rest:
The hollow wild eyes, dim and dry,
Are closed, and slumbering pleasantly:
The countenance of cloud and sadness
Hath the pale look of solemn gladness.
O weep not for the dead!

O weep not that the weary day
Sinks to the sepulchre of night;
It fades to blaze with purer ray
The morrow's resurrection light.
Its dawn is up—the fleecy sky
Reddens in orient majesty:
Impearled with an immortal dew
The bland creation smiles anew.
O weep not for the dead!

Calcutta CYTHERON.

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[7] See the Morning Chronicle, Oct. 20, 1824.
[8] Vide Shaw's Practical Justice of Peace, vol. i, p. 16.

LADY HESTER STANHOPE IN SYRIA.

A VOLUME of Travels among the Arab Tribes inhabiting the countries East of Syria and Palestine,[1] by the Editor of this Publication, is just about to issue from the press: and as any comprehensive or general review of the merits or defects of such a work might be liable to the imputation of partial or interested motives if it appeared in these pages, we have thought it might be acceptable to the readers of the Oriental Herald to see the place of such a review supplied by an extract of some one portion of the volume, that might possess sufficient interest to be read in a connected form; and yet be sufficiently complete to be perfectly intelligible, without reference to the matter that might precede or follow it. Under this impression, we have selected that portion which relates to the stay of the author at the hospitable abode of Lady Hester Stanhope in Syria, as possessing the peculiar features adverted to above; and as being likely to interest readers of every class, to whom the idea of an English female of distinction choosing a remote part of a Turkish province for her permanent residence, presents the most opposite, yet extraordinary associations. We quote the exact words of the volume, commencing at that particular part where the description that we have selected for this article begins.[2]

In speaking of the spot which has been chosen by my kind and hospitable entertainer, Lady Hester Stanhope, for her residence near Seyda, and of the nature of the establishment maintained by her in Syria, I feel all the embarrassment inseparable from a desire to communicate as much as may be fairly considered of public interest respecting the life and habits of this distinguished lady, and yet to keep strictly within the limits prescribed by delicacy and gratitude towards one, whom I shall never cease to remember with the strongest feelings of admiration and respect. I cannot be ignorant of the intense curiosity which the bare mention of her Ladyship's name has repeatedly awakened, and that more especially in the bosoms of the most amiable among her own sex. In contrasting the motives and conduct of the most elevated women of England, whose ambition seems to be confined to the enjoyment of pleasures contained within the circle of fashionable life, with the more daring and romantic feelings that appear to actuate the lady who is the subject of these remarks; or in comparing the danger and enterprise of a life passed amid deserts and mountains, surrounded by wandering tribes, and fierce and hostile nations, with the quiet and seclusion of a domestic circle at home,—all parties appear anxious to unriddle what to them seems inexplicable, the motive which could have led to such a choice as the former, by one who might have commanded all the pleasures that

[1] Travels among the Arab Tribes, inhabiting the countries East of Syria and Palestine: made in a journey from Nazareth to the Mountains beyond the Dead Sea; from thence through the Great Plain of the Haurān, to Bozra, Damascus, Lebanon, Bālbeck, and, by the Valley of the Orontes, to Seleucia, Antioch, and Aleppo. With An Appendix, containing a refutation of certain unfounded calumnies, industriously circulated against the Author, by the late Mr. Lewis Burckhardt, Mr. William John Bankes, and the Quarterly Review. By J. S. Buckingham. 4to., with Illustrations and a Map. Longman and Co., London.

[2] Chapter xx. p. 417 et seqq.

the latter is capable of affording. I have been questioned, in society, to very weariness upon this point, by those who knew of my having remained under Lady Hester's roof for, a short period; for after assigning what I have always understood and believed to be the true motive of this self-exile from her native land, the parties inquiring, being unable to understand what they themselves have never felt, have evidently remained in all their former incredulity; and given up the riddle (for so it appeared to them) in despair. When the causes of incredulity are so deep-rooted as these, they are too difficult to be removed by a brief narrative: but, observing, as well as I am able, the limits, which a sense of gratitude, as well as honour, prescribe to me, I will endeavour to communicate what I have myself heard, and have long been accustomed to consider as correct upon this subject, though without being able to vouch for its entire accuracy in every minute particular.

It is known to most Englishmen that Lady Hester Stanhope was a near relative of the late Mr. Pitt: and that during the latter part of his administration especially, she enjoyed his friendship and confidence in a very high degree. This circumstance necessarily brought her more frequently into the society of the several members of the royal family, of the many distinguished foreigners who then sought an asylum in England, and of the ministerial circles generally, than even her distinguished birth and connexions would, without such associations, alone have effected. Her superior understanding and fascinating manners could not fail, under any circumstances, to command a large share of the respect and esteem of those who were brought within their sphere of influence: but, added to the high confidence which she was known to enjoy with the minister of the day, from personal regard as well as near relationship, the influence of these amiable and attractive qualities were of course additionally powerful. The necessary consequence of this was the receipt of a large portion of homage from an extended circle, and abundant means of gratifying all the benevolent wishes which it must form one of the most delightful prerogatives of power to indulge, that of assisting merit to obtain what its unaided claims would never procure, the distinction and reward it deserved.

The death of Mr. Pitt, in addition to the sorrow which the loss of any near and beloved relative must inflict, was attended with a great, if not a total change in all the circumstances that had hitherto yielded only continued delight. The health of her Ladyship was about the same time seriously affected; and the depression of her spirits naturally retarded her recovery. Change of climate, scene, and circumstance was recommended and adopted. Lady Hester accordingly quitted England for France, and remained there until the second war with Napoleon; in whose estimation she held so high a place, that every possible facility was granted to her passage through the country, at a period when unusual difficulties impeded the way of almost every foreigner, and of English subjects more especially. Italy became next the sojourn of the illustrious traveller; then Greece, and at last Constantinople. The good effects of these changes of scene and climate, which had been professionally recommended, were every day more visible. Her Ladyship's health and spirits rapidly improved: and the agreeable associations of passing over classic ground; the fine skies of Greece; the glowing beauties of the Turkish capital, or its immediate neighbourhood, from the Dardanelles

to the Euxine, including the Hellespont and Bosphorus; the occasional society of many English travellers of distinction then at Constantinople, and the profound respect paid by the Turks to all her wishes, which were as much regarded, indeed, as if they were commands, induced a very natural desire to see more of the country under their dominion before she returned home.

In the course of these further excursions, if hazardous and difficult voyages and travels may be so called, Lady Hester Stanhope visited Egypt, staid some time at Cairo, and was the first, and up to this time, I believe, the only English lady that ever entered the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, near the ruins of Memphis. She was also wrecked on the island of Cyprus, from whence herself and attendants were taken off by Captain Hope, then in the Salsette frigate, on the Smyrna station. She subsequently made a journey to Palmyra, in company with several English gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Bruce, the heroic deliverer of Lavalette. She visited also Jerusalem, Damascus, Baalbeck, and all the principal places of interest in Syria, and at length became so much pleased with the climate, scenery, and character of the people of the country, that she determined to take up her abode in Mount Lebanon for the summer, and on the coast near Sidon for the winter months, as long as she might feel disposed to remain in the East.

Not having visited the summer residence in the mountains, I am unable to speak of it with any degree of accuracy. I have understood, however, that it was on an elevated part of Lebanon, about midway between the summit and the more woody belt of the middle region, combining a proximity to the snowy parts of the hollows excluded from the sun, and enjoying at the same time fresh air, abundant water, and agreeable shade. The winter residence, near the sea, was originally a Greek convent, dedicated to Saint Elias, from whence its name. It being no longer required for its original purpose, it was let at a fixed yearly rent for a residence, and occupied by Lady Hester Stanhope accordingly. In speaking even of this, as it is entirely from recollection, not having made a single note during my stay there, I cannot attempt minute detail, but will endeavour to give a general idea as accurately as I am able. The convent stands on the brow of a hill, looking towards the sea, the whole of the way from it to the town of Seyda being on a descent, for a distance of about five or six miles. It consists of a number of separate rooms in a quadrangular building that surrounds an inner court, made into a flower garden, into which the doors of all these rooms open. The rooms are neither spacious nor elegant: but most of them being furnished after the English manner, with carpets, tables, chairs, &c., offered an agreeable contrast to the rooms generally seen in the East, the whole furniture of which consists of a low range of cushions and pillows surrounding the skirting, and as it were fringing the junction between the wall and the floor. Nothing in the house appeared unnecessary or expensive; but all that could conduce to comfort, and that was procurable in the country, was seen in clean and unostentatious simplicity. The proper number of out-offices, kitchen, stables, &c. were attached to the edifice, and there were spare rooms and beds enough to accommodate any small party of travellers that might have occasion to remain here for a short period in the course of their journey.

The domestic establishment of her Ladyship, consisted, at this period,

of an English physician, Dr. Meryon, who lived in a separate house at a distance of less than a mile; an English attendant, Miss Williams; and an English housekeeper, Mrs. Fry; a Levantine secretary, of French descent, from Aleppo; and a small number of male and female servants of the country, for the ordinary purposes of labour. The fondness for beautiful horses, which this lady passionately entertained, was judiciously, but not ostentatiously enjoyed, by the possession of a small stud of Arabs of the purest and most celebrated races; and on these she occasionally took such exercise only as her health required.

The mode of life passed by Lady Hester Stanhope at this convent, had nothing peculiar in it, except perhaps that it was more rational than the mode observed by the more fashionable of her own sex in particular at home. She rose generally about eight; walked in the flower garden, or read until ten; breakfasted on tea and coffee in the English manner, so much so indeed that there was no distinction between her breakfast table and one in England, except that finer and fresher fruits were often produced there than it is usual to see in London. An extensive correspondence, which her Ladyship appeared to maintain with persons of distinction in all parts of Europe, and even in India, generally occupied her pen, or that of her secretary who wrote from dictation, for several hours in the middle of the day. This correspondence was, however, not confined to mere interchange of sentiments with distant friends, agreeable as such an occupation undoubtedly is, but had often some object of great utility in the country itself to promote; and frequently led, as I had myself occasion to know in more instances than one, to the most happy results. The maintenance of this correspondence, carried on in four or five different languages, including the reading as well as writing of several letters in each day, was quite enough to occupy the largest portion of the writer's time: but with all this, a want of leisure was never pleaded in excuse for attending to any applications for relief that were perpetually made, from whatever quarter they might have come. A walk, or a ride on horseback was generally indulged in before dinner, which was always served soon after sun-set, and was a happy medium between frugality and abundance, such as a prince might partake, and yet such as the most temperate could not complain of. The evening was almost invariably passed in conversation; and so powerful is my recollection, even at this distant period, of the pleasure this afforded me, that I could use no terms which would be too extravagant in its praise. The early association with men eminent for their talents as well as their power; the habit of intense observation on all passing events; the abundant opportunities afforded by years of travel, to apply these habits to the utmost advantage: all these, added to a remarkable union of frankness and dignity, gave a peculiar charm to the conversation of this highly accomplished and amiable woman; such, indeed, as to render it a matter of deep regret that it should be so lost, by seclusion from the world, to many whom it would instruct as well as delight: but it is perhaps to this love of solitude that much of the dignity of her feelings may be attributed, for it would be almost impossible to preserve, uncontaminated, a true greatness of mind, amidst the continual round of frivolities which dissipate the thoughts of half the fashionable world in England. We seldom retired before midnight, and these intellectual evenings never closed without furnishing me matter of congratulation at the information

and pleasure afforded me, and regret at the impossibility of their being more frequently enjoyed.

In person, Lady Hester Stanhope is rather above the usual standard of female height, with regular and delicately formed features, a soft blue eye, fair and pale complexion, an expression of habitual pensiveness and tranquil resignation, which was rarely disturbed, except when her countenance now and then lighted up with the indignant feelings that always followed the recital of some deed of cruelty or oppression. Her early political associations had not overcome those fine sensations which almost instinctively impel the heart to resist the inroads of tyranny; but which are never more powerful than when emanating from a female breast. The names of those who rank among the benefactors of mankind, were such as enjoyed her highest veneration and esteem; and she never mentioned those of tyrants and oppressors but with undisguised abhorrence.

It has been made a subject of wonder that an English lady of distinction should not only choose so remote and retired a spot for her residence, but that she should adopt the costume of the country, and that too of the male sex; it being already universally known that Lady Hester Stanhope wears the dress of a Turkish effendi, or private gentleman. The wonder will cease, however, when the reasons which influenced the choice are explained. Had she retained the dress of an English lady she could never have ventured into the open air, even for the purpose of exercise, without attracting a crowd of the peasantry and others, to witness such a curiosity as any one so apparelled could not fail to be considered in that country, and this would be a perpetual impediment to all her movements abroad. Had she adopted the dress of a Turkish lady, she could never have ventured out, except enveloped in the ample garments worn by these, which render it difficult to walk freely, and quite impossible to take any active exercise, besides being veiled in such a manner as to impede free breathing in this warm climate, and to interrupt the pleasure of seeing clearly the surrounding objects of interest in the way. The dress of an English gentleman would be liable to still stronger objections, though of another nature, so that the Turkish male costume appeared the only one that could be adopted with delicacy and advantage combined. Those who have ever seen the garments of a Turkish gentleman must be aware that they conceal the whole figure and person of the wearer much more effectually than even the English female dress; and that nothing can be more consistent with the most feminine delicacy than the ample and flowing robes of this costume.[4] These are literally the only robes in which any person of respectability could go out in Syria, without attracting a crowd, and suffering perpetual interruption, so that the choice was wise and prudent, and in every other respect quite unexceptionable.

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[4] In the admirable picture of Mr. Pickersgill, seen at Somerset House during the last year's exhibition, under the title of "The Oriental Love Letter," the dress of the Turkish lady in the harem conveys an excellent idea of that worn by Turkish gentlemen also: the variation between the male and female dress when within doors, being very slight: but differing in toto when they go out; as the gentleman goes forth uncovered, and in the same manner as he sits at home; but the lady, over her in-door dress, is obliged to fold large outer garments, veils, &c., so as almost to conceal entirely her person from sight.

If to be sincerely and generally beloved by those among whom we reside, to possess power and influence with those who govern, and to have abundant opportunities of exercising these for the benefit of the weak and helpless, be sources of delight (and that they are so, the universal sentiment of mankind seems to bear testimony), it may be safely concluded that Lady Hester Stanhope is one of the happiest of human beings. The veneration in which she is held, the affectionate terms in which she is continually spoken of, by those who live near and around her habitation, surpasses any thing I remember to have met with, in the course of a tolerably extensive peregrination through various countries of the globe. Coupled, indeed, with the humble gratitude, confined information, and general enthusiasm of feeling, which characterize the inhabitants of the country, it amounts almost to adoration; so that the real good which this lady does, and the undoubted respect paid to her by all classes, have been magnified by every successive narrator through whom the recital has passed, till it has at last assumed the shape of the miraculous, and surpassed even the extravagance of the Arabian tales. I remember some few instances of this, which I heard on my way over from Damascus to Seyda, which I was then too ill to enter in my notes, but which may perhaps be mentioned here.

It was said that when the king's daughter (for by this name, Bint-el-Melek, and Bint-el-Sultan, Lady Hester is generally spoken of here,) paid her first visit to Damascus, all the people of the town rushed to the gates to welcome her approach—the men to pay homage to one whom they considered inspired, or insane, and therefore under the especial protection of God (this being the universal opinion as to the holy keeping of those who are deranged); and the women to look on her with an evil eye, and avert from their husbands the fascination which they believed would otherwise be exercised on them by the unveiled beauties of the Fair Infidel. The narrator, (herself a Druse female in the mountains of Lebanon, who recounted the tale to my muleteer as I lay ill on my carpet before the hearth,) proceeded to say, that when she entered, all voices exclaimed, "The city of Damascus, the great gate of pilgrimage, and the key to the tomb of the Prophet, is taken from us: her glory is fallen, her might cast down, and her people for ever subdued. An infidel has entered her gates on horseback, and rebellion has been subdued by her beauty."[5] The people of Constantinople have a proverb that their city will fall, when a yellow infidel, meaning a Russian, enters at a particular gate of the city, so that especial pains are taken to prevent such an occurrence. At Jerusalem, a singular tradition exists as to the recovery of that place by the Jews: and at Jedda, the conviction is so strong, that a Christian discovered in attempting to pass through a certain gate of that place, leading to Mecca, would undoubtedly be slain on the spot. The feeling here described by the Druse female, was perhaps founded on some similar notion: and the fact undoubtedly was, that

[5] The reader should understand, that Damascus is considered one of the gates of pilgrimage, because the great caravan of pilgrims assembles here, and sets out from this place for Mecca. In consequence of this, no Frank or Christian is allowed to enter Damascus on horseback, if he be known; and no person can ever walk with safety in its streets if dressed as a European. It is the most bigoted and intolerant of all the Mohammedan cities, Mecca alone excepted; and no European female was ever, perhaps, known to visit it before.

when Lady Hester had once entered Damascus, every thing seemed to have been granted to her, as a privileged being, though it would be death for any other Christian perhaps even to ask it. She visited, among other places, the great mosque, not only with the permission, but even under the protection of an escort from the government; and her intercourse with all the families of distinction of the city, gave her such opportunities of observation as were certainly never enjoyed by any English female before, not even by Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and such as are perhaps not likely to be ever enjoyed again. But to return to the narration of the tale. The Druse female continued to say, " When the king's daughter visited the Pasha in his divan, and was shown the seat of honour on his right hand, every one except the Pasha stood up to receive her; and there went before her a messenger, bearing presents of the most costly description from all the distant countries of the Ind and the Sind,[6] with perfumes of the most delightful odour. But, when these had been laid at the Pasha's feet, the Fair Infidel herself drew from beneath her robes a massive goblet of pure gold, sparkling with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, and filled to overflowing with the richest pearls, which were, however, rivalled in beauty by the snowy whiteness of her hand." The truth was, as I had afterwards reason to believe, that, in accordance with the universal practice of the country, which renders it imperative, on all who visit men in power, to evince their respect by accompanying it with some present, Lady Hester had presented the Pasha with some small article of European manufacture, probably some piece of jewellery: and this simple fact, before it had got half across the mountains of Lebanon to the sea-coast, had been wrought up to a tale that might have better suited the most splendid romances in the days of the Caliphs.

Another instance, of similar exaggeration, which I heard from an Arab of the Desert, who had come in with some flocks to the sea-coast, and who attended them while he was gradually effecting their sale in the neighbourhood of Seyda, will suffice. He told me, that there was one event which he regretted more than any that he remembered, which was, that he had not accompanied the princess (Lady Hester Stanhope,) in her journey to Palmyra, as he understood that every one who had gone with her, as indeed every one who ever had any thing to do with her, had been abundantly prosperous since. In describing this event, he said, " As soon as it was known in the Desert, that the Princess intended to journey to Tadmor, all the tribes were in motion; war was changed to universal peace, and every sheikh (or chief) was eager to have the honour of heading the escort. Councils and assemblies were held at Hhoms and at Hamah, at Sham and at Hhaleb (Damascus and Aleppo); messengers were sent in every direction, and nothing was neglected that might serve to make the way full of pleasure. When money was talked of, every one rejected it with indignation, and exclaimed, ' Shall we not serve the Princess for honour ?' Every thing being settled, the party set out, preceded by horsemen in front, with hedjeen (dromedaries) of observation on the right and the left, and camels, laden with provisions, in the rear. As they passed along, the parched sands of the Desert became verdant plains; the burning rocks

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6 India within, and India beyond the Ganges.

became crystal streams; rich carpets of grass welcomed them at ever place at which they halted for repose; and the trees under which they pitched their tents, expanded twice their usual size, to cover them with shade. When they reached the broken city (the ruins), the Princess was taken to the greatest of all the palaces (the Temple of the Sun), and there gold and jewels were bound round her temples, and all the people did homage to her as Queen, by bowing their heads to the dust. On that day, Tadmor was richer than Sham (Damascus,) and more peopled than Stamboul (Constantinople): and if the Princess had long remained, it would soon have become the greatest of all the cities of the earth, for men were pouring into it from all quarters, horsemen and chiefs, merchants and munnujemein (astrologers and learned men who consult the stars); the fame of her beauty and benevolence having reached to Baghdad and Ispahaun, to Bokhara and Samarcand, and the greatest men of the east being desirous of beholding it for themselves." The Arab, who firmly believed all this, narrated the return from Palmyra to the coast in the same romantic strains; and ended by repeating his regret at the misfortune of not having been one of the happy multitude assembled on that occasion, he having been then on some business with another tribe to the south of the Dead Sea.

Recitals such as these, founded as they were on facts popularly and universally known, were sure to receive implicit credence, and to gain in exaggeration by every successive individual who related them; so that the extraordinary degree of veneration in which this lady is held throughout the country, and the correspondent pleasure which she must feel in residing there, are easily explained. To show that this is turned to the very best account, for the purpose of promoting the ends of public justice, as well as of doing private good, I will mention a fact, which I derived from unexceptionable authority, and which I shall relate without the slightest addition, that it may stand in contrast with, as well as in illustration of, all that has been said before.

A French Colonel of Engineers, whose name I think was Boudain, having left France at the period of the restoration of the Bourbons, resolved to pass a few years in travelling, and commenced with Africa. I remember meeting him at Cairo, at the house of Colonel Missett, on his return from the Oasis of Siwah, which he had been induced to visit from reading Mr. Browne the Darfour traveller's description of the remains which he considered to be those of the temple of Jupiter Ammon. From Egypt he passed into Syria, and stopping for a few days at Seyda, he was admitted to an interview with Lady Hester Stanhope. In detailing to her the plan of his future route, he mentioned his intention of going into the mountains of the Ansarie, a tribe of idolaters who occupy the hills between the sea-coast and Aleppo, and who live in such perpetual hostility with both Mohammedans and Christians, that they are rarely visited, and are consequently very imperfectly known by either. Colonel Boudain, it seems, was aware of the dangerous nature of the enterprise, but, like many others, he flattered himself with the hope that his fate would form an exception to the general calamity that had hitherto befallen almost all who had attempted to sojourn among these barbarians. Lady Hester used all her powers of persuasion to divert him from his purpose; and succeeded so far as to obtain from him a promise that he would not make the attempt, unless he should find, on arriving near their

territories, assurances of perfect safety in going among them. Under this impression, the Colonel pursued his journey; and either his enthusiasm growing stronger, or his discretion weaker, as he approached the district, he ventured to depart from his prudent determination, went into the mountains, and was first robbed and then murdered, as had been predicted by the kind but unavailing advice of his best friend and protectress. The sale of his watch, and some other articles of value, in the bazar of Damascus, soon after, excited suspicion; inquiry was instituted by some Christians of the country, and the fact was placed beyond a doubt. When the intelligence of this melancholy catastrophe was first brought to Lady Hester Stanhope, she is said to have urged the French consuls at the several towns on the coast, to write to Constantinople, and have orders sent from thence to trace out and punish the murderers. Her entreaties had not the desired effect, from what cause, whether an unwillingness to avenge the death of a Frenchman more attached to Napoleon than to the Bourbons, or for any other reason, I am not aware. Entreaties addressed to Aleppo, and even remonstrances forwarded to several of the European Ambassadors at Constantinople, produced no greater effect: when this heroic and benevolent woman determined on avenging the death of the stranger, on whom her excellent advice had been so unhappily thrown away, but whose remains she nevertheless thought entitled to her protection. She accordingly herself addressed letters in Turkish and Arabic, by her secretary, to the Pashas of Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, and Acre, requesting from each a supply of a certain number of troops, to range the mountains of the Ansarie, to trace the mangled remains of the murdered stranger, wherever they might be found, to recover all his papers and other property not sold or destroyed; to find out the perpetrators of the murder, and to bring them to the ignominious punishment which their crimes so richly deserved. Her appeals were successful, and accomplished what all the influence of all the ambassadors could not have effected, what even the commands of the Grand Seignor himself could not have carried into execution, a union and co-operation of elements the most discordant, whose combined force brought the body of the murdered victim to light, discovered and collected most of the property, and conducted the murderers to their deserved end.

Many other instances of the benevolent and beneficial exercise of the influence which this excellent woman so deservedly enjoys, might be collected in the country itself: her whole life, indeed, abounds with them: but I have perhaps already said more than will be agreeable to her on this head, as I know how purely she does good for its own sake, and how unwelcome to her ears would be any thing that even bordered on adulation. There is a duty, however, which all men owe to society, as well as to individuals; and although my gratitude to Lady Hester Stanhope would make me shrink from doing any thing that I should conceive likely to wound the refined delicacy of her feelings; yet I should despise myself, as a man, if I could pass over in silence a period which I shall ever regard as one of the most interesting and happy of my existence, if I omitted to offer my humble tribute of adoration to her distinguished virtues, or failed to hold up the general tenor of her useful and honourable life, as an example worthy of imitation by those whose birth and fortune furnish them with equal opportunities to use their influence for the benefit of mankind at large.

PŒAN ON THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF FREEDOM IN GREECE.

Ye, who for Freedom bled,
Immortal Dead!
Hear in your lonely urns—
Your country's Iron Age is fled;
Your country's Age of Gold returns!

Oh, let it wake each grave,
Ye holy brave,
Who drew the laurelled sword,
And spurned in blood, from field and wave,
The servile Orient's despot lord!

Spartan! Thermopylæ
Will yet be free!—
Thy own proud Marathon,
Miltiades! remembers thee;
Nor shames the dust of heroes gone.

The fame-resounding main
Rolls free again—
Hear it, Themistocles!—
No more shall Greece behold in vain
A tyrant's flag on Grecian seas.

Her glad Ægean's tide
Shall lave with pride
A thousand slaveless isles;—
Those crimson waves, with murder dyed,
Shall gleam in Freedom's prophet smiles!

Sweet Homer's clime once more,
Its thraldom o'er,
Shall to those deeds aspire,
Which yield to Fame her lofty lore,
And wake the thunder-breathing lyre.

And Glory's flowers of gold[1]
Shall yet unfold
Their bloom in free-born song;
While despots tremble to behold
The land, the race, they dared to wrong!

Ye, who for Freedom bled,
Immortal Dead!
Hear in your lonely urns—
Your country's Age of Tears is fled,
Your country's Age of Fame returns!

Crediton.

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[1] Ανθεμα χρυσου.—Pind. Olymp. ii. 130, 1.

ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH FOR CIVIL OFFICES IN INDIA.

No. III.

"Quod quando, et quomodo, et per quos agendum sit."
CIC. EPIST. AD FAM.

THE following observations, in Mr. Adam's address, alluded to at the conclusion of the last article, cannot fail to arrest attention and give rise to serious reflexions.

It is painful to me to be compelled to mention that Mr. ——— (the name[1] is unimportant), who was admitted to the College in December 1818, and was removed on account of his repeatedly absenting himself from the lectures of the professors, without any cause assigned, and who was readmitted on his return from Europe (Sept. 9, 1822), whither he had proceeded for the benefit of his health, has been removed a second time, for his remissness in study, and disregard of the regulations of the College. Mr. ——— has recently applied for an examination, and I trust he will be found to have profited by his past experience.

The Government has also been under the necessity, at the recommendation of the College Council, of removing three other students, who have made little or no progress in their prescribed studies since the half yearly examination in December last. I forbear from publicly mentioning the names of these gentlemen, in the confident hope, that by the assiduous and diligent prosecution of their studies,[2] *at the stations to which they will be sent*, they will speedily retrieve the time and credit which they have lost.

Mr. ———, of the Madras establishment, who obtained the permission of Government in February last, to study in the College for six months, having made no progress whatever in any language, has been desired to return without delay to his own presidency.

Only two students were attached to the Bengalee Professor's class in the past year. I am concerned to observe that neither of them is reported to have made adequate progress in the language; but there is sufficient ground for hope, that they will make amends for past neglect to justify a further trial.

The small number of students attached to this class has attracted my particular notice. A disinclination, among the students of the College to the study of the Bengalee language has been made the subject of animadversion by former visitors, and dwelt upon with regret. I cannot refrain from adding the expression of my own concern at the prevailing indifference for the attainment of this useful language: a knowledge of the Bengalee is not useful merely, but almost indispensable, for those who are called upon to exercise public duties in the province of Bengal, which bring them in contact with the mass of the people. The lower classes of the natives of this province, especially those in the interior, are generally ignorant of every other tongue; there are but few who can converse intelligibly in Hindoostanee. In the course of communication with them, therefore, those public officers, who are not versed in the vernacular language of the country, are constrained to employ the aid of interpretation—a practice attended with a degree of abuse and evil, on which I need not dilate. I trust, therefore, that these important considerations will in future have an influence on the students, and induce the larger proportion of them to apply themselves to the study of this language.

The length of this quotation may readily be excused, on account of

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[1] The name has been printed in the Asiatic Register, but there is no occasion to *keep* it in disgrace with the *public*.

[2] It will be endeavoured, in a future article, to prove that this mode of punishment should be converted into the usual mode of disposing of writers on their arrival in India.

the important consequences involved in the admissions which it contains.

Much stress has been laid on an argument, adduced in favour of Haileybury College, which appears, if justly analyzed, not to possess the weight commonly attached to it. It is urged by Mr. Malthus, Mr. Grant, and others, that those who have distinguished themselves at the College in England, have not failed to gain higher distinctions on their arrival in India; and thence an inference has been drawn, that the success of such individuals was secured to them by the system pursued at Hertford College. But such an argument can scarcely be seriously maintained. It must be believed that young men of this description would have risen to eminence, through any obstacles. We may fairly assume that, whether by studious habits or powerful talents, they would have been among the distinguished few, wherever they were educated, or in whatever profession they were placed. The character of the College is not thus tried on sound principles. It is not the few who carry away the honours of the student, and afterwards force their way to power and wealth (the limits of human ambition in India), who can be said to prove the excellence of the present education; but the advocates of Haileybury must account for the failure of those who, having been appropriately educated, closely examined, and reported duly qualified for their appointments, fail so lamentably, as the young men alluded to in Mr. Adam's address.

None, perhaps, will gravely assert, that the test of qualification has been very severe; nor that the degree of proficiency *ordinarily* attained by the students at Haileybury is more than barely sufficient to carry them through their examinations. If this be the case, and not more than three or four in a term distinguish themselves, what is done, were there even no failures, towards improving the body of civil servants in India? Surely but little, in comparison with what might be done by throwing out such magnificent prizes to be contended for by the whole British youth.

But there are failures, and those most complete and disgraceful. We have one of these qualified writers, who is reported to have done nothing towards the acquirement of two native languages (the established test in India), four years and a half after his entrance at the College of Fort William. Three others are rusticated for having made "little or no progress in their prescribed studies" six months after a former examination. A Madras writer, who has made no advance "whatever in any language," is sent back to his own Presidency. Two alone are said to be attempting to master the vernacular language of the province of Bengal, employed as the medium of communicating their ideas by nearly twenty millions of people. All the rest are stigmatized with an obstinate neglect of this useful tongue, in direct disregard of the animadversion pronounced, and the regrets expressed, by former visitors. Ought this to happen, after the pains bestowed upon every writer at Hertford College, and the certificate there given of the student's fitness for the Indian civil service?

It cannot be hoped, that the address of the visitor should be free from animadversion on neglect and irregularity, while the most unconquerable idleness, and those listless irregularities which arise from it, never incur the loss of appointment. All, it is true, must by some means or other pass the established test of proficiency in two languages; but although some

continue several years in College, none, it is understood, except for moral delinquency, are expelled, dismissed the service, and sent home. Yet among youths going to India at the age of eighteen or nineteen, the result above described by Mr. Adam may naturally be expected. A vernacular tongue which has nothing to recommend it but its usefulness for the common purposes of life, cannot be relished by the boyish fastidiousness of a Fort William student. Many, no doubt, now show a total indifference about the College lectures, who would shrink at the thought of such misconduct if it could by possibility risk the loss of their appointments. This punishment should be resorted to in gross instances of negligence, and also in extreme cases of incapacity, since these latter are not guarded against by previous examination in England. If the age of their arrival in India is not delayed, the discipline under which the writers live at Fort William should be much more strict than it is. There is little control exercised over them, except during their attendance at lecture three or four times a week. There is no public table. Each writer has his own separate establishment, one or more in a house. The facilities of getting into debt, although not so great as they were, are still much too great; and there is good reason to believe, that even now it is no difficult or uncommon thing for a young man to complete his ruin within the first eighteen months of his residence in India.

Mr. Malthus, in taking notice of failures in England similar to those just mentioned, truly remarks, that "the proper inference in general ought only to have been, that the students in question were not proper persons to send out to India." This admission may fairly be assumed as equally affecting the cases animadverted upon by Mr. Adam in July, 1823. If the student on the first trial of his qualifications is pronounced upon failure unworthy of his appointment, such a verdict is still more imperatively called for on the writer, who first obtains a certificate of fitness in England, and proves himself in India incapable and unqualified. It follows, too as a consequence,[3] "that Haileybury falls short of its object in the preparation of those youths, whom it sends to India, as qualified for what is required of them." It must constantly be kept in mind that the test, to which the student in England submits, is described by Mr. Malthus as an examination which lasts a fortnight, is conducted "upon the plan of the great public and collegiate examinations in the universities, particularly at Cambridge, with such farther improvements, as experience has suggested." The fact of his having passed such a test equally distinguishes the unsuccessful writer, from the undergraduate who is plucked for his degree, and the schoolboy who turns out an incorrigible blockhead.

The deduction which may be made from Mr. Adam's address appears to be, that the writers sent out are insufficiently and inappropriately qualified, and are too young for the discipline of the College at Fort William, and their dangerous situation in Calcutta. I say, inappropriately as well as insufficiently qualified, because the whole body of writers is obnoxious to the reproof of obstinately neglecting the vernacular tongue of Bengal.

The fourth and last advantage peculiarily belonging to Hertford College will now be shortly considered, namely, the constant direction of the mind to the practical use of that education to which it is subjected. By which is meant the illustration there given of the benefits to be derived

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[3] See Art. II.

from Oriental and other studies more particularily pursued at Haileybury, an explanation of the history, manners and customs of the people among whom the young men are destined to pass their lives, and a demonstration of the facilities, which they now acquire for suiting their public and private conduct to their future situation in India. This is certainly a most important advantage, but only a subordinate part of a principle which ought to be universally and invariably acted upon—the principle of introducing all instruction by first convincing the learner of its usefulness.

Although this advantage is enjoyed to a certain degree at Haileybury, yet it might be procured under much more favourable circumstances, and for a longer time elsewhere. The operation of the present system is confined to two years of the student's education. Those two years are generally a period of his life, when he is too young to make a reasonable choice of a profession, and when, therefore, his choice is disregarded. His feelings are not consulted; and if they should happen to be, as they often are, hostile to his Indian appointment, the only mode in which they can be shown, is in contumacious resistance. In such a temper of mind, instead of seeing the practical use of his education at Hertford College, he would naturally look upon all peculiar to that institution as worse than useless, and consider the oriental lecture as the condemned sermon of a Newgate convict. The benefit, however, of such a direction of the mind will be secured to him, it is hoped, more fully by another plan, under which the pursuit of oriental studies will be recommended by an apparent freedom of choice. That plan it now becomes necessary to enter upon. It has no novelty to raise curiosity, but it has high authority to challenge attention, and will be presented in such a detailed and defined shape, that none shall doubt of its ultimate object, and all may declare whether it shall be condemned or approved.

To use the forcible language of Milton, "I call a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war." If a complete and generous education, were in any case or at any time requisite, it is for those who are, at the present day, charged with the administration of the British government to its myriads of Indian subjects. It would be loss of time to argue in proof of a position so generally admitted. Lord Wellesley in India, Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, Mr. Malthus in his pamphlet, and Mr. Grant in his speech at the India House, have sufficiently demonstrated the weight of responsibility, and the magnitude of the duties belonging to civil appointments in India. In enlarging upon, and explaining the best mode of preparing men for such offices, Mr. Malthus will afford me a text-book, and Lord Grenville the authority of his recorded opinion. The subject may, perhaps, be best considered when divided into distinct heads.

It is proposed: first—That writers should not be sent to India at so early an age as at present.[4]

Secondly—That an appointment should be considered in spirit and in truth as a prize to be contended for; not as a property already possessed, and which may be lost.

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[4] See p. 103, of Mr. Malthus's pamphlet. Under this head the question of patronage will be considered.

Thirdly—That the means only should be provided for acquiring appropriate knowledge and qualifications for an appointment.

Fourthly—That those means should be provided at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

It is probable, that in handling these, which in the present argument are considered the principal divisions of the subject, other questions will arise surpassing them in extent and importance. If, therefore, such questions should not be dwelt upon, with the seriousness and attention due to their weight, it must not be supposed, that they are slighted on account of a false estimate of their value. It must be recollected, that although separately taken, they may be considered as superior to the prescribed subject, yet, as treated of in connexion with it, they must be necessarily subordinate. They would never, except incidentally, be approached by one of such insufficient experience and humble ability as the present writer. But, to enter on the first head of the argument, it will be attempted to show,

That writers should not be sent to India at so early an age as at present.

Under this head it is intended to prove, that the proposed change shall be equally beneficial to the individual and the service:—to the individual in physical and moral advantages—to the service in its double character, as an instrument of government and a body of gentlemen. And first, with respect to the physical advantage of the individual. Nothing can more clearly establish this position than the following fact. There is little reason to doubt its authenticity, although demonstrative proof could not be produced in support of it; but, at the same time, its truth is not likely to be called in question.

About two or three years ago, the Bombay Government requested the Court of Directors not to enlist any recruits under the age of twenty; because it was found, that the power of the constitution in resisting the effect of an Indian climate, is much greater after than before that age. But the authorities in England had for some time been aware, that persons, whose frame and constitution were in some degree settled and confirmed, enjoyed the best chance of life in India; and, for four or five years prior to this application, had refused to enlist lads under nineteen. This result, it will be observed, is declared in a case, where the interests of the merchant are unembarrassed by the feelings of the man. We cannot doubt the accuracy of the calculation. The consignment of human life is valued as any other article of European supply; and the cheapest mode of keeping up the Company's European force is that, of course, by which there is the smallest loss of men and the least demand for recruits. The age at which persons should go to India is fixed by a judgment, neither obscured by natural affection, nor hurried to false conclusions by an impatient economy or a greedy desire of patronage: it is ascertained, by a commercial account of profit and loss, conducted and made up on the immutable laws of arithmetic. Hence, it is clear, that a writer of twenty-two or twenty-three years old, will run a much smaller risk of his life than a person who goes out at eighteen.

We may also refer to the medical branch of the Company's service, as affording another practical proof of the physical advantages to be expected from delaying the age of appointment. An assistant surgeoncy cannot be conferred on any person under twenty-two years old. Yet, it

is said, that in a given number of surgeons, the casualties during a given time, are fewer than in the same number of writers, and incomparably fewer than in the like number of cadets. These last are commonly sent to India (being eligible by law at fifteen,) younger than the writers. The result of an estimate of the casualties in one season of appointment at one presidency, although it cannot afford any general inference, must startle the most indifferent person. It is believed that of thirty-four young men appointed to Bengal seven years ago, ten, or nearly one in three, are now dead. A single instance of this sort, unsupported by other facts, would, perhaps, have little weight; but taken together with what has been said on the same point, it may help to explode the error of sending boys to India for the sake of forming their constitutions to the climate, and to establish the physical advantage of admitting writers to the service at a later age than at present.

By establishing this position, we do much towards proving the moral benefit of the change. The mysterious, but close connexion of body and mind, maintains so strong a sympathy between the two, that it almost led a heathen philosopher to doubt whether a man could suffer confirmed ill health, and yet deserve the name of a good man. Without going this length, we must allow that the mind and body mutually affect each other, and that by preserving the health of either, we ensure an advantage to both. But putting aside this view of the case, the moral benefit of the change, in the lowest and highest sense of the term, appears to be supported by the strongest arguments.

Mr. Malthus has said of Haileybury (Statements, &c. p. 46), "At this institution the students commence a course of more general instruction, than is to be found at schools, nearly at the same period that they were to commence it in India according to Lord Wellesley's plan, and yet proceed to their destination at 18 or 19, an age at which the constitution is better fortified against the Indian climate, than two or three years earlier, but not sufficiently advanced to be open to those objections urged by Lord Wellesley against" (in fact a University education) "a detention till twenty-one or twenty-two." These objections are reducible to two points—the increased difficulty that men will find with increasing years in accommodating themselves to Indian manners and habits; and the later period of life at which they can return to their native country with a competent fortune. Mr. Malthus, if I am not mistaken, in common with the other Professors of the College, has used every argument likely to prevail on the Court of Directors to change the age of admission from sixteen to eighteen. Allowing then for two years residence at Haileybury, the writer would be twenty before he proceeded to India. Thus, had they prevailed, the intended change would in many cases have produced no difference of age, and in most only a difference of two or three years. We cannot easily believe that this short period could so confirm the European habits as to create a sensible increase of difficulty in adopting that carriage and behaviour, which best suit the manners of the natives. We cannot then believe that the objection founded on this alleged difficulty is a valid one. If it were, indeed, the present time of superannuation is too late, and writers should not be permitted to go out at twenty-two years old. The number of them, it is true, is comparatively small, but, it has been said, that the College authorities at Hertford, and most of the young civil servants, regret that it is not larger.

An argument, however, drawn from experience will deservedly have double the force of any other. Let us then look at the situation of king's officers who are sent to India at all ages. Of these many, who are distinguished for a knowledge of the country and the people, have gone out at a period of life much later than that contemplated for the young civilian. Among others may be named the late Lord Lake, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Lionel Smith, Sir Theophilus Pritzler, the late Colonel Lambton, and Major General Nicolls. Nor is it altogether irrelevant to remark that the highest political and judicial situations being filled up by appointments from England, persons of mature years, some of whom perhaps never directed their thoughts to India, have been charged with offices and duties, requiring at least some degree of local knowledge, and acquaintance with the habits and customs of the natives. But who of all Indian functionaries requires this knowledge of the people more than the medical practitioner? yet he is not eligible till an age, ordinarily quite late enough to carry a young man through a university education.

The second objection is now to be considered, namely, the later period of life at which individuals could return to their native country with a competent fortune. The answer shall be given in the words of Mr. Malthus. In one place, it must be owned, he appears to urge the objection as a position not to be questioned; but in another he writes thus:

> It is certainly the opinion of some of the writers themselves, that even, since the establishment of both the Colleges, they are advanced to important situations in the judicial line at too early, rather than too late an age: and it by no means follows that the going out to India a year or two later, implies a proportionally later return.
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> The period in which a fortune is made, ought not to be dated from the time of arrival in India, but from the time at which accumulation commences. And, if a year or two more spent in Europe be employed in such a manner as to send the young writer out, not only with superior qualifications for office, but with a greater degree of general prudence; he is likely to begin saving sooner, and will, perhaps, return with a fortune at an earlier age, than if he had been exposed from the age of fifteen or sixteen to a three years residence at Calcutta, and the heavy debt which too frequently accompanies it.[5]

It would be difficult to put that part of the argument (in favour of deferring the age of appointment) which affects the individual, in a more convincing form, than the passage just quoted. It bears strongly too on the point assumed, that the change would be equally beneficial for the service. But upon that more will presently be said, and in the mean time we will turn from the objections urged against, to the moral advantages obtained by, not sending writers to India so soon as is the present practice.

Those advantages are thus powerfully and eloquently set forth by Lord Grenville:

> It may be doubted at what age these youths may most advantageously be sent to India. But up to the latest moment of their continuance in this country, be that period what it may, I see the strongest possible reasons against their being separated in education from the young men of their own age and station in life. Instead of forming them beforehand into an exclusive class, into something resembling a distinct cast of men, destined to administer government in remote provinces, they ought above all other public servants to receive, so long as they continue in England, an education purely English. Instead of rejecting, we should

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[5] Statements, &c. p. 44; compare p. 25.

I think, have embraced with eagerness the advantage which our great schools and colleges would have afforded to them for this purpose; that they might learn there, I trust with not less facility than elsewhere, the elements of whatever sciences you could wish them to possess; that in addition to these they might find there, and there only could they find, that best of all education for a public man, which forms the mind to manly exertion and honourable feeling, the education which young men receive from each other in the numerous and mixed society of their equals, collected from various classes of our community, and destined to various ways of life: that they might there be imbued with the deepest tincture of English manners and English attachments, of English principles, and I am not afraid in this case to say also, English prejudices: that they might thence carry out with them to India remembrances and affections not local only, but personal; recollections not merely of the scenes but of the individuals endeared to them by early habit; mixed with the indelible impression of those high sentiments and virtuous principles, which, I am happy to think it, float in the very atmosphere of our public places of education, and contribute much more, I think, than is commonly supposed, to all on which we most value ourselves in our national character.

This sort of education is unavoidably connected with the postponement of the period of appointment. To a recommendation so forcible in favour of such an education, I will add a very few words. Many, perhaps, will consider them worse than superfluous; but assuredly the first among the moral advantages to be obtained by detention in England, is a conscientious and confirmed attachment to the established church. That church, it is said, some few civilians in India regard with zeal, many with indifference, and some with hostility. I avow that the hope of adding numbers to the few by warming the coldness of the many, is the more sanguine, because the detention in England is necessarily connected with the discipline of our universities. Very many will laugh, and some will frown at what both will call my prejudice; with these persons I can have no argument; a frank confession is the best reply: I have been taught to love the established church by early habit and education; I have learned to venerate it by sincere and serious conviction; and I am bound to support it by honour and consistency.

If there be any truth in the foregoing remarks, as they relate to the benefit of the individual, little will remain to be said on the advantages which the service must derive from the proposed change. If you improve the individuals, you necessarily improve the profession which is composed of them; and if you raise their worth as men, you make them better instruments for a wise and liberal government. Considering the body of civilians first as an instrument of government, it will be evident that young men cannot be useful as public servants till they have passed that age which is usually characterized by a boyish disgust at all grave employment, and an ungovernable love of change and novelty. There can be little hesitation in affirming that this peculiar period of life commonly begins at sixteen and terminates at about twenty. By that time we find that constant change itself is monotonous, the uninterrupted indulgence of caprice, irksome; and that very few things, whatever may be their promise at first sight, are essentially new. We begin to discover that the secret of human happiness lies in having duties to perform, and energy to perform them; and that as religion, which was given for the happiness of man, is in fact only an enumeration of those duties, and a rule for the performance of them; so, by extending the principle to every state of our existence, we take the surest means of diminishing its sufferings and increasing its enjoyments. We soon learn that idleness is

not relaxation; that relaxation is in truth only change of employment; and that life is best varied by vicissitude, and would only be perplexed by constant novelties. Hence it will happen, that the young civilian will enter upon his appointment with practical views, and not with a wild desire of following his own pursuits. As a consequence his progress in acquiring habits of business will be incredibly accelerated, and he will be more likely to outstrip than to lag after the writer whose career was begun but retarded in boyhood. Then the youth, pronounced fit for office, would not, so often as he now does, disturb and embarrass the public functionaries, whom he is appointed to assist. Incapacity and neglegence would be less common, public spirit would become visible, and something higher than wealth and authority be looked for as the ultimate reward of exertion. In what way the acquirement of Oriental languages may be affected by the intended change, will be more naturally spoken of under the head of university discipline.

It is scarcely necessary, after the preceding observations, to dwell on the improvement of the service as a body of gentlemen, by sending them out to India somewhat later in life. If the characters of men be raised by an English education in the manner described by Lord Grenville; if by a maturity of judgment they are better prepared to resist temptation, and thus to avoid many kinds of embarrassment; if by associating for a longer time with mixed European society their manners are more formed, and polished instead of being varnished; if their opinions are more enlarged, and they never acquire that peculiar something which marks out the old Indian wherever he is found—it follows that the civil service must be wonderfully improved simply as a social community. If, indeed, the detention in England should be for the civilian's benefit as a public functionary, it is scarcely possible that it should fail to heighten his qualifications as a private gentleman, so intimately is man's political connected with his social happiness. The degree of advantage to be expected from delaying the period of departure from Europe, must chiefly depend on the use made of the time thus gained. It is believed, that the plan now to be detailed, will make the Indian civil service as distinguished as it is already an honourable profession, and therefore the importance of postponing the age of appointment is so strongly insisted upon.

From what has been said, it must have been seen, that no change is contemplated before the expiration of the Company's charter. It is proposed that the age of appointment should then be fixed at twenty and twenty-five years old; so that none should be eligible for writerships, or whatever they may then be styled, before the former or after the latter period of life. Twenty is selected as the earliest age, partly because, according to the foregoing view of his qualifications, no young man could be adequately qualified much before that time, partly because his constitution would be better able to encounter a tropical climate, and partly because those who at that age prove themselves to be well prepared, should be allowed to proceed immediately to India. A very large proportion of Oxford and Cambridge men are graduates at twenty. Nor does it appear, according to the experience of Mr. Malthus, that by multiplying the objects of study and acquirement, there is any risk of retarding the student's progress, or perplexing his mind. The age of twenty-five, after which none should receive appointments, is considered early enough to protect the service against the refuse of other professions; to save it, for

example, from becoming a retreat for the briefless barrister. Although the very nature of the qualifications required would in a great measure have the same effect, yet it cannot be unwise to provide additional security against the abuse, which will occasionally cause the miscarriage of the most prudent speculations. That period of life is not considered too late, because the spirit is still active, without being wild, the feelings warm without being impetuous, and the mind elastic and versatile without being weak and unsteady. So little reason is there to fear any ill result from the selection of too late an age, that were the system of seniority destroyed, and the high stations of India opened to the competition of all who were not disqualified for the service, it might justly be doubted whether any period of superannuation ought to be fixed. When we look around us in England, and observe some of the most eminent in every profession among those who entered it latest, and when we refer to our recollections of those who have succeeded best in particular walks of literature and science, we may well hesitate before we declare a period at which the mind of man is unfit to begin a new pursuit with advantage to himself or profit to society.

B. M. V.

Errata in No. 2.—Page 326, line 14, for *These* read *There*; p. 327, l. 19, for *account* read *amount*; p. 330, l. 16, for *closekept* read *closeknit*; p. 332, l. 14, for *formed* read *form*.

SONNET.—BY MRS. OPIE.

(From "The Literary Souvenir[1].")

THE world invites thee—go, Lorenzo, go;
Be thine the statesman's toil, or poet's song;
Charm with thy eloquence the listening throng;
Or bear thy country's lightnings on the foe!
Go; thou wert formed to shine such scenes among,
And gain the garlands that to wit belong:
Away; nor turn to heed my parting woe!
I shall remain in lonely shades apart—
Not blest, but patient; and my pleasure be
To catch the distant echoes of thy fame,
And pray thy proud pre-eminence to see!
Nor thou forget, the while there is a heart
That beats with pride and rapture at thy name,
And swells to bursting at one thought of thee.

[1] For a notice of this elegant little work, see the article on "Christmas Presents," p. 539.

GOVERNOR ELPHINSTONE AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL ADAM.

Nothing can exceed the praise which every body in India bestows on John Adam's administration, which is the more to his credit, as much of his employment has been of an unpopular nature—the restrictions on the press in particular; but the inconsistency of a free press, where nothing else is free, or intended to be free, is too obvious to escape you. It is our duty, and I am happy to say it is our wish too, to hasten on the time, when the people of the country may take a share in their government. But, at present, nobody would take a part, or an interest, in political discussions, but the Europeans, of whom more than nine-tenths compose the strength of the army.—*Governor Elphinstone's Letter from Bombay, dated Aug.* 14, 1823.

At the debate in Leadenhall-street, on the 9th of July last, a "Professional Gentleman," who undertook the defence of Governor Adam's persecutions of the Press in Bengal, read a paper, purporting to be the fragment of a letter from Governor Elphinstone of Bombay, to Mr. Elphinstone, a principal Director of the East India Company, and near kinsman to *both* the Governors above named.

That paper was exactly the *sort* of document—precious to Men of Law—which, compounded of common-places and fallacies, serves well their purposes of deceiving the ignorant and inexperienced, of which descriptions the majority of such assemblies as that of the India Proprietors always consists. Be it noted, that, by "deceiving," nothing is meant more than honourable deception, all in the way of lawful vocation; by "ignorant," nothing more than that the Proprietary body know not nor care any thing about India, its people, or politics; by "inexperienced," only that they are not practised in analyzing words and thoughts; and, therefore, are no match for the Men of Law, who seem to lead them as they list, and to palm on them, for oracles, arrant impostures in matters of fact and reasoning.

It is said that this document from Governor Elphinstone produced all the impression on the flock which the leader desired; and that it has been since triumphantly referred to by others of their Men of Law in the same place, and by their periodical scribe. If so, there may be use (as a lesson for the next like occasion) in showing such as will read, how easily they have allowed themselves to be led away.

The statements and opinions set forth in Governor Elphinstone's letter to Mr. Elphinstone, appear to be of no weight or value whatsoever, for the following reasons:—

That document consists of two parts—

I. Matter of Testimony, as to Facts.
II. Matter of Opinion.

I. The matter of testimony enunciates four propositions of fact. 1. That "every body" in Bengal praises John Adam's administration in general. 2. That "every body" praises in particular his conduct relative to the Press. 3. That nothing is free in India. 4. That, of the Europeans in India, nine-tenths compose the strength of the army.

II. The matter of opinion comprises eight declarations. 1. That the before-stated exceeding praise of "every body in Bengal" is creditable to the before-mentioned John Adam. 2. That this universal praise is

the *more* creditable to JOHN ADAM, because JOHN ADAM's acts were unpopular in respect to the Press. 3. That a free Press is "inconsistent," where nothing else is free. 4. That the "inconsistency" above predicated by the Governor, is too obvious to "escape" the Director. 5. That nothing is "*intended*" to be free in India. 6. That it is "our duty" to hasten the time when the Indians may help to govern themselves. 7. That it is our "wish" likewise to do so. 8. That nobody at present would take any share in political discussion but the Europeans.

TWELVE PROPOSITIONS, thus condensed into three brief sentences, seem to betoken vigour of thought, as well as pith in expression. Not so. A strict analysis will demonstrate that the *assertions* are contradictory or improbable, therefore meriting no credence; that the *opinions* are either not founded on facts, or not legitimately inferred: worthless therefore in either case.[1]

The reader is not to suppose that the above separation of the whole twelve propositions, into four of fact and eight of opinion, arises from any logical connexion contemplated by the honourable writer, whereby certain propositions of fact, being proved, afford a basis whereon to erect certain inferences of opinion. On the contrary, facts and opinions are all jumbled together without method; and their separation and array is only a contrivance to facilitate the proposed analysis.

I. MATTER OF TESTIMONY, AS TO FACTS.

Of any testimony, the value depends primarily on the credibility of the witness; secondarily, on the credibleness of what he asserts. A perfectly good witness should, 1st, have sufficient physical and intellectual aptness to observe and note; 2d, have moral aptness such as to ensure his veraciousness and impartiality, public or private attachments notwithstanding; 3d, have opportunities ample for observing: and, 4th, the facts asseverated should not in themselves be incredible, that is, highly improbable or contradictory.

The *general* credit of the witness ELPHINSTONE, when assayed by the two first of these tests, may be admitted good; on the 3d, doubts present themselves: good opportunities to observe, he could not have *at first hand*, seeing that he was not on the spot, but more than thirteen hundred miles off;[2] and, therefore, he can only rank as a *hearsay* witness on many of the matters in issue. Much reliance we cannot place on the informants of an absolute Governor, of known personal, family, party, and corporation partialities; dispenser of power, place, and fortune; kinsman to the accused. With regard to the 4th test, credibleness of the evidence given, that cannot be discussed *à priori*, like credibility of a witness, but remains to be tested on each averment.

Averment the First.—Every body in Bengal praises John Adam's administration. But let not the gentle reader be deprived of the *ipsissima verba* of this hyperbolist, "NOTHING CAN EXCEED the praise which EVERY BODY," &c. &c. It may be, such fustian is not fit to be seriously dealt with; yet, in this bolting and sifting process, it must not

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[1] Un arredo di nobile alterezza
Forma i tre quarti de la lor prodezza.

[2] So says the Company's Directory, or *yellow* book, so called, and so appropriately coloured, I presume, to distinguish it from the Court book of similar import, which is *red*.

be passed over, since it gives token of some of the following qualities, all more or less fatal to the pretensions of this witness, namely, 1st, Romantic habits of thinking and writing, indicative of no fitness for testifying in grave matters. 2d, A contempt for the understanding of readers and hearers at second hand, who are treated with such girlish commonplaces at second hand, by every professional Proneur of the great man abroad, or the greater at home. 3d, A determination to make the best of a bad case, by stoutness of asseveration: or, 4th, An egregious complacency in taking a part for the whole—the interested voices of a few friends or flatterers for the honest opinions of the entire community. "*Nothing could exceed* the universal admiration which the beauty of the angelic bride, and elegance of her parure excited at court." "His Majesty, whose taste and discrimination *nothing can surpass*," &c. &c. "*Every body* was at the Drawing-room yesterday;" or "Opera." So prattle Morning Posts and gossiping dowagers: nay, even at the thrice select Almack's, the presence of "*Every body*" is boldly predicated by their own coterie, just as the coterie of courtiers, admitted to the honour of conversation or correspondence with royalty, or delegated royalty, are ever ready to vouch for the "universal satisfaction" that prevails among the "happy people!"

Stripped of this tawdry foolery, the meaning of the witness seems, that an overwhelming majority vehemently extol the said John Adam. But does the witness speak *from* his own knowledge, or *to the best* of his knowledge? Wide is the difference between those cases, although, from the ear of the unwary, the distinction and the implied fallacy escape. From what facts does the witness draw his conclusion—what sources of information? If *public* ones, the praises must have been vented in print or harangue; but here difficulties occur. For, 1st, All spontaneous meetings are forbidden in India, on pain of banishment.[3] 2d, John Adam took care to accompany the acts praised with special laws, putting down all printing of unpalatable matters. And, 3d, John Adam aforesaid, after thus preventing all reply and comment, printed a great book to justify his gaggings and persecutings, on the express plea that "*Every body's*" opinion, in praise be it, or dispraise, is not worth one sous in India, because the Governors hold in their hands "*Every body's*" lives and fortunes, in so far, at least, as "life" depends on means of subsistence. The witness Elphinstone joins in the same cry of "Nothing being free in India" [Vide Opinion 3, 4, and 5, and Assertion 3]: being, therefore, of admitted intellectual and moral aptness, he cannot sincerely attach any value to the PUBLIC praises of such an "*Every-body*" as this. If, on the other hand, these vociferous praises reached him from PRIVATE sources, then, respecting the value of *such* authority, coming from such informants, to such a personage as *this* Governor, and concerning such a personage as *that*, nothing need be said. [Vide Test 3, of Credibility, supra.] If these private bepraisers of his kinsman were *many*, their zeal should only have been more suspicious, as more nauseous in the eyes of a discerning arbiter of lives and fortunes; if *few*, what becomes of our "Every body"?

Averment the Second.—That Every body praises that part of John

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[3] This was done by an order of the Court of Directors, in 1806, to prevent such meetings.

Adam's administration which related to the Press, though it was unpopular.

The measures thus delicately alluded to appear to have been, 1st, The deportating of an editor, ruining his paper, excommunicating himself, intimidating his friends and advisers, and cutting off the supplies. 2d, The placing of the Press under license revocable at will. 3d, The forbidding any one to have or use printing materials without (revocable) license. 4th, The prohibiting of obnoxious books, as they do in Austria or Spain.[4] Note, that all these edicts are enforced by imprisonments and heavy fines, levyable by 'durante bene placito' hired Magistrates, and by domiciliary visitings; and no English precedents availing for such measures later than Star Chamber times, from which the whole machinery is taken, no wonder that such edicts were "unpopular;"—yet it is intrepidly sworn to, that this fortunate Governor Adam is praised for those unpopular doings—by whom? by "*Every body*" again, that firm friend in need of floundering advocates and thick-and-thin defenders; that efficient member of the large family of "*Nobody* knows," "*Somebody* said," "*Anybody* will tell you," and such slipsloppish generalities, that fill the ear and elude the sense.

Here a question arises—in whose eyes were those acts *unpopular* which "Every body" is thus busy in praising? "Unpopular" means distasteful to the people: "Popular," that of which the majority approve. It follows, that the very admission of the acts being unpopular, also admits that the *minority* only relished them. How consists this with "Every body's" speaking well of them?

It may be, we shall arrive at a right comprehension of the *real* value and meaning of "Every body," by a negative process, showing who are *not* included in that laudatory corps. Thus:

1. "Every body" does certainly not include the ruined owners, printers, editors, &c. of the suppressed newspaper.

2. Nor *all* of the thousand subscribers who paid 20*l.* a year to read it.[5]

3. Nor the Indian John Bull, whose occupation is gone, and who will no longer be paid or encouraged in his vocation of slander.[6]

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[4] See Oriental Herald, vol. i. p. 123 *et seq.*

[5] The subscription price paid for the Calcutta Journal was 16 rupees per month, or about 20*l.* per annum; but the tax of a heavy postage occasioned its price to be trebled at some stations; and to cost at very many places in the interior of India 60*l.* per annum. Notwithstanding which, it was purchased extensively, and transmitted to the remotest parts of India daily.

[6] In an official letter of the Editor of the Calcutta Journal to the Chief Secretary to Government in Bengal, the following accusations are made; and when it is added that these were never denied, nor even answered, by the Government thus accused, the reader must conclude that they were incontrovertibly true:—"It is not only granted to my opponent, the Indian John Bull (says the Editor of the Journal) to publish such portions of the letters of Government to me as may suit his purpose of bringing my writings and character into disrepute; but access is given him to all such documents, sufficiently early to make them a subject of comment in his pages, almost before they reach my hands, and certainly before I have been able to reply to them. Those who remember the avowed purpose for which that Paper was established, to crush and annihilate the Calcutta Journal; those who know the manner in which it has been supplied with every mark of official countenance and protection, being made, indeed, the channel of information formerly confined to the Government Gazette, as well as a vehicle of the most angry denunciations of myself and my opinions, in letters written for its columns, and generally believed to have been penned, by some among the highest

4. Nor the numerous half-castes, who loudly protested in the King's Court against the destruction of their birthright of free printing.[7]

5. Nor RAM MOHUN ROY, that most highly gifted apostle of all that is good to his benighted fellow-subjects; for he published a truly eloquent protest[8] and vain appeal to the protection of the King's Judges, in behalf of his countrymen, against the arbitrary violence of this same John Adam, whose administration is thus bedaubed.

6. Nor the people of India—the "multitude"—the "swinish," who have "nothing to do with the laws but obey them;" "*for* whom every thing should be done, *by* whom nothing," &c. A solecism it would be, and "misusing the King's Press damnably," to bring them forward as praisers of *unpopular* acts, even if our witness Elphinstone had not abjured their aid by saying [Opinion 8], that they take no part in political discussions.

7. The Company's and King's military officers in India cannot be included in the praisers, since both our witness and his friend the accused join in thinking that this gunpowder class had well nigh exploded, owing to the operations of the free press, in publishing trumpery grievances and discussions about military details, such as are published by scores in our Naval and Military Chronicles, without any such terrific effects.

8. "Every body" cannot comprehend the section of the community, whatever its numbers or composition, which took the same view of free discussion with Lord Hastings's section of Council against the Adamite section.[9]

9. Nor the Petty Jurors, who had spirit to kick out the ridiculous accusations preferred under cover of their Six Secretaries—accusations sanctioned by the more complaisant and select Grand Jurors.

10. Finally, certain younger branches of the Civil Service, who are spoken of as tainted with disrespect to their immaculate superiors, all owing to the Press.

But if all these classes and individuals do NOT compose this "EVERY BODY," who does? Of whom consists this generalized entity? The mass of the civil functionaries alone remains, in tale, insignificant; in weight, all-powerful; the implacable enemies and natural abhorrers of light and observation, and the public eye; because the engrossers of all place and power, and void of political sympathies with the herd of the governed. To speak correctly, this class has a particular interest distinct from the general interest: the greatest good of the greatest number is not *their* good; their antipathy to free scrutiny is instinctive, like that of a Jesuit or a Judge; like that, in truth, of the class of public servants in all states—inextinguishable, not to be avowed, but, on the contrary,

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functionaries of the state; those to whom all this is notorious (and they include nearly the whole of the British community in India) will not wonder at the ungenerous exultation which the habitual contributors to that Paper have already displayed at what they no doubt deem the immediate harbinger of my irretrievable ruin."—*Oriental Herald*, vol. i. *Appendix*, p. 40, 41.

[7] See the Protest by Messrs. Scott and Reed, in the Oriental Herald, vol. i. p. 133, first column.

[8] The masterly and unanswerable Memorial of Ram Mohun Roy will be found in the Oriental Herald, vol. i. p. 130.

[9] See Adam's Manifesto, p. 53. 4to.; and Oriental Herald, vol. i. p. 206.

denied, with the usual professions of veneration for publicity in the abstract; craving, however, like Governor Adam, or Bonaparte, or Messrs. Impey and Jackson, a special exception, each for his own particular corner of the general field.

Averment the Third.—"Nothing is free in India."

This is an attempt to make out a case by bold begging of the question—of a piece with the stuff palmed on the India Proprietors by their men of gown and wig—that the English government in India is, in fact, and is of necessity, a despotism.

The proposition is critically false, and erroneous in fact; but though little creditable it be to the man of law to betray ignorance in a matter of statute law, it is even less so to the Governor, who ought to know better concerning the institutions under his own rule—no wonder he is so ready to defend the arbitrary and unlawful acts of others.

"Nothing free in India, *ergo* no need of a free press,"—this is the strain of fact and inference. Leaving on our side the marvellous non-sequitur of the conclusion, pass we to the premises.

By a series of statutes from 1772-3 to 1823, four royal courts have been organized at the India Company's four Presidencies (besides one at Ceylon) with all the powers of the King's Bench; with jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, Chancery, and Admiralty; Civil and Criminal superadded. These Courts administer the law of England only, and are even more independent of their local Governments than the Courts of Westminster are of the King's Ministers. They hold no extra-judicial correspondence—no intercourse of patronage. In fact, those royal Courts were expressly instituted to control the Company's governments and servants. They are more powerful than the Courts in England, for they not only administer but make bye-laws, concurrently with the local Councils, of which see a memorable instance in the combined operations of Governor Adam and Chief Justice Macnaghten to put down the press.

The Judges have the undivided prerogative of mercy: all the power of the Government cannot authoritatively procure the remission of any sentence of that Court. Its Judges are named by the Crown. Jury trial obtains in criminal cases: the writ of habeas corpus runs as in England, of which see a striking case in the liberation of Arnot, a state prisoner, deported by Lord Amherst (John Adam's worthy successor,) illegally seized, and liberated by the Court on a point of form rather than substance.

The jurisdiction of these "supreme" Courts, extends—1st, To all British-born subjects within the Company's territories. 2d, To all public servants of whatever description within the same. 3d, To inhabitants of every class within the great cities.

When the witness Elphinstone, himself a Governor, avers that nothing is free in India, his "wish may be father to that thought," but he errs as to certain large classes of the King's subjects. It may be, he means that the statutory prerogative, enjoyed by the Company's governors, of deporting white men at pleasure, supersedes all law and privilege. Truly it may do so; no limit is there to this frightful power, other than the feelings of him who wields it. Those exposed to its fury may be urged to do as well as to suffer unlawful things, through fear of ruin. Jurors

may be bullied;[10] felons screened; debtors sheltered; "*litigious*" suitors against power, terrified; Printers gagged; Censors set up, and so forth. Still this "reign of terror" can only apply to the single class of British-*born* subjects. All others within the protection of the Court, in law and in fact, are said to be as free as in England, save where power-loving Judges sink into the iniquity of combining with the Governors to oppress those for whose protection these were set up.

Besides this positive check, of great strength in honest hands, these delegated Governments are restrained from many things in a way not consistent with the idea of absolute power. They may not dismiss their own servants, but only suspend till their Directors in England decide. They must sue and be sued in their own as well as the King's Courts. The person and property of no man in the capital cities can be touched but under process of law, excepting always English-born men, through actual or threatened deportation. Even that despotic power cannot always be enforced; as for instance, on the persons of debtors, suitors, traversers, and others, in the King's Court, and Judges and "professional gentlemen" of that tribunal. The Governments cannot levy any customs without special leave of the King's Ministers, nor make any regulation, nor raise any duty within the jurisdiction of the King's Court, for which they have not warrant of statute. Thus, in point of fact, so far from nothing being free or intended to be free in India, a large portion of its most valuable inhabitants do enjoy as much freedom of person and property as in England, *while the King's Courts do their duty.* Those white men who do *not* partake in this, are oppressed by *indirect* means only. In the theory of the law they are as free as others; and as to political freedom, if that means the power of taxing and law-making by their representatives, at least they have as large a share of that as the weaver of Manchester, and the copyholder all over England, being *virtually* represented by Members of Council, whom others choose for them. No—Mr. Elphinstone cannot mean "*nothing* is free," as synonymous with "no electioneering liberty,"—for he says "a free Press is inconsistent and absurd *because* nothing else is free." Will a Whig and a Scotchman say that a free press is inconsistent or absurd *because* the People have no electioneering liberty? One would suppose this a reason the more for giving the people that advantage, otherwise a free press is inconsistent in the last degree in Scotland.

Averment the Fourth.—"That of the Europeans in India, nine-tenths *compose the strength* of the army."

Such are the words, loose and perplexed in construction, of the witness, Elphinstone, the apparent *meaning* being, that nine-tenths of that class of Europeans, whom he has just stated as likely to take an interest in political discussion, *belong to* the army.

Not the rank-and-file caste, of course, but the officer-caste. Both Governors distinctly enough intimate that it is from this more instructed but insubordination-loving class they snuff the coming danger, in case

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[10] As in the case of the Madras Jurors (in 1809,) grand and petit, (see Marsh's Review of Sir George Barlow's administration) persecuted and threatened for giving unpalatable verdicts to Sir G. Barlow. Also in the case of a common thief and swindler, named Lindsay, who was sent from Delhi to escape the gallows (in 1822). These things are not imaginary, as probably the author of this criticism on Mr. Elphinstone may suppose.—Ed.

free printing were allowed. Indeed, no one has yet so far presumed on the gullible properties of the "Ladies and Gentlemen," of Leadenhall-street, as to threaten them with a revolt of the corn-consuming private soldiery, owing to such of them as can read, and have withstood all the seductions of "Twopenny trash" in England, being corrupted by newspapers at twenty[11] times the price, and one-twentieth the interest or amusement!

Hence we gather, that susceptibility to the seductions of the Carliles, Cobbetts, and other Hobgoblins of India, so feelingly conjured up to the "Ladies and Gentlemen,"—that corruptibility by free discussion, and probable hostility therefrom to the Company's Governments, are *inversely* as education. The more a man knows, the more dangerous subject he!—same reasoning as Austria at Laybach; same fear of the light; same results: putting down the press—quenching knowledge!

But in the matter of fact, our Governor-witness is strangely misled himself, unless (which cannot be) he be politically seeking to mislead others. It is not easy to get detailed information about India, any more than about the unravellable knot of Indian accounts. By help of the Company's yellow book of 1824, with their *imprimatur* on it, an attempt has been made to try the correctness of the asseveration of this able Governor of one presidency and old Civil Servant of another, that nine-tenths of the Europeans taking an interest in political discussion in India would be officers of the army. If reliance may be had on that book, and if frequent repetitions of names in different capacities and places have not deceived a patient search, the entire of the Company's establishment of military officers at Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay is or lately was about 4,280—of civil servants at all establishments (except St. Helena, which must be left out when the effects of the Indian press are in question) about 770—of clerical persons, about 80—of medical, about 630—marine of Bengal and Bombay, about 300—of registered free European settlers, such as planters, ship captains and officers, merchants, lawyers of all degrees, clerks of all kinds, schoolmasters, teachers, missionaries, shopkeepers, artisans, assistants in public departments, private practitioners in all branches of the healing art, about 2,520 are set down at all the Presidencies. All of these are of an order superior to the labouring class in England, of whom there can be none European in India while black-labour is so cheap, even if climate admitted. These settlers must all serve as jurors, grand or petty; they have all more or less property, and consequent interest in the administration of courts, of the police, of the customs, excise, house and land taxes, public funds, and other objects of a free press's solicitude. They are an aristocracy of colour compared with Indians or half Indians, on the highest of whom

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11 A rupee may be taken as the price of a Calcutta newspaper, to which, add as much more for average postage, for they do not pass free in India:—Twenty times two-pence is a moderate calculation. If this writer had seen the European soldiery in India as we have, he might have added to his argument, that not one in some hundreds can speak the common tongue of the country; that they despise and hate the natives, considering them as little better than brute animals; and that they are in general drunken and dissipated to a degree far exceeding that customary in Europe, because of the idleness in which they are kept. Such men are not likely to take an interest in political discussion, as Mr. Elphinstone knows, and we acquit him of meaning to insinuate such a thing, only fit for Mr. Randle Jackson to harangue upon.—Ed.

the meanest white looks down; even the poorest are rich compared with the labouring blacks. Such persons would of course take an interest in political newspaper discussion.

The total of the non-military classes here enumerated, is nearly 4,300, or about as many as the military, namely, 4,280. But our Governor tells us that the latter are nine-tenths of the whole. These nine-tenths, or at least four out of the nine, must be set down to the account of the witness's overstrained and romantic manner, along with "every body," "nothing can exceed," and such little-worth companions.

It will not account for this strange mistake, to add the officers of the royal troops to the military side of this estimate; for, 1st. They are not probably above 5 or 600 effective, to the effectives of the 20,000 king's troops allotted to India by law, and that would not give our quotient nine-tenths. 2dly. The king's officers probably do but balance the absentees on furlough from the Company's regiments, all of whom are included, to preclude partiality, in the above estimate of 4,280. Some absentees also there are among the non-military establishments of servants; but not, it may be presumed, among the settlers, who are a *list*, not an *establishment*. 3dly. Besides, neither of the Governors can mean to insinuate that the insubordinate character which they predicate of the provincial officers, could attach to the officers of the *national* army, the King's own officers, when serving in the colonies of the East, more than those of the West, or at the Cape, or Ceylon. No Governor of *these* places has ever disturbed himself with any such apprehension. Mr. Elphinstone's calculations could not, therefore, have extended to the royal officers.

This examination of the value of Governor Elphinstone's four assertions of fact in favour of Governor Adam, it is conceived, has shown that however intellectually apt a witness, and however veracious, in stating what he believed to be correct, his asseverations are entitled to no credit or credence, because improbable and contradictory.

Proceed we to scrutinize,

II. The Matters of Opinion contained in the vindicatory document.

In the antecedent portion of this examination, the task was somewhat operose, for the general credibility and character of the witness being granted in the first instance, he could only be refuted by convicting him of errors and improbabilities, through a rigorous sifting and winnowing of his alleged *facts*. A different and easier course may be taken with the examination of his *opinions* as a compurgator of "John Adam." Alleged facts are susceptible of direct *disproof*. Opinions cannot always be met so closely, and the most successful mode in such cases as this, of discrediting authoritative opinions sent forth from a distant region, and referring to matters not within familiar cognizance, is to show, if possible, that the Oracle is partial, incompetent, or a party concerned.

The first step in this process, as in the former part, is to lay down one general standard for valuing declared opinions in any given case. Their value seems to depend on the following contingent circumstances:

1. Declarant's physical aptness to perceive—intellectual aptness to *note*. 2. Solidity of his judgment—depending on the structure and balance of his mental powers. 3. Ampleness of opportunity to observe and judge, in the cases in question. 4. Impartiality in judging—absence

of disturbing bias in *forming* his judgment. 5. Moral competency, or veraciousness in *declaring* the judgment formed:—Trustworthiness, in short, so that implicit reliance may be had, as to the identity of the opinions *delivered*, with those *formed*.

All these conditions resolved favourably, maximize the value of the declarant's opinions on matters not susceptible of proof; unfavourably, they minimize that value. If some favourably, others unfavourably, then the general value rises or falls with the balance of those value-giving qualifications for or against the declarant.

Try, by these tests, the declarant Elphinstone's weight as a general political compurgator of John Adam.

1st test. APTNESS, as formerly, may be fully taken for admitted.

2d. SOLIDITY OF JUDGMENT. In so far as education and reading influence capacity of judging rightly, a nobleman's son must be supposed to enjoy great advantages; the having been a successful author, and employed in important situations that birth and connexions do not always command, without adequate talents, may be fairly conceded as adding to the probabilities of the compurgator's capability of solid judging. Contra: the document under review, as before shown, bears no marks on its face, of calm and philosophical parentage. Hence, considerable doubt as to the author's *judgment*.

3d. OPPORTUNITY. The opportunities enjoyed by the declarant for *seeing*, it has been shown before, were none;—for *hearing*, few, and tainted with vehement suspicion;—for *judging*, such only as his talent in that line could extract out of few and dubious occasions of seeing and hearing. Note. Receiving letters is included, of course, in this sense of the word "hearing."

4th. IMPARTIALITY IN JUDGING. On this test, a verdict must be taken against the honourable declarant on several counts, each deeply rooted in the weakness of man. 1st. The compurgator, and he that is to be purged, are both governors—both Company's servants; both open to be swayed by the same *particular* interests counter to general interest; both possessed by the same *esprit du corps;* both dispensers of all place and profit within their several *horizons;* both liable to be actuated by love of power. 2dly. Both profess to pertain, by inheritance or otherwise, to that section of aristocracy called WHIG; both, thence, anxious to reconcile their acts when *in* power, with professions of their party when out. 3dly. The parties are said to be kinsmen of the first degree; to have spent youth and maturer life together in personal friendship and official connexion, such attachments which render men valuable to each other in private relation, warp the judgment, and render them valueless in a greater or smaller degree, to the public, as evidences or judges. Still more is this value lessened when the suspicious compurgation comes in the shape of a private letter to a very "near and dear" relative, the patron of BOTH; venerable from age and character; of the greatest influence in the direction of Indian affairs at home; and a strenuous leader of their common party in politics; every way interested, therefore, in joining with the two governors, to make up a good case, and carry them through the easy ordeal of a sham inquiry.

5th. MORAL COMPETENCY. Secureness to the public, that no disturbing causes of party, family, or corporation interest, shall be powerful enough to prevent the declarant from expressing all that he thinks in his

own conscience, of the real merits and demerits of the case, or the persons involved. That men in bodies, and even individuals of those corps, will not shrink from actions and concealments in public affairs or politics, which in private life they would disdain, has been often enough remarked; rarely denied, and never very honestly, or without mental reservation.[12] The distinctions made are subtile: the *crimen falsi* would be dishonourable even in politics; not necessarily so, the *suppressio veri.* Governor Elphinstone would probably not go so far, but he is a governor nevertheless; a man in power, and a man of party; and he cannot, therefore, be implicitly trusted.

The result of this assaying of the general value of compurgator Elphinstone's declared opinions in favour of John Adam, gives a strong preponderance against that declarant; one test only being in his favour out of five. Even if we can depend on his fully stating "the whole" of his real opinions, and "nothing but" his real opinions, in this defence of his kinsman and fellow governor, nevertheless it is shown that those opinions must almost necessarily be destitute of any value, and unworthy of attention from those who seek truth alone. A slight examination of the eight opinions themselves will now, therefore, suffice for every useful purpose.

Opinion the First.—That the before-stated praises (by "nothing exceeded") of every body in Bengal is creditable to the before-mentioned John Adam.

Opinion the Second.—That this universa lpraise is "*more* creditable" to John Adam because John Adam's acts were "unpopular."

These opinions the compurgator Elphinstone dashes off, as we have seen, in his way of vague exaggeration: praises that "*nothing can exceed,*" and the busy "*every body,*" the friend old, but face new; for now he has graduated, and appears, not only in the positive degree of "creditable," but the *comparative* "more creditable." Enough of such superlative fooling: it is in proof, that this boastful "every body" turns out to be almost as rank a nonentity as Mr. Nobody himself. If "every body" praises *un*popular acts, one marvels what would be the fate of *popular* measures?

Opinion the Third.—That a free press is "inconsistent *where* nothing else is free."

Opinion the Fourth.—That "this inconsistency is too obvious to escape" the person addressed by the declarant.

These two opinions may go to trial together, for the only difference between the propositions is, that both beg the question, but the fourth refers it to the personal penetration of the individual addressed. It is an old phrase of fallacy well known in Parliamentary logic, a variety of the *argumentum ad hominem:* where you are in doubt yourself, of any thing you would have another believe, cram it down by boldly affecting to consider the proposition as if beyond possible question, at least when grasped by the perspicacity and acumen of your honourable friend whom you would persuade. The freedom of the press, we are assured in this declarant's confused style, is "INCONSISTENT" *where* nothing else is free. The old story of our despotism in India! which ignorant,

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[12] See Bubb Doddington's Diary, the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and Hamilton's Parliamentary Logic.

prating lawyers pretend—history and statutes notwithstanding—always has been, and always must be, in the English government of India!

Nothing can be more "inconsistent" than is this allegation of inconsistency, with fact. It has been shown before (Averment 3d) that the proposition is false historically and actually. But the usual *petitio principii* is courageously resorted to; and no proof offered why a free press would be necessarily inconsistent with the despotism of a delegated government, supposing such to prevail in India.

The fallacy here employed lies chiefly in the use of big words, which have obtained one meaning by notoriety in England, and are applied *ad invidiam* (or *ad metum*) to India, where the meaning differs. "Liberty of the press" is given out as a catchword to excite in the minds of old ladies and gentlemen stockholders, the adjacent ideas of "liberty and equality," "Tom Paine," "sans culottes," "French revolution," &c. &c.: whence a natural transition to the acrimonious contentions of the press in England. Even if it were true that the liberty of the press, which is solicited for India, must put on this rancorous face, a politician, pretending to philosophical views, might not consider such storms an evil, necessarily outweighing the good to be done by such an atmospheric purifier. But a politician of this class (and which of the parties now in issue pretends to be such?) would at once see that the free publishing of opinions in India does not lead to the rancours and inflammations that disgrace the English press; unless, indeed, the stupid obstinacy or partiality of the government be applied to blow the coals. It is the fury of religious and political factions, contending for the loaves and fishes, that produces so much bitterness here; in India, those disturbing causes exist not.

1st. All religions and sects there, are on strict equality in the eye of the law. True toleration subsists, owing to the necessity which every one feels and understands; even the lofty English prelate finds his kibes trodden upon by the Scotch presbyter; the Arminian papa; the Popish priest; the Anabaptist missionary; the Jewish rabbin; aye, the very Mohammedan mufty, and supercilious Brachmar. The public endowments, held by any of these orders, are exceedingly slender; there is nothing to fight for. 2dly. As to political factions contending for power, there can be none, from the nature of the government, namely, a delegation of three or four Councillors, *named in England*, holding all power and all responsibility. Every other office in the state is merely executive and irresponsible, save to the Council, who locate and dislocate them as a merchant his clerks; and the whole offices in the state, from Councillorships downwards, are filled exclusively by a body of candidates *named in England*, and who rise by degrees to higher places. Note. There are more places to give than men to fill them!

In such a polity, and with no representative body to encourage and afford an arena for party combats, there cannot be violent struggles of large and ravenous factions for place, power, wealth! Their struggles, if any, must be transferred to England, where alone location to the administration takes place. Widely different would be the sphere of utility of the Indian Press; its chief functions consisting, 1st, in intimidating judges and public officers into faithfully discharging their own duties; 2d, in compelling their *dependents* to do so likewise; 3d, in shaming the disbursers of patronage into beneficial exercise of that public trust; 4th, in

bringing to notice grievances; 5th, in suggesting improvements, &c. &c. Such employment of the press, in aid of a government of which the foreignness, extensiveness, and remoteness, make it weak in its details, ought to be welcomed by honest administrators with no common cordiality, instead of hatred real, and fear affected, of which the reason is plain—that it would extinguish prostitution of patronage; that it would interfere with the monopoly and privileges of the official aristocracy!

The grand hobgoblin played off to the "Ladies and Gentlemen," is fear of rebellion among the natives of India. Mr. Elphinstone's perspicacity and veraciousness hinder him from joining the Leadenhall-street showmen in this humbug. It is the criticisms of the Europeans, he and his John Adam dread. They know that the irreconcileable divisions among the blacks, and our mental and military superiority, constitute our complete safety,[13] and that not one in one million is forward enough in mind and education to rise in political discussion beyond the most childish common-places. If the danger is in the whites and the oppressed half-castes, what are we afraid of *their* doing? Will they, a handful, excite the blacks to destroy their own lives and property? In a couple of centuries, when a white and mixed population shall have spread itself fully over the country, against all the difficulties of a pre-existing dense population, then British India *may* follow the fate of America; not before. Even the Company, or its minions, will scarce have the brazen front to propose openly, that India be kept fettered under its present degree of despotism *for an indefinite time*, through fear of such a remote independence. Before that epoch, we may learn a little wisdom from experience, and find out that the true way to keep the attachment of colonies is to slacken the reins as the child grows up.

Opinion the Fifth.—"Nothing is intended to be free in India."

Another confused expression. Means he, "It IS intended that nothing *shall ever be* free," or "It WAS not intended (by the framers of the system) that any thing free should have been created"? The first construction would be too egregious an assumption of the prophetic vocation: the Governor must mean the second. Painful it is to choose between such absurdities. Can a British Governor have read to so little purpose the history of his own times, and the statutes relating to the country over which he rules, as to hazard this bold opinion? The proposition so confidently ennunciated is foundationless. The proceedings of Parliament in the case of Lord Clive, in 1772; in Burgoyne's, Burke's, and Dundas's Committees; in the proposed impeachment of Chief Justice IMPEY; in North's, Shelburne's, Fox's, and Pitt's Bills; in the Patna, Dacca, and Midnapore cases; and in Warren Hastings's trial—all show fully the desire, professed at least, of all parties to confer on India as much of freedom as she was thought capable of—*quantum*, of course, differing with different temperaments.[14] But in historic notorieties more need scarce be

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13 See Letters to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart. M.P. by a Proprietor of East India Stock—Oriental Herald, vol. ii.

14 There is in Mr. Marsh's book, p. 163, an excellent speech of Sir Benjamin Sullivan, on the liberty of the press, and the controlling powers of that Court. Also, in some of Sir Elijah Impey's, and other Judges' speeches, inserted in the State Trials of 1774-5-6, &c. on their *superiority* to the Government, and right to interfere. These are very high *authorities*, and may therefore be safely adverted to here.

said, than to place in contra-position to Governor Elphinstone's declaration of "nothing being meant to be free in India," two paragraphs from a late interesting and manly speech by Sir Edward West, the Chief Justice of Bombay, in the matter of the robbed and cheated Parsee, Cursetjee Monackjee, a case of oppression than which none more flagrant and disgraceful ever came to light. The original fraud and wrong appears to have been done by Mr. Elphinstone's remote predecessors; but that compurgator of other men's public characters, would do well to look at home, if he have joined in this twenty years wrong and oppression, and have aggravated it, as the persecuted man's letter[15] seems to show, by recourse to chicanery, of endless expensiveness, and interminable delay! Of a truth, the Government of Bombay acts as though it believed that "nothing is intended to be free in India." But Sir Edward West speaks differently of one institution at least, the Supreme Court.[16]

Opinion the Sixth.—That it is the *duty* of the Indian Governments to hasten the time when the people of the country may take a part in self-government.

Opinion the Seventh.—That he is happy to say it is also their *wish* to do so.

Opinion the Eighth.—That none but the Europeans at present would take a part or an interest in political discussion.

These three opinions fit well together: a few words will suffice for all: they are of a sort that might be termed 'Argumenta ad Balænam,' if any such familiar nomenclature as 'tub-argument, or whale-argument,' may be allowed to intrude into the gravity of logical classification. The phraseology too, about "wishes," and "duties," "hastening time," "taking a part in self-government," &c. &c. is altogether of the nature which Voltaire calls '*des Suisses*,' ready to serve any one's call indifferently. So, when a judge begins an eulogy on "matchless constitution," &c. the hearer expects some act of injustice or oppression under colour of law. Of small importance is it, whether Indian governors really think it a duty, or truly have a wish to hasten the day when their subjects shall learn to do without them, and they may be allowed to execute their "wishes" of descending from their painful pre-eminence into

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[15] Oriental Herald, vol. iii. p. 198, 274.

[16] With respect to the plaintiff's delay in enforcing his claim, I can easily, as an individual, understand that a *native of this country*, in whose ideas GOVERNMENT AND DESPOT ARE SYNONYMOUS, would be most unwilling to enter the lists against the Government. I can readily believe that nothing but the severest distress, or the greatest injustice, would drive him to hostilities against a body such as the East India Company. As an individual, I can on this ground make allowance for the delay in bringing forward this claim. But sitting in this seat, and bound as I am to decide according to law, I cannot permit such considerations to weigh with me. I cannot allow it to be supposed for a moment that in this Court, the King's Court, instituted as it has been by the Crown and Legislature of Great Britain, *mainly for the very purpose of giving the natives of this country* REDRESS AGAINST THE COMPANY AND THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS; I say, I cannot allow it to be surmised that the meanest or poorest native would not, at any period of the existence of this Court, have obtained *a full measure of justice* AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. I make these observations, because the plaintiff's delay in prosecuting his suit was attempted to be accounted for by his Counsel, in part by his having sought redress in Great Britain. There was, however, no occasion for such step, as this Court was always open to him.—*Sir Edward West's Judgment in the case of the Parsee Merchant against the Governor in Council of Bombay.*—Oriental Herald, vol. iii. p. 269.

the shades of private life. Such talk avails little, when accompanied by edicts forbidding the people to have in their possession a drop of ink, a sheet of paper, a type, a press, or any book that shall be prohibited, save under special license. These things speak a more intelligible language than the Swiss phrases.

The whole of this fabric of cant and fallacy may be easily demolished. The declarant's avowed sentiments are as follows. A free press is inconsistent with the present backward political position of India. The natives are incapable yet of taking any part or interest in political discussion like Europeans. We are doing our best to advance them. When they are advanced, and can help to govern themselves, then will be the time for a press.

But why wait till then?

A free press only means LEAVE for those who like, to print their thoughts: it is but the *absence of any* HINDRANCE. Be the press ever so free, nobody is COMPELLED to print, or to read what is printed, unless he choose. If there be none able and willing to write for the press, or to read and understand what might be printed, a thousand free presses could do no harm; for who would set them a going? The inert types and Stanhope's are incapable of mischief.

But if there *be* any body able to write and willing to print newspapers, and if there be any body willing to read what is printed, and capable of understanding it, then, *at least those two men* are capable of taking some part or interest in political discussion; therefore, by supposition, (per Hypothesin Balænicam) they are able to help in self-government, and therefore are fit for a free press, and a free press for them.

Those two men, therefore, if there were no more besides fit, ought, by the Elphinstone hypothesis itself, to have the use of a press—not meaning a press set up *for* them by any body else, but leave to print at a press of their own if they please: none else will use it, or read its productions, unless others be able to write or understand. But if there be any such, they too are fit, and therefore entitled.

The fallacy lies in speaking of "the press" figuratively, as if it were a thing—an *institution* FORCED upon people, who were compelled to write, print, and read, whether they would or no—fit or unfit. If they are fit, they will use it; if not, what harm is done?

But the existence of a press in any country, supported at the charges of private readers and writers, is of itself sufficient proof that it is adapted to the wants of the country, and that the country is ready for it, and ripe for the good which that first of human inventions carries with it wherever introduced. If all be true that we hear about extortions, monopolies, oppression of private traders, law-taxation, annihilation of middle ranks, compulsory providing of investments, want of institutions, land-tax,[17] systematical

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[17] I remember being deeply struck, and somewhat diverted, shocking though the subject was, with Rickards's published speeches, (1813, I think.) He was a member of Government abroad, expelled by the Company's Directors for being suspected of liberal opinions upon trade and *revenue* particularly. He lets out some of the loathsome secrets of their prison-house, in particular an instructive but disgusting diary of a Council at Surat, who, with infinite naïveté, register their floggings, extortions, imprisonings, bullyings, and other persecutions of refractory artisans, who would not work for the Company exclusively, and at a lower rate than was offered by others! This was a Council of Englishmen!!

duties, extraction and abstraction of surplus revenue, and similar things said to distinguish English rule in India, that country is full ripe for the good works of the press, and calls for the broadest plan of publicity. In time, and by perseverance, we shall understand the subject better; and Parliament, which is on its good behaviour sometimes, will one day or other give way to the general wish, unequivocally expressed.

So much for the value of Governor Elphinstone's vindication of Governor Adam, in his letter to Director Elphinstone. The facts alleged are of little value, being mostly improbable and contradictory:—the opinions, of less, being mostly partial and inconsequent. Of what worth, then, is the document as a whole?

AN ENGLISH BENCHER.

LOVE IS LIFE'S RAINBOW.

AIR—Spanish Waltz.

"OH! Love is Life's Rainbow!" said Clara, as gladly
She hailed its young dawn in her sensitive breast:
"Without it, Life's clouds would roll dreary and sadly,
And youth's sunny day be with showers oppress'd;—
But the Rainbow of Love, its sweet colours combining,
Though, at times, a light cloud or a shower pass o'er,
Still comes back again, clear, lovely, and shining,
And makes Passion's Heaven more bright than before."

"Yes, Love is Life's Rainbow," said Clara, as sighing,
She heard that her Lover unfaithful had been:
"Like fugitive hues of the Rainbow, still flying,
'Tis lost in some mist, ere its beauty is seen.—
Oh! better to live amidst dark skies for ever,
Than see a gay sun-shine that fades as it forms,
And better were Spring without Rainbows—if never
They came, but to bring with them showers and storms.

"Oh! Love is Life's Rainbow," said Clara, when married,
She looked in those eyes where her own loved to rest:
"In *our* sky, at least, have its fleeting hues tarried,
And cast o'er *our* landscape the light of the bless'd.—
And oh! may that Iris, now fresh in its splendour,
Ne'er vanish, though clouds should its beauty o'ercast,
But rise from the tempest, more pure and more tender,
An emblem of Love and of Hope to the last."

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

LITERARY CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

In all religions there are certain fixed periods of festivity, which, when they come about, set the world rejoicing, as if mirth and pleasant feelings were entirely regulated by the seasons. By contemplating attentively the various complexion of the calendar, a man may calculate with tolerable exactness when he shall be merry or otherwise, for a whole revolution of the sun; and likewise whether at any particular period he shall dine luxuriously on "savoury meats" and venison, or fast as sumptuously on fish and the fruits that are in season. This is a great advantage. It is certain also that it may, by judicious management, be much improved; for the clergy, if they were so disposed, might make an exact list of all the sins and comforts of civilized life, and so dispose and balance them against our penitence and miseries, that at the year's end there should be a small matter in favour of the latter. This would be proceeding upon safe grounds; for our faults, as it is certain we must sometimes sin, might be so neatly placed between the brackets and parentheses of fasting and repentance, as to seem a necessary part of the composition of life, inserted for completeness and perfection.

Let casuists determine as they please, however, upon this point, it is certain, that all christian communities have hitherto reckoned upon enjoying the good things of this world at Christmas. Puddings and mince-pies have ever been esteemed great helps to faith at that particular period; and even the greatest "lights of the church" have been observed to evince no aversion for this species of piety. In the country, jovial wassailers scour the country, for the purpose of assisting the honest simple people, to demolish their hams, and empty their barrels; regaling them all the while with lively chaunts of those most lamentable ditties, ycleped *Christmas Carols*. These doings, we are told, have been for some time retreating from the metropolis, towards the extremities of the island; and it is not impossible, (if not soothed and conciliated in time,) but they may plunge into the sea, and escape to some more hospitable dwelling. At present, we of the metropolis are quite careless of these matters, very injudiciously turning our attention solely to those airy beings, denominated *taste* and *learning*. Every body assists in this unchristian practice, so that it is probable the next age will celebrate Christmas with books, instead of dinners, and the stage-coaches bend with reams of printed paper, which are now clogged in their movements by the weight of game and confectionary, despatched from one part of the kingdom to the other.

We have been led into these reflections, by a very pretty species of books, which may be called Christmas Presents. They are designed principally we believe for children, or, in ancient English phraseology, "youths of both sexes." Nothing could be better calculated for inducing a habit of reading, for their features are various and interesting, and in all likelihood, such as will find favour in the eyes of the rising generation. It is not here the place to discuss the question, how far the habit of promiscuous reading generally diffused, may be beneficial to a people, we shall find other opportunities for doing that; our present design is merely to give such of our readers as are not better acquainted with the subject than ourselves, some slight notion of these "Literary Christmas Presents."

The earliest publication of the kind, for this year, is Mr. Ackermann's "Forget me Not!" That were a strange book which could contrive not to be forgotten in the present literary deluge; but the title of this little work addresses itself principally, we presume, to the person receiving it as a present, and it would be a hard thing indeed, if any literary masters or misses should take upon them to forget so elegant a gift, especially as it is expected to come out annually. Its contents were never meant to be criticised severely, nor do they need it; they will be taken immediately for what they are, light and pleasing little pieces, very well adapted to amuse those for whom they were intended. The embellishments are pretty; we thought the "Cascades of Gavarnie" in the Pyrenees, peculiarly so. The Extracts from the unpublished Journal of a Traveller, accompanying and introducing the preceding plate, pleased us also exceedingly.

The next work is Mr. Lupton Relfe's "Friendship's Offering." A pleasing title! pleasing especially in youth, before it is known how rare a thing is friendship. In this little volume the young reader will meet with some of his oldest and most cherished acquaintances—Mrs. Opie, and Miss Maria Edgeworth. Who does not know and admire them? The same delicacy, the same truth, the same benevolence and touching simplicity distinguish them here, as elsewhere. We owe much to these ladies; more, probably, than to some who appear higher on the literary horizon, but who are not therefore more bright. "The Mental Thermometer," "Disobedience," and "The Golden Heart," may not add to the reputation of the writers, but they will support it, at the expense, probably, of some tears to the reader. The decriptions at such length, of the cities of Constantinople, Petersburgh, Berne, and Naples, we think it was injudicious to introduce; a very short sketch accompanying the plates would have sufficed. The plates themselves are extremely pretty; the wood-cuts at the end particularly, which appear to be highly correct, and represent objects of much interest to every native of this country.

What seems to us inferior in these publications, is the Poetry. It is the madness of the times, which threatens to become as unmanageable as that of the Abderites, mentioned by Athenæus, and other ancient writers.[1] Every body now invokes the Muse; and we see no way of de-

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[1] The reader might be referred to Vossius, *ad P. Melam*, to Lucian, *Quom. Hist. Cons. sit*, and to Athenæus, l. xiii. for the madness of the Abderites; but probably he would not take the trouble to look into these authors. We therefore give Sterne's account of the matter.

'The town of Abdera, notwithstanding Democritus lived there trying all the powers of irony and laughter to reclaim it, was the vilest and most profligate town of all Thrace. What for poisons, conspiracies, and assassinations, ——— libels, pasquinades, and tumults, there was no going there by day—'twas worse by night.

'Now when things were at the worst it came to pass that the Andromeda of Euripides being represented at Abdera, the whole orchestra was delighted with it: but of all the passages which delighted them, nothing operated more upon their imaginations, than the tender strokes of nature which the poet had wrought up in that pathetic speech of Perseus,

O Cupid! Prince of Gods and Men, &c.

Every man almost spoke pure iambics the next day, and talk'd of nothing but Perseus and his pathetic address—"O Cupid! Prince of Gods and Men"—in every street in Abdera, in every house—"O Cupid! Cupid!"—In every mouth like the natural notes of some sweet melody, which drops from it whether it will or no—

livering the nation from the calamity of finding itself suddenly transformed into a vast club of poets, except it be by imposing a heavy tax upon the trade of verse-making. If Lord Londonderry were now at the head of affairs, we think this hint would not be lost. But to the present matter: Nothing can be more lamentable than the condition of our English words at this moment; thrown by inevitable fatality at the mercy of every human being in the Island, of sufficient strength to handle a grey-goose quill, they are stretched and worried like people on the rack, to make them appear to mean what they never meant, and to hitch in becoming rhyme. How long this state of things is to last, heaven only knows; critics and common-sense, have done their utmost in vain, and the former now only shrug their shoulders at the sight of a new quarto of poetry, and fall-to with a certainty of finding work enough for the scalping knife. In the Christmas Presents, among much that is insipid, and much that is merely readable, we discovered *one* little piece eminently sweet and beautiful, on the flower "Forget me Not;" it is by her who once wrote another piece entitled "Forget me Not!" and which no one who has read it ever will forget. We introduce it for its extreme simplicity and excellence, certain that no reader will be sorry to find it reprinted here.

To the Flower called, Forget me Not!

BY MRS. OPIE.

Fond memory's flower of azure dye,
  Permit thy bard one boon to crave;
When in death's narrow bed I lie,
  Oh! bloom around my humble grave.
And if some tender faithful friend
  Should, led by love, approach the spot,
And o'er thy flowers admiring bend,
  Then say for me, Forget me Not!

"The Literary Souvenir," published by Messrs. Hurst & Co., is a very pleasing little work. It has much more variety than either of the preceding, and its poetry is generally of a superior character. Great pains, indeed must have been taken to collect together so great a number of pieces possessing so much merit, and for this a good deal of praise is due to the Editor.[2] We speak first of the poetry because it is better than the prose; a very singular thing in a miscellaneous and *periodical* publication, for a periodical it is, though coming out only once a year. It may be attributed, however, to the circumstance of the Editor's being himself a poet, and thus possessing a keener taste in that species of composition. Of these pieces we may perhaps select one or two for our poetical depart-

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nothing but "Cupid! Cupid! Prince of Gods and Men."—The fire caught, and the whole city, like the heart of one man, opened itself to love.

'No pharmacopolist could sell one grain of hellebore—not a single armourer had a heart to forge one instrument of death—Friendship and Virtue met together, and kissed each other in the street—the golden age returned, and hung over the town of Abdera—every Abderite took his oaten pipe, and every Abderitish woman left her purple web and chastely sat her down and listened to the song. 'Twas only in the power, says the fragment, of the god whose empire extendeth from heaven to earth, and even to the depths of the sea, to have done this.'

[2] Mr. Alaric A. Watts.

ment; we can merely speak of the rest in a very cursory manner. There is much feeling and beauty in Mr. Watts's "Death of the First-Born," which will find an easy way into the bosom of every father. Such subjects are incapable of being worn out, for feeling and nature are always new; and when the poet's soul is touched with grief, or when, by meditation, he discovers the actual disposition of a soul that is so touched, he may commit his thoughts to paper with the certainty of being pathetic, and to a certain degree original. For originality does not so much consist in saying what was never said before, as in pourtraying none but the genuine feelings of the heart, or the native individual perceptions of the intellect. There are other pretty pieces by the same writer, but the above appears to be the best. Mrs. Hemans's "Grave of Körner" is earnest and pathetic; her "Mother and Child," rather exaggerated in the expression: the feeling could not have been too intense. But no pen short of Homer's or Shakespeare's could give a mother's feelings in such a moment, with the real dignity and simplicity of nature. Of Mr. Campbell's piece it is quite sufficient to say, that it is really worthy the author of "Gertrude of Wyoming." Mrs. Opie's Sonnet we shall speak our sentiments of, by copying it.

But we can particularize no farther, unless it be to mention the eminently beautiful prose piece on "Mary Queen of Scots; or Twilight Musings in Holyrood." Whoever the author may be, he has a powerful pen, and is quite competent to interest the imagination by simple and rapid narrative. Such pieces are of permanent interest, and may be read again and again with delight.

Upon the whole, the readers of the "Literary Souvenir" will look for another volume with much pleasure; although it cannot be denied that there is much exaggeration and false sentiment in a few of its pieces. We allude to their tone of sorrowfulness, which is always absurd; for nobody under the influence of intense sorrow ever speaks a word about it, and people who are dying of a broken heart, do not care to inform the world of every particular. But these pieces are not numerous, and may possibly be overlooked in the present fondness for every thing sad. We only mention it *en passant*. The embellishments are very finely executed. No one can fail to be delighted with the charming view of Lyons, the Fortress of Saguntum, or that sweet little gem, Kirkstall Abbey. There is an air of silence and tranquillity about the latter, that gives it a character, and satisfies the imagination. The view of Paris, also, from Pere la Chaise, is very fine; and the aerial perspective happily preserved. The remaining plates have likewise their merit; but fall short, we think, of those we have mentioned.

TRANSLATION OF VOLTAIRE'S EPIGRAM ON ETYMOLOGY.[1]

Alfana's derived from *Equus*, no doubt;
Notwithstanding, we cannot but say,
That in reaching this point, through so winding a route,
It has changed pretty much by the way.

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[1] See the original in p. 486 of this volume.

CONTRASTED OPINIONS OF LORD HASTINGS AND SIR CHARLES METCALFE, ON THE RIGHT OF INTERFERENCE WITH NATIVE INDIAN GOVERNMENTS.

In our last Number we gave a condensed but faithful history of the occurrences connected with this subject, from the first formation of the house of William Palmer and Co., at Hyderabad, in the year 1814, when Mr. Henry Russell was the British Resident there, up to the period of Sir Charles Metcalfe's assumption of the extraordinary powers wielded by him, as the representative of the East India Company, in that capital, in the year 1822; with a connected narrative of the several steps taken by the Supreme Government at Calcutta, and their Resident at Hyderabad, to destroy the credit, break down the influence, and annihilate the power enjoyed by the mercantile and banking firm established under their own sanction in that city, as well as to bring the Nizam, his ministers, and his people, from their avowed independence, entirely under the yoke of British rule.

It must be unnecessary for us to recapitulate any of the facts stated in the preceding article. To preserve the continuity unbroken, however, we shall resume the narrative at the point at which we found it necessary to break off on that occasion, and introduce, as we proceed, such illustrations as the documents before us may offer, and as our space will permit, for the sake of giving to those to whom the original papers may not be accessible, specimens of the facts as well as opinions bearing on the case, in the language in which they have been officially promulgated and placed on record. We shall recur, for this purpose, to the letter of Sir Charles Metcalfe, written from Hyderabad on the 31st of August, 1822, and addressed to the Political Secretary of Government at Calcutta, being the formal avowal of the writer's sentiments on the relative duties of rulers and subjects, and his opinions as to the mode in which these duties should be enforced on each, by our direct interference in the management of the affairs of the Nizam's dominions.

We have already expressed the high estimation in which, in common with the great majority of the English settled in India, we held Sir Charles Metcalfe's liberal opinions in politics, and the general excellence of his understanding and character. To these opinions, as far as he avows or acts upon them, we still yield our decided and cordial assent. It is the mode of their application, in enforcing them upon the adoption of other people, to the manifest invasion of their just rights, which forms the ground of objection. But to set this in the fairest light to both parties, we shall give Sir Charles Metcalfe's own avowals in his own language; and the remarks of Lord Hastings in reply, in the same faithful manner. The following paragraphs are from Sir Charles Metcalfe's letter to Mr. Swinton, Political Secretary of the Bengal Government, dated Hyderabad, 31st August 1822, and commencing at page 213 of the printed collection of Hyderabad Papers.

I propose, in the present despatch, to describe at greater length than heretofore, for the cognizance of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, the conceptions with which I have apprehended, and the mode in which I have endeavoured to execute his Lordship's instructions for the interposition of our *advice* and *influence*, with a view to the benefit of the Nizam and his subjects.

I suppose our interference in his Highness's affairs to be not merely a right, but also a duty, arising out of our supremacy in India, which imposes upon us the obligation of maintaining the tranquillity of all countries connected with us; and, consequently, of protecting the people from oppression, as no less necessary than the guaranteeing of their rulers against revolution.*

The only refuge of a people intolerably vexed, is in emigration or insurrection; and as we secure the Nizam's Government against rebellion, it seems to be incumbent on us to save his subjects from grievous oppression.

If the Nizam ruled his subjects with equity and prudence, our interposition between them, I presume, would be neither necessary, nor expedient, nor just. In like manner, we should be excluded from interference by propriety, policy, and inclination, if his Minister ruled for him in a wise and becoming manner.

Interference in the internal concerns of states under our protection is neither desirable nor generous, when it can be avoided: and should only then be resorted to, when it is clearly necessary for the preservation of the people from the misery and destruction which must ever attend oppression and misrule.

On the other hand, if interposition be a duty, when clearly necessary for the relief of the people, it would seem to be so in a more than ordinary degree, when a country is governed by a Minister supported by our influence, and absolute in his power.

In every case where we support the ruling power, but more especially in such a case as that last described, we become responsible, in great measure, for the acts of the Government, and if they are hurtful to the people, we aid in inflicting the injury.

Such were the notions with which I came to Hyderabad; such were the conceptions which I entertained of the views of the Governor-General in Council, in authorizing the Resident to interpose his advice and influence for the better management of the Nizam's affairs.

After I had taken charge of the Residency, I found that the very peculiar circumstances of the Nizam's Government increased, if possible, the claim which the people had on us for protection, and even called on us to interfere for the sake of the sovereign himself. The Prince had entirely withdrawn from public affairs, under the influence of either indolence or disgust. The nominal Chief Minister had no power in the state; but his official deputy ruled with a sway so absolute and exclusive, that it might justly be called an usurpation, were it not that there is no visible effort on the part of the sovereign to throw it off.

Inasmuch as it was uncertain whether the Nizam's virtual abdication might not, in part, proceed from our known support of the actual Minister, the situation of the Prince seemed to constitute an additional claim to our care, lest the welfare of his dominions should suffer from the misrule of the servant sustained by our power.

All accounts concurred in describing the state of the country as suffering greatly from oppression, and rapidly deteriorating in every way; the revenues diminishing, and extortion, the cause of the evil, raging with unbounded sway; justice unthought of, except through the aid of British interference.

Notwithstanding the measures adopted by my predecessor, the great root of evil remained untouched. Extortion was the Minister's chief vice, and extortion remained uncontrolled. The cultivators, the chief source of the state revenue, and the victims of unprincipled exaction, remained unprotected.

A Native Government is little else than a great landlord, and if its tenants and cultivators be not cherished, the estate must soon be ruined. The Minister had deceived Mr. Russell by promises on this point, but the power remained in his own hands without check, and he had continued to abuse it without remorse. The revenues had greatly fallen from excess of exaction; the population, in considerable numbers, had emigrated; no confidence existed. The very resources of extortion were nearly exhausted; but the Minister still persisted in his ruinous course.

The very first step towards any real and useful reform, seemed to be, to define the demands of the Government on the cultivators; and to this object, as the most essential of all, my views were directed.

I obtained a very ready assent, on the part of the Minister, to the propositions which I made to him on this subject; and it was determined that settlements of the revenue, for a term of years, should be made throughout the Nizam's dominions with each village separately, where such a mode of settlement might not interfere with pre-existing rights.

In some districts, the settlements were to be made by English gentlemen, vested with authority for that purpose. In the rest, the Minister promised to make the settlements himself, on the principle adopted.

It was evident, in the progress of the settlement, that the mere entering into engagements would not suffice, unless care were taken that they should not be violated. The inclination to extort the last farthing that could be squeezed out of the people was so manifest on the part of the Minister and his dependants, and seemed so incorrigible, that no hope could be entertained of the permanency of any arrangements, unless means were devised to obtain information of their violation.

This led to the nomination of officers charged with the general duty of receiving the complaints of cultivators or others oppressed by the Government, and obtaining redress for them, either by application to local Authorities, or by representation to the Resident, and through him to the Nizam's Government.

Circumstances have since proved the necessity of this arrangement; for numerous instances of exaction, beyond the amount fixed by the leases, have been detected. The Minister also evinces a systematic disregard for engagements, especially such as are entered into with the cultivators; so that without this check on his subordinates, there could be no hope of the settlements being maintained. I am, indeed, convinced, that our interposition, for the essential purpose of limiting the demands of the Government on the people, and giving confidence to the latter, would have been utterly fruitless, without this indispensable measure of precaution.

Any interference whatever in the affairs of a foreign Government being, in my opinion, objectionable, if it can be avoided, I have often considered anxiously what course could be pursued, other than that which has been adopted.

The only doubt which, it seems to me, we have to combat, is that which attaches to any interference whatever in the affairs of a foreign country. That doubt I might consider as set at rest, by the authority conveyed to the Resident by the orders of the Governor-General in Council. Moreover, our interference at this court is not of recent date, but, in one shape or another, of long standing; and if it be right to interfere in behalf of our own interests, by imposing a Minister on the country, it cannot surely be wrong to interpose for the interests of the people, with a view to their protection against his rapacity.

At present, by imposing a Minister on a Prince, and supporting that Minister during our pleasure, we make the Sovereign subject to his servant; we make the Minister tyrant over his master; we patronize a virtual usurpation; and if the man whom we choose for our own purposes be a vicious ruler, we sanction, by our countenance, all the evils of his misrule.

And, for so doing, we should not at present have the plea of necessity; for the same power which can enable us to support a Minister obnoxious to his Prince, might enable us to exercise, in a less objectionable manner, sufficient control over the policy of the Prince and his Ministers, whoever they might be.

The conduct, therefore, at this court, which I should conceive to be best suited to our present circumstances in India, would be, to court the good will of the Prince himself, in preference to that of any of his servants; to act cordially with any Minister of his selection, and to fix our attention on measures, rather than on men.

The reply of Lord Hastings to this Letter of Sir Charles Metcalfe would deserve republication complete; but as we shall require our space for further extracts from other documents of interest, we shall confine ourselves to those paragraphs only of his Lordship's reply which bear most essentially on the points in dispute. They are as follow—p. 224.

In the second paragraph of your first letter you say, that "you suppose our interference in the Nizam's affairs to be not merely right, but also a duty, arising out of our supremacy in India, which imposes on us the obligation of maintaining the tranquillity of all countries connected with us, and consequently of protecting the people from oppression, as no less necessary than the guaranteeing of their rulers against revolution." The assumption of our possessing an universal supremacy in India, involving such rights as you have described, is a mistake. Over states, which have, by particular engagements, rendered themselves professedly feudatory, the British Government does exercise supremacy; but it

never has been claimed, and certainly never has been acknowledged, in the case of Native Powers standing within the denomination of allies. Although a virtual supremacy may, undoubtedly, be said to exist in the British Government, from the inability of other states to contend with its strength, the making such a superiority a principle singly sufficient for any exertion of our will, would be to misapply that strength, and to pervert it to tyrannic purposes.

In your third paragraph you observe, "the only refuge of a people intolerably vexed, is in emigration or insurrection; and as we secure the Nizam's Government against rebellion, it seems to be incumbent on us to save his subjects from grievous oppression." The argument of supremacy having been set aside, nothing but the tenour of some special engagement could render us liable to the call, or allot to us the title for such interposition. Our treaties, characterizing the Nizam as an independent sovereign, authorize no such latitude. When, for our private views, that prince was constrained to support a body of our troops, to be stationed near his capital, the then government disguised the interested oppressiveness of making him pay a portion of our army for holding him in thraldom, by a sturdy declaration, that his Highness had spontaneously sought the aid of a subsidiary force, to secure his person and territories. The veil thus thrown over our policy, required that any stipulations which could mark the prostration of his power should be forborne, so that, in appearance, he legitimately retained his freedom. The measure, however, really placed him at our mercy. It was hardly to be imagined, that our advantage would not be abused, and it was abused: the independence which the very conditions of the compact recognized, and pledged us to respect, was set at nought. Gradual but unequivocal encroachments on the Nizam's just authority were perceived by the Honourable Court, and a more becoming system was enjoined. The Governor-General in Council laboured to introduce it;—a work of no small difficulty when the country was so disorganized;—and having established an understanding with Rajah Chundoo Loll for the correction and future conduct of affairs (this Government, in return, binding itself to support that Minister), the Resident was directed to adopt a course of conciliatory counsel, instead of those starts of despotic dictation which had before been in use. That limited degree of interference would still be objectionable, but for the common interest between the two Governments, that his Highness's territories should be restored to prosperity: yet even that excuse would be insufficient, were not our influence to be managed with delicacy, and to be unavowed. Such is the distinct nature of our relations with the Nizam; and a disregard of its terms would be no less repugnant to general principles, than to the orders of this Government.

Paragraphs four and five plead necessity for our interposition, because the Nizam does not rule his subjects with equity and prudence. The fact of mal-administration is unquestionable, and must be deplored. Does that, however, decide the mode in which alteration is to be effected? Where is our right to determine, that the amount of the evil is such as to demand our taking the remedy into our hands? His Lordship in Council observes, that the necessity stated is altogether constructive. Were such a pretence allowable, a powerful state would never want a colour for subjugating a weak neighbour. The consequence is so obvious, that no principle in the law of nations leaves room for acting on such a presumption. It is admitted that if convulsions rage so violently in one state, as clearly to threaten the excitation of ferment in a bordering one, the latter may be justified in reducing to order the nation by which its tranquillity was menaced. This, however, is an extreme case, at the same time that it is of a description strictly defined. No analogy exists between indisputable exigency and an asserted convenience, where vague arbitrary charges, if tolerated as a ground of procedure, would furnish ready pretext for the foulest usurpations.

In the twenty-sixth paragraph you mention, that the British officers acting under you, and charged with the duty of receiving, in the districts over which they were respectively placed, appeals of the cultivators against any exactions attempted by the native functionaries, were "also authorized and directed to give their attention to the suppression of depredations, robberies, and such crimes as affect the safety of the community." The first duty was of a very delicate discharge. With regard to that which was superadded, a more ostentatious assumption of the Government could not well be imagined.

In the mean time, the Governor-General in Council must require your holding a vigilant eye over those very young and inexperienced individuals, to whom

that important superintendence is delegated. You must be sensible, that the possession of a power, large in proportion as it is undefined, may readily lead to a flippant parade of it, than which nothing could be more revolting to natives of consequence; you must, therefore, check austerely any unnecessary exhibition of superiority.

The reader will make his own comment on the opposite views taken by Lord Hastings and Sir Charles Metcalfe, on the question of interference as a right and duty, and the extent to which it ought to be exercised by us on foreign states, or those more emphatically said to be "taken under our protection." We shall pass on to the continuation of the narrative.

On the 8th of September 1822, Sir Charles Metcalfe addressed the Bengal Government, submitting a statement of what he believed to be the debts of the Nizam's Government, of which he considers 17 lacs to be due to native money-lenders; 15 lacs arrears due to troops; 10 lacs unsettled claims of the British Government; and 4 lacs the usual advance of peshcush;[1] making, in all, 46 lacs of rupees. The debt to W. Palmer and Co. he estimates at 83 lacs, making, together, 129 lacs of rupees, or about a million and a quarter sterling. The statement of Revenue and Expenditure is thus given—

Revenue, including peshcush	1,89,33,553	rupees.
Expenditure, exclusive of interest of debt	1,75,11,400	
Surplus applicable to charges of debt	14,22,153	

To this statement the Resident adds his opinion, that it would be far from discouraging, in the present prospects of the country, if the British Government would but relieve the Nizam's Government from its embarrassments, by lending it money at a lower rate of interest; and by procuring it at lower rates from other quarters.

Such a mode of relief would be unobjectionable, provided the parties who had already lent the sums required by the Nizam were indemnified for all the losses that must accrue to them from such a transfer of debt. But without doing this, it would be as unjust as it would be to interfere with the due fulfilment of any contract for which each party had perhaps made such extensive arrangements as might lead to fortune if the contract were faithfully adhered to, and to ruin if prematurely destroyed. If the Nizam or his minister had borrowed of W. Palmer and Co. at too high an interest, this was the necessary result of the low state of their credit, and the insecurity of property and engagements in their dominions. It is admitted on all sides, that the rate of interest received by W. Palmer and Co., high as it might be, was not so high as that which had been paid to other loan-contractors, before they supplied the funds required. It is also admitted that W. Palmer and Co. were themselves obliged to pay a very high interest to those from whom they procured the funds for this perpose, in order to induce persons to place it in their hands, and that their profit on the transaction, in borrowing at 12 and 14, and lending at 16 and 18 per cent., was not greater than that of the English agency-houses throughout all India, who at that period borrowed at 6

[1] An annual sum of seven lacs of rupees paid by the East India Company to the Nizam, for certain territories ceded by him to them, and worth at least double that amount.

and 8, and lent at 10 and 12—among their own countrymen, besides adding charges of commission, insurance, and other items, that occasioned some of those to whom they lent money to pay 14, 16, and even 18 per cent. for the use of the capital required by them for purposes of trade, or the payment of their current expenses of living. If we add to this the fact that W. Palmer and Co. possessed no real monopoly for the supply of money to the Nizam at Hyderabad, but that whatever the minister took from them in the way of loan, he took with his eyes open, and his hands free to go wherever he could get supplied on cheaper terms, it will be difficult to understand wherein consisted the great crime of Palmer and Co., unless it were in making as much of their cash as the circumstances in which they were placed enabled them, without force or coercion, to effect. To those who still cling to the Usury Laws, as a relic of "the wisdom of our ancestors," this will no doubt appear a crime of no ordinary magnitude. But to all who regard the utmost profits that can be made on money, to be as fair and honourable as the same amount of profits on land, houses, and merchandise of every description, such an accusation as that of receiving "usurious interest" will only meet with merited contempt.

As to the inseparable connexion of high interest with insecurity of the principal lent, whoever has watched the fate of the Poyais scrip, the Spanish bonds, and other miscalled securities, on the Stock Exchange of England, must know that any attempt to fix the real rate of interest, would be as vain as attempts to fix the price of any particular stock, the one necessarily determining the other, and both being entirely dependent upon the public opinion of the security and honesty of the parties to whom the loans are granted. If any reader should wonder why the Nizam of Hyderabad, himself rich in private hoards of treasure, should find it difficult to borrow money in India at a moderate rate of interest, we need only point his attention to the existing credit of Ferdinand, the King of Spain, at the head of a more civilized and a more powerful kingdom, (weak and unstable as it is,) than the Nizam of Hyderabad; and if he cannot, with all the means and appliances that have been tried on his behalf, procure a single million on any terms at all, why should a Mohammedan despot, whom all parties describe as the most depraved and abandoned of men, hope for greater success?

The truth is, that unless the guarantee of the British Government, and the distinct and explicit pledge of their protection had been extended to W. Palmer and Co., they would never have ventured to trust the Nizam and his minister so deeply as they did: but after collecting, on the faith of this guarantee, capital from all quarters, to lend it to the Nizam at a lower rate of interest than he had previously paid to others, and fairly calculating on the honourable fulfilment of the stipulated engagements on both sides, it does appear to us an act of the grossest dishonesty, as well as cruelty, to withdraw, as the East India Directors commanded the Bengal Government to do, that very sanction which they had solemnly pledged, and without which not a single tie remained by which the Nizam and his minister could be forced to fulfil their engagements.

Sir Charles Metcalfe's proposition, for taking the whole of the debt out of the hands of W. Palmer and Co. and transferring it to the Company, could only in justice be acceded to on the ground that the original contracting parties should not suffer by such transfer. They had encountered

the risk of any loss that might have arisen to them from the responsible engagements into which they had entered; and they were fairly entitled to all the profits. Sir Charles Metcalfe's scheme, however, makes no provision for securing this: and provided he can relieve the embarrassments of the Nizam (brought on entirely by his own and his minister's improvident conduct), and confirm the influence of the East India Company, whose servant he is, over the whole of this extensive country, he seems to think it a matter of indifference whether a British house of business—established under the sanction of that very Company, and acknowledged by himself as well as others to have been productive of essential benefit to the Nizam's government and to the people of Hyderabad—should be ruined, and all its constituents crushed in its fall, or not. From what we have seen and known of Sir Charles Metcalfe, in former days, we can hardly suppose that he would deliberately pronounce this as his opinion; but his propositions and his conduct necessarily lead to this result: and when evils of such a nature as these occur, they are not the less deeply felt by those on whom they fall, because they may happen to have sprung from blindness or inattention rather than from premeditated design.

We shall give a few extracts from this letter of Sir Charles Metcalfe, in order that the sentiments which he entertains on those subjects may be stated in his own way. He says; p. 232.

I now proceed to submit for his Lordship's consideration, the observations which occur to me on the present state of the question.

The payment of the whole amount of the demands existing against the Nizam's Government, estimated above at Rupees 1,29,39,078, would place the Nizam's Government in such a state of ease and disembarrassment, as would offer the best possible opportunity for fixing its future disbursements, so as to prevent the recurrence of arrears and balances, and provide a surplus for exigencies. It would, however, require constant vigilance on our part, and implicit attention on that of the Minister, to counteract *his natural disposition towards improvidence*, to which, on a release from present difficulties, he might be inclined to give fresh vent.

If his Lordship should deem the advance of so large a sum too great an effort to be made for the benefit of the Nizam's Government, the payment of the debt due to Messrs. Palmer and Co. by an advance of eighty-five lacs, as proposed by the Minister, would still be an immense advantage to the Nizam's Government, and would greatly promote its power of settling other claims. I entertain some hope that, in this case, the interest on the debt to native bankers might be reduced to twelve per cent. with their consent, through the mediation of the British Resident.

In liquidation of our expected advance, the Minister proposes to pay in the first year twelve lacs, *to be levied by forced contributions* as before described, and, in addition, twenty-five lacs by assignments on the revenue for the current year, at present held by Messrs. William Palmer, and Co., which would of course be redeemed by the discharge of their demands; in all, thirty-seven lacs for the first year, and the peshcush, or seven lacs, in succeeding years, till the advance be wholly repaid.

If the debt of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. be discharged, it might be injurious to those gentlemen to do it too suddenly. The pouring in upon them of the whole sum at once, might embarrass them as to the disposing of it: it would, therefore, perhaps be proper to allow the Resident to consult their convenience within *reasonable limits*, provided that it were not permitted to thwart the main object. To allow their debt, however, to run on at its present high rate of interest, might operate as an inducement to retard payment. This might be obviated, by declaring that from the day when payment might be postponed, solely to meet their convenience, the interest on the outstanding balances should be reduced to twelve per cent., *or any other rate which his Excellency the Governor-General in Council may deem preferable.*

The right assumed, in the last paragraph, to fix the maximum of interest at any standard which the Governor-General might prefer, is such as to strike at the root of all commercial transactions; and such a measure would be equivalent to the minister of England taking the Mexican or Colombia loan out of the hands of the contractors to whom it yielded six per cent., and obliging them to receive three, while they themselves, for the money they had borrowed from others to fulfil their engagements, might be paying four and five per cent., a measure that would meet with universal reprobation, as it would indeed truly deserve.

On the 30th of September, 1822, Sir Charles Metcalfe addressed a letter to the Bengal Government, in which are certain admissions of what appear to us the highly improper interference of a young lieutenant or cornet of a king's regiment of dragoons, who volunteers to reform abuses in his own way, by interfering with and overturning a measure of the prime minister of this independent prince and country! The manner in which it is admitted, however, by Sir Charles Metcalfe, is worth transcribing. He says; p. 238.

Lieutenant Hislop, without any prospect of personal advantage, *except the possible one of recommending himself to future advancement*, had, with great zeal and public spirit, volunteered his services to assist in the reform of abuses, and had been placed under the orders of Captain Sutherland. Having been detached by that gentleman in the districts of his superintendence, he went into Kulburga, *conceiving* it to be one of them, which it was intended to be, though it afterwards appeared that the formal order had not been issued, and commenced a village settlement, *supposing* himself to have authority for that purpose from Captain Sutherland, and [*supposing*] the latter to have it from the Nizam's Government. The measure itself was one much wanted, had always been in contemplation, and with the co-operation of the Minister will still be accomplished; but it had not been specifically authorized by him at that time, and he had himself made a loose general settlement of Kulburga, and could not, of course, brook that it should be superseded by any other.

When he apprized me of Lieutenant Hislop's proceedings I was surprised, for I was sure that neither Captain Sutherland nor Lieutenant Hislop would act without *supposed* authority, and yet the Minister declared, that he had never given authority for the settlement of Kulburga. I immediately called on Captain Sutherland for explanation, and it appeared, in the end, that a mistake had been committed. The mistake was remedied, Lieutenant Hislop's settlement was not confirmed, and a new arrangement was agreed on at the Minister's suggestion.

I *cannot* attach any blame either to Captain Sutherland or to Lieutenant Hislop. Both were actuated by most honourable *zeal* for the successful prosecution of a measure from which they saw great blessings arise, added to a *conviction*, that they were faithfully performing the duty intrusted to them by the Nizam's Government, and promoting its welfare.

There is a *distinct charge* against Lieutenant Hislop in one of the notes, for putting in confinement the Naib Talookdar, a Government officer of Ferozabad. This is positively denied by Lieutenant Hislop, and remains unconfirmed. *I cannot entertain the slightest doubt of Lieutenant Hislop's veracity.*

The whole of these extracts are full of matter for reflection, in which we cannot here indulge; but the reader will no doubt see the mischievous doctrines enforced, in considering zeal, and an erroneous conviction of being right, a sufficient excuse for positive misconduct, and setting up the mere reputation for veracity of any individual against a distinct charge, which required to be carefully inquired into, and the evidence on both sides heard, before a decision was passed. Sir Charles Metcalfe, in almost every letter that he writes, lets out the secret of his jealousy at the power and influence and distinction enjoyed by Messrs. W. Palmer & Co.

though this is almost an unavoidable consequence of large commercial transactions and great wealth: and is not at all more extraordinary than the influence enjoyed by the Goldsmids, the Rothchilds, the Barings, and other great loan contractors, each in their day, and in the country in which their financial operations have been most extensive. Some of Sir Charles Metcalfe's expressions on this subject deserve to be extracted. He says; p. 243.

Messrs. William Palmer and Co. possess and exercise in this country an extraordinary power, which has no connection with their commercial character. It arises from a supposition of their possessing influence in the British Government, and is confirmed by the peculiar character of the Minister, Chundoo Loll.

Of the accuracy of this position I have not the least doubt; but I know not that I can establish the same conviction at a distance by any representation. It comes, however to my understanding continually, by what I see and hear, and am sensible of in this quarter; but it is impossible to embody in description the mass of evidence on which it is formed. Much passes away and is forgotten, though it leaves its effect; much is too trivial to be noticed individually, though each particular helps to make the aggregate. The striking instances which are in recollection, and may be adduced, will perhaps convey but a faint idea of the impressions necessarily caused by the whole.

It is worthy of remark, that most of the evidence here alluded to, is admitted to have been obtained from the conduct and private confession of Chundoo Loll, who, like most of the natives of India, appears to have been a complete master in the art of duplicity: and yet, of this same Chundoo Loll, on whose veracity Sir Charles Metcalfe places due reliance when he communicates any thing unfavourable to the character of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. he thus speaks, in a paragraph almost immediately following; p. 244.

I need not remark on the insincerity and duplicity of Chundoo Loll. What he says to-day, he would not scruple to contradict to-morrow, and it is not possible to fix him to any point from which he wishes to make his escape. It is not therefore, so much on what he says, as on what I see done, that my conviction of his belief of the influence of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. is founded.

The Resident goes on to detail some of the modes in which this influence was exercised: but it is clear that it was not against the influence itself, but against those by whom it was used, that his wrath was kindled. As a proof of this, after complaining that their power and authority, derived although he admits it to be from the support of the minister himself, was "such as no other merchants possessed, and such as *no* merchants OUGHT to possess;"[2] and enumerating some of the modes in which it was exercised, he ends by saying; p. 244.

I have seen the jagheers of one of the first nobles of the state seized and sequestered, as they still remain, for the payment of his debt to them. *I see no impropriety in this;* but it would not have been done for any other merchants in the land.

I do not mean to accuse Messrs. William Palmer and Co. of making an *unfair* use of their power: they may exercise it perhaps with *great moderation;* but it is a power which DOES NOT PROPERLY BELONG TO MERCHANTS, and ough not to be intrusted to persons who have *only* their own interests to regard.

We must extract another portion of this remarkable letter of Sir Charles

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[2] One is naturally led to ask, Who are the East India Company? Merchants. Who is Sir Charles Metcalfe? A servant of these merchants. If, then, *no* merchants ought to possess such power; from whence would this servant of merchants derive *his* right to rule?

Metcalfe's, to show the reader what are the notions entertained by the servants of the East India Company abroad, when contrasting their own importance with that of other persons. It is already known to the reader that the house of Palmer and Co. was established at Hyderabad under the express sanction of the Bengal Government. It appears that the members of that establishment regarded Sir Charles Metcalfe's conduct in no very favourable light, as it affected their interests: and like men, as well as merchants, they determined to resist what they deemed an encroachment on their rights. "What!" exclaims the Resident, "a set of merchants dare to come to issue with the representative of the British Government! the thing is perfectly unintelligible." Now, it should be observed in the first place, that Sir Charles Metcalfe was the servant of the East India Company: and they are in no respect whatever any part of the British Government. Neither the King, Lords, and Commons of England, nor the people from whom all these derive their power, had any thing whatever to do with the disputes in agitation at Hyderabad: nor did Sir Charles Metcalfe possess the slightest authority from them to assume the high sounding title of "representative of the British Government at Hyderabad." But even if he had, can he be ignorant of the fact that merchants in England will dare to come to issue, not with the representative merely, but with the British Government itself? and that the humblest individual in the realm may dispute even the acts of the highest in a court of law? After all, it appeared that this "coming to issue" meant no more, than that if Sir Charles Metcalfe should oppose what they considered their just claims, they would themselves forward such letters of remonstrance as the minister might think proper to add to their own, in their appeals to the Supreme Government of Bengal for redress. Had all the members of the house been British-born subjects, it seems this could not be lawfully done; as the regulations of the East India Company provide that no complaints against public functionaries in their service shall be handed up to Government but through these functionaries themselves—a simple but effectual way of shutting out complaint altogether. It happened, however, that the two Palmers, who were leading members of this firm, were natives of India, not liable to the operation of this law, and moreover, that they were, from long residence at Hyderabad, and previous service as officers in the army of the Nizam, considered as his subjects. They therefore sent the letters of the minister, complaining of the conduct of Sir Charles Metcalfe; and for the exercise of this just right of appealing against what they deemed injustice, a right which ought to be open to all men, Sir Charles Metcalfe's anger is extreme. But we must give his own words. He says; p. 246.

There are even symptoms occasionally of Messrs. William Palmer and Co.'s *presuming* on the possession of the influence ascribed to them. Sir William Rumbold once let fall, above a year ago, either designedly or incautiously, not however in my hearing, that if I would not agree to any measures for their accommodation, they must come to issue with me. How Messrs. William Palmer and Co. were to come to issue with the Representative of the British Government, when they were pursuing their own interests and he was protecting those of the public, I did not at first comprehend; but the menace is now intelligible. The transmission of complaints against me, on the part of the Nizam's Minister, is a full explanation of that text.

I understand, from good authority, that Mr. William Palmer in forwarding the Minister's letters, *pretended* that he did so as a subject of the Nizam's Government, bound to attend to its wishes. This plea was disingenuous, and

might be termed ungrateful, as throwing off, for an unworthy purpose, the *Sovereignty* of the British Government, *to which he owes every thing.* Is it as the son of General Palmer, the distinguished servant of the Honourable Company, or as the brother of Mr. John Palmer, the eminent British merchant, or as the partner of Sir William Rumbold, that Mr. William Palmer pretends to be a subject of the Nizam? Is it because he resides and carries on his concerns under the protection of the British Residency and the British flag, that he *affects* to be bound to aid the Nizam's Minister in an attack on the British Representative, with a view *to shake off British interference?* If Mr. William Palmer were, in any real sense, a subject of the Nizam's Government, his thumbs would have been brought to the screw before now, to extract from him some of that wealth which, owing to British blood, British education, British connections, and British influence, he has drawn in such copious streams from the Nizam's country.

After this, Sir Charles declares that he is not at all angry, and even labours to prove it so: but the scene of Sir Anthony Absolute and his son Jack, in the excellent Play of Sheridan, involuntarily forces itself upon the memory.

But, to be serious, how could Mr. W. Palmer be said to owe every thing to the British Government, when the greater portion of his life had been passed in the military service of the Nizam, and the principal wealth of himself and his family consisted of the pensions they received for such service from the Nizam? Again, can the mere act of sending a letter of complaint be truly said to be throwing off the *sovereignty* of the British Government? or, a fair and legal remonstrance against injustice, be called an *attack* for the purpose of shaking off British interference? As to this, indeed, we know not who would like the interference of a Resident of any kind with their mercantile concerns. In any other country than India, it would be spurned at and resisted, to the last. The closing sentence respecting "thumb-screws," for extracting wealth, is delivered in such a manner as almost to make one think Sir Charles regretted their not being applied for such a worthy purpose. But, we ask again—Who are the East India Company? and what copious streams, not of wealth merely, but of blood, and innocent blood too, have *they* not drawn from every part of India? Have they not, by means of their "British blood, British education, British connexions, and British influence," dethroned nearly all the legitimate sovereigns of the country? Have they not robbed the heir to almost every throne in India, of his rightful possession; and reduced to the most abject submission, all who still retain the shadow of their former power? Have they not, moreover, wrung from the inhabitants of every part of this extensive country, all that they could possibly extract from them in taxes and tribute, leaving them little more than enough for the most humble subsistence? Yet, who shall place the thumb-screws on these? Whatever Messrs. William Palmer and Co. obtained by the profits of their mercantile transactions, did not force a single rupee from any poor man against his will. The East India Company, however, losing, as they avow, on all their commercial transactions with India (which, nevertheless, they still continue) make up this loss, and accumulate a large surplus gain besides, exacting by force, from the poorest people in the land, the uttermost farthing they have to spare, and putting up the land to sale, without scruple or remorse, if any portion of their arrears shall remain for a single year unpaid! We might go on to pursue the contrast, to the no small discredit of what is called the *Honourable* Company, and

their system; but it must be unnecessary. The day will come, when the thumb-screws of the British Parliament will be applied to them in their turn; and though they may not be compelled to disgorge any portion of their ill-gotten wealth, or to restore to the natives of India what they have taken fromthem; yet, by the abbolition of their charter, we hope to see at least a stop put to further aggressions of the same description, and an improved system take the place of the present odious and abominable despotism, which keeps so many millions in slavery and degradation.

We find this subject expand under our hands, in a manner not easy to be prevented, and yet such as we would not willingly indulge; because it is desirable, for many reasons, to include it within our usual limits. But where this is evidently impossible, we must be content with an approximation to the desirable medium between a brevity that would leave the subject incomplete and unintelligible, and a diffuseness that would be tiresome and defeat the end in view, that of interesting public attention in a question of the highest public importance, inasmuch as it is illustrative of the system of government that prevails in British India, and has a tendency to lead to the agitation of the great question, whether such a system should be allowed to continue a moment longer than the interests and happiness of the people, for whose benefit it is *professedly* maintained, require.

"Necessity, the tyrant's ready plea," however applicable to other systems, is, happily, not the least so to this.—An intelligent correspondent has shown, by his letter inserted in our last Number, "that the legal term for the existence of all public charters, is their continuing to operate for the public good: that this is the declared object of all such grants, as well as the declared condition of their duration." If tried by this rule, the charter of the East India Company should have been abolished long ago. It is, however, fast approaching its termination: and its hold on public sympathy for support, which has never been very strong, is growing weaker and weaker every day. It shall be our duty to collect facts for public use; and, with the increased and increasing intelligence of the age, on questions of political economy and legislation, the advocates of monopoly and despotism must fall before those of unrestricted commerce and government by law. When this triumph is achieved, the destruction of the East India Company is certain; and, considering that not a single individual now in their service in India, need be injured in the slightest degree by their fall, while tens of thousands, nay millions would be benefited by the change; and that none but the twenty-four Directors, and their immediate dependents, would have any thing to regret, while their loss of patronage would be a public gain; it is hardly too much to hope that not 100 voices in England would be raised in their behalf, out of the millions that form the population of the British Isles.

We shall return to the subject of the transactions at Hyderabad, in our next, as they are full of illustrative, and therefore, valuable matter. In the mean time, while on the subject of the probable duration of the present system of government upheld by the East India Company, we cannot do better than conclude, in the words of an eloquent and philosophical writer, whose work we again take an opportunity of recommending to the early and attentive perusal of all who desire to possess in a small

space the most accurate and complete view of the great questions connected with the Government of India, that has appeared for many years.[3] The writer says:

"The insufficiency of the Company, as an organ for the Government of India, results from the incompatibility of their constitution, not only with the Colonial System, which we must speedily adopt, but with any course of precedent or equitable administration, as it respects the natives, with distinct responsibility as it regards England, or with that respect which the European functionaries ought to entertain for their nominal masters. To talk of 'preserving, cherishing, and enshrining' such a system; of 'guarding it at once with the armour of law and enchantment of opinion,' is to war with the unconquerable instincts of nature, the consenting testimony of experience, the plainest dictates of justice, the irrefragable conclusions of political wisdom. But the days are numbered during which it will be permitted to cumber the ground.—Already it begins to stagger, crack, and gape; and whoever shall contribute to its entire subversion, will deserve well of his country, of India, and of mankind."

TO THE MUSES—A SONNET.

Ye are, they say, mere fictions of the brain,
And ne'er infused into the golden lay
One fiery spark of soul, nor potent sway
E'er held o'er minstrel while he poured his strain;
We pray, these sceptics tell, your aid in vain;
Ye have no seat on high Parnassus' hill,
Nor e'er with songs th' Olympian audience thrill,
While Jove nods smiling on your happy train.
Let sceptics laugh, I own your pleasing skill,
I feel your power come rushing on my soul,
And hope, so I your high behests fulfil,
Ye will in Fame's long list my name enroll,
Showing that passion, unassisted, may
A name encircle with the glorious bay.

BION.

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[3] "An Inquiry into the Expediency of applying the principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India, and of effecting an essential change in its landed tenures, and consequently, in the character of its inhabitants." 8vo. J. M. Richardson.

DUTIES OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S AGENTS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—In the published intelligence concerning the Burmese war, mention has several times been made of Mr. Scott, the Governor-General's Agent; and from the way in which that gentleman has been spoken of, [1] it would seem that the military operations are controlled, if not directed, by him. Among your readers are a considerable number of persons who are desirous of obtaining some acquaintance with Indian affairs, and who depend for their information entirely on your Magazine. On them (of whom the writer is one) you will confer an obligation, if you will bestow a few lines in your next Number, on the explanation of the office and authority of the Governor General's Agent. We hope to find that he bears no resemblance to the Dutch Commissioners who clogged the operations of the great Duke of Marlborough. Pardon this intrusion from, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

Nov. 22, 1824. A SUBSCRIBER.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

WE are happy to have it in our power to answer the inquiry of our Correspondent; and take this occasion to say, that we shall be glad to reply to any questions of a similar nature that may be proposed to us by those who desire information on any topic within our knowledge.

A Governor-General's Agent, of which there are perhaps a dozen in different quarters of India, is a Civil Servant in the Political Department, who is sent to such points as occasion may require, with powers little inferior to that of a Resident, the name given to stationary ambassadors at the native Courts. Such Residents as those at Delhi, Hyderabad, Nagpore, Katmandoo, Lucknow, &c. are considered to be the representatives of the Governor-General himself; and they exercise almost unlimited power in civil, military, and political transactions occurring within their respective provinces, receiving reports from numerous official dependents around them, and maintaining a correspondence with the Political Secretary at Calcutta, through whom also they receive the suggestions or orders of the Supreme Government as to the general line of policy they are to pursue, the details being generally left to themselves.

An Agent of the Governor-General is but one step below a Resident. His powers are nearly the same in their nature, though never so extended in degree. The Resident is stationary at a native Court, with splendid allowances. The Agent moves in such parts of the country as may not possess a Court or a Resident, and has a smaller salary and more limited suite. He maintains, however, a c[illegible] correspondence with the Political Secretary at Calcutta. The Military Commander, in the district in which the agent may be, is subject to his orders, as to whether operations are to be carried on, when, and on what scale; but the details of such operations are generally, or at least ought to be, left to the Commander himself. It has perpetually happened, however, that the Governor-General's Agent, who is always a civilian, has assumed more on this head than has been agreeable to the Military Commander, and perpetual misunderstandings have been the necessary result. The office appears to be a useless one, since the Commander could receive his *political* orders from head-quarters; and if he be fit for his command, he must be competent to do all that a Governor-General's Agent, who is always a much younger man, can do. It is a branch of patronage, however, peculiar to the Governor-General, and one, of which few would have the virtue to recommend the abolition. For this very reason, however, it is likely to be in general most inefficiently filled; and the whole of the Governor-General's Agents throughout India could, we believe, be better spared than any other class of public servants whatever.

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[1] See Oriental Herald, No. xi. p. 434.

INTEREST EXCITED IN ENGLAND ON THE SUBJECT OF THE INDIAN PRESS.

It is not our intention to go deeply into this subject; not because our sense of its paramount importance is in the slightest degree lessened, or our zeal in its behalf abated: but from an unwillingness to recur too frequently, or too largely, to a question which some few think has been sufficiently discussed already, though we confess that *we* shall never consider this to be the case, until the odious and detestable regulations still in force in Bengal to restrain all liberty of discussion are abrogated and annulled for ever. So far, indeed, are all men from being satisfied with a mere discussion of the merits of this great question "once and no more," that a warm friend of his fellow-creatures, and a lawyer, on hearing that the Board of Control had not yet sent out orders to repeal the regulations in question, declared, that were he a member of the House of Commons, he would rise every night without intermission, until his end should be attained, to ask Mr. Wynn, as President of the Board of Control, WHY orders had not been sent out to repeal, without a moment's delay, the unconstitutional, despotic, and degrading regulations of Mr. John Adam, by which he had dared to call all his fellow countrymen slaves, and unfit to be trusted with the commonest privilege of this species. Perhaps this question *will* be asked, and repeated till it can be answered satisfactorily. But, for that we must wait until the Parliament assembles. In the mean time it will be gratifying to our readers in India to learn, that the subject is gradually acquiring greater importance and greater interest in the eyes of the public of England, than most people thought probable.

To say nothing of the Daily and Weekly Papers, by the leading writers in which, the question has been directly as well as incidentally treated, the Monthly periodicals have taken it up warmly, and we doubt not but the more sluggish and cumbrous Quarterlys will in due time embrace it among the topics of their choice. All that is wanted, indeed, for the triumph of Truth over Error, in this, as in every other case, is discussion: and the question whether the Press of India should be free or enslaved, is likely to enjoy this advantage to the full.

In the fourth Number of a new Monthly Journal, entitled "The Palladium," the Editor has chosen for the subject of his leading article "The Press in India;" and as we know that there are many in that remote country, to whom these pages will convey the first intelligence of the fact, we know that they will feel gratified by seeing the few passages that we shall extract from the article in question, if only as an indication of the feelings of those who evidently approach the question for the first time, and are entirely uninfluenced by the local interests which are supposed to sway the opinions of those who first agitated it in the country itself. The following are the sentiments of the writer alluded to:

There is, perhaps, no subject whatsoever which calls for more attention, or excites a greater degree of interest in an Englishman, than one relating to the Liberty of the Press. The power of expressing his sentiments both in words and by writing is his birthright, and there is no privilege whatever which he regards with more veneration, and would defend with more zeal. It is to the freedom of the Press that England is indebted for its present state of prosperity, and, therefore, for

Englishmen not to feel grateful for the blessings which it has bestowed on them, or tamely to submit to any encroachments on this natural right of giving vent to their thoughts, would reduce our countrymen to that state of degradation, which we would willingly believe will never exist amongst the natives of this island.

It is, therefore, with feelings of gratification that we observe the interest which has been excited in this country, by the efforts made to shackle the press in India with unnecessary, and, therefore, unjust restrictions; and we must congratulate our countrymen in India on the decided attachment they have shown to the laws and privileges of the mother country, and on the just indignation which they have evinced at this attempt to deprive them of that liberty which was transmitted to them by their ancestors, and which they are bound to transmit in equal purity to their posterity.

Another source of gratification is to find, that in whatever part of the world an Englishman may be, he still remains zealously attached to the constitution of his native country; and that however distant from the land of his birth, he bears in his bosom those same feelings of detestation of arbitrary power, which have been implanted there in his most tender years, which have grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength, and which it is his pride to carry with him unimpaired to the last moment of his existence. p. 145, 146.

The defenders of the new system wish to make us believe, that India is not yet fit to enjoy the blessings of a Free Press, and that in process of time it may be granted them; but in the mean time, it must be contented and satisfied that the government of the country is doing what is best for them, and that though they may not see the policy of certain measures, yet that they are dictated by the soundest prudence, and tend to the welfare of the community. People may be satisfied where they see every thing going on prosperously; but at the same time, when they see that great pains are taken to conceal what is doing, and to prevent any observations being made on what is passing before their eyes, it is impossible to avoid suspecting, that there must be something not fit to meet the light, when such evident pains are taken to keep the people in ignorance. Honesty ever courts inquiry, and truth seeks the full blaze of day; vice and knavery love to skulk in the dark, and hide their movements from the eye of the world. p. 150.

Another benefit of the native press would be, to render the government acquainted with the sentiments of the whole population, and be the means of their acquiring a greater insight into the situation and minds of the people, than by any other means whatsoever. Such journals actually were established, and though they carefully abstained from all topics likely to give offence to government, and were deficient in that vigour which characterizes the Free Press of England, yet that must be attributed to the timidity of the Indian character, and to that want of confidence so natural to those who find themselves in any new and unusual situation. The native Indian press was but in its infancy, and commenced its career with fear and caution, but doubtless had it not been checked in the bud, it would soon have attained to maturity and strength. But these hopes are blasted: the regulations of Mr. Adam, like the withering blight, have destroyed the early blossoms, and we can expect no fruit, at least for a season; but the time will come when the experiment will again be tried, and we doubt not will then prove to the world how vain were the apprehensions, how false the conclusions of those, who pretended, in their zeal for ignorance and superstition, that a Free Press was not adapted to the nature of the natives of India. Nature is the same in all climates, and man is composed of the same materials whether at the equator or the pole, and it is therefore ridiculous to talk of the people of India being unfit to enjoy the blessings of a Free Press. Differences exist between us and them in manners and customs; they are far behind us in civilization; but by denying them the means of instruction and information, we labour to keep them in the same miserable and degraded state, contrary to the direct pledge of the British nation, made through their parliament, "to forward the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of India, as a primary and bounden duty." Besides, if India be now unfit for a Free Press, what is to render it ever fit, we are utterly at a loss to conceive. p. 152, 153.

But there is one objection against this restriction of the press in India which (even could not all the arguments against it and the natural injustice of it induce the government to dispense with it) should meet with attention, which is, that

it is illegal. The Governor-General of India has undoubtedly the power of making by-laws or regulations for the government of that country; but such laws must not be contrary to the laws of England. No enactment of the British Legislature declares that it shall be lawful for the Government either to refuse a license for printing, or grant it with certain stipulations, or recall it when granted, without assigning any cause; why then are such laws made in India? Is it not a direct violation of the rights of the residents to fetter the press there with such odious restrictions? If these regulations are patiently submitted to, and the mere will of the Government is to have all the effect of the law, what a farce it is to establish British law, and courts of justice for the dispensing of that law, if the dictum of the governor is to render all the wise and salutary provisions of that law unavailing. p. 153.

It is not often that the affairs of India excite any great interest among the body of the English nation; but on this occasion that hatred of oppression and injustice, so natural to a free people, has called forth the public indignation on the measures adopted for the suppression of free discussion in India; and the late discussions at the India House, on the case of Mr. Buckingham, have proved the harshness with which he was treated, and how uncalled for by the state of that country were the measures which led to his banishment; and shown, in the strongest light, that the British power in India can never be endangered by the motives of government being properly understood. In India likewise, the same feeling has been excited so much, that even Mr. Adam has thought it necessary to enter into a justification of his motives, and thus to make that appeal to public opinion which he denied to others; and by thus condescending to explain and seek the public approval of his actions, he has shown how necessary it is that every act of the government should be made known to the public at large. The very means he has taken for his own justification prove how utterly unjustifiable his acts were, and show more clearly than the strongest arguments, the absolute necessity of a Free Press to the well government of India. p. 155.

The New Monthly Magazine, which is avowedly under the direction of Mr. Thomas Campbell the poet, and is to be found on the tables of all the principal families in England, has also taken up the subject, in its last Number, in an article entitled "The Colonial Press." As this work is better known than the one from which the preceding quotations are given, it will be the less necessary to transcribe largely from it. We must do the writer the justice, however, to say that he has evinced a thorough understanding of his subject, and that his facts and reasonings are so well interwoven that the whole article is masterly, incontrovertible, and convincing. In the circles in which this work is known to be well received, we doubt not but that a very deep and powerful impression will be made by it: and we feel persuaded that another session of Parliament will not be suffered to pass away without the question undergoing a thorough and animated discussion. We give the following portions only of the article in question: and this chiefly for the satisfaction of our more distant readers in the interior of India, who may not have access to the original, but who will learn with delight that such sentiments as these are expressed on a subject in which they must continue to feel the deepest interest, by one of the most popular publications of the day. The writer says:

The system of government in some of our colonies seems so oppressive, and so contrary to the spirit exhibited at home—the exercise of brief authority by the underlings, who are omnipotent there, is frequently so wanton and subversive of every thing like sense or reason, that it cannot pass much longer without animadversion in Parliament. The Press, and the property it involves, are, without law or the shadow of justice, sacrificed more particularly to the arbitrary despotism of petty tyrants, of men destitute of every thing but blind power, with just enough of intellect to see how useful an instrument it may be if devoted to their own purposes, but determined to suppress by force every thing that may be deemed offensive to themselves or their minions; utterly regardless of those

principles of equity of which their country expects them to be conservators. Wherever the flag of England waves on the soil of the empire, Englishmen have a right to expect their property and privileges shall be protected by law, and by the same law as at home. It is sickening to hear the absurd cant uttered in palliation of the present course of proceeding, which generally centres in expediency, unsupported by fact and common sense. Expediency is in all such cases the refuge of wilful error or voluntary blindness. What a government, like that of England, wills, it performs; and it is unjust towards its people that in those colonies, at least, in which the will of the crown is absolute, and which Englishmen contribute to support from their pockets, or where they are abused and swindled by the existence of monopolies similar to that of the East India Company, or compelled to import and consume the produce of West India slavery and crime, in preference to that which may not be so tainted, they shall not set their foot upon the soil which they are so burdened to support, but they forfeit their native rights, and resign into the hands of some obscure and arbitrary individual, in a remote part of the world, all which they hold most dear to them in this. The dangers which have been pretended as an excuse for such restrictions, are mere bugbears to serve the purpose of the interested: they inflict a positive evil, and are a disgrace to the character, intellect, and liberality of the nation. p. 442, 443.

These remarks may exemplify the law remedy for the injustice committed against an English subject by an authority in a foreign colony; at least the "remedy for the wrong" has a strong similitude. He may appeal to Parliament; but has such an appeal any chance of success against the individual who may have held the power of oppression from the minister who governs the Parliament, and what chance would an individual, without interest, in such a case possess? Suppose the law courts of his country will entertain his appeal for justice—the noblest fortune must be ruined to bring witnesses, who may not be compelled to come, from the other side of the globe to England, and to meet other expenses; and if he has no fortune, he has no remedy at all, even in name. But supposing by the sacrifice of his all, an individual may get his case heard in a law court; as the court, necessarily perhaps, has regard to the minutest forms and technicalities, some triviality may give him all his work to go over again. Why not then fix the reign of law in our colonies as at home, and prevent wrong being inflicted upon any without the power of defence or redress, or regard to the rights of property or personal liberty? At present, an individual, for giving the slightest offence to an official, may be abstracted from his property and sent thousands of miles without the possibility of avoiding utter ruin, though he had been guilty of no crime; or rather, perhaps, had deserved the thanks of the community. This state of things demands an alteration, or a remedy a little more substantial than law fictions allow at present. p. 444.

Let us examine what sort of liberty of the press exists out of the pale of the law we are recommending; what idea of a Free Press a colonial viceroy, and those in authority under him, feel inclined to tolerate. From what has transpired at the Cape and in India, at which latter place no Turkish oppression is more grinding than that upon the press, a person named Adam appears to have been zealous in favouring us with data, on which to form a judgment on this subject, as Lord Somerset has done at the Cape. p. 445.

Let us consider the character of a colonial journal belonging to the most renowned, the most intellectual, the freest, and richest nation in the world, or what a journal vegetating under the gracious and condescending permission and auspices of such men as Lord Somerset and Mr. Adam would be permitted to do—what might be supposed to constitute, and really does constitute, the *beau ideal* of a newspaper under their impartial government; and if it should approximate a little in resemblance to those which Leopold of Austria honours with his gracious patronage—we beg his pardon, *paternal* care—it arises from genuine similitude of outline. Such a journal, then, must not presume to comment or interfere with the policy of the government in any other way than in that of unqualified commendation—it must record no objections made by any portion of the population, high or low, to existing things, of what nature and kind soever they may be. As in England the king can do no wrong, so his representatives and functionaries, from supreme to subaltern, are to be considered as endowed with the same virtue abroad, and any mal-practices, acts of oppression, and jobbing, which they may carry on, is to be left to their own discretion to keep

secret from the authorities at home, to continue or suppress as they may deem most agreeable to themselves. Their supposed unvarying rectitude of conduct is to be uniformly asserted, it being a necessary safeguard of "social order," and no business of a journalist. In cases where the local government is opposed to the mass of the people, and addresses are got up, stating the perfect satisfaction of *all* the *reputable* part of the inhabitants with existing affairs, the characters of functionaries, &c. the part of such functionaries is to be supported from respect for authority, from principles of duty, and from gratitude at the permission given for the existence of the journal itself. No theoretic notions for bettering the condition of the lower classes, on the right of man-selling, or the importation of eunuchs into India as servants, or the exportation of women to Arabia, or in short, any thing which really exists, and is therefore permitted by authority—no attempts to raise the black to an equality with the white in physical or moral qualities—no instances of ruffianly oppression of the slave; and, more than all, advocating the instruction of men of colour, and making them as wise as the authorities themselves, is to be permitted, unless the censors or the authorities for the time being may happen to agree on this subject with his Majesty's ministers at home; but as the latter are likely to take wrong views, and to dictate from a sense of their own power, rather than in unison with colonial *views* and *feelings*, permission must be first obtained. It must be an invariable rule in such political comments as may be tolerated in the settlement, that nothing can be better than the actual state of things there, that they cannot be improved, and that the future prospects, judging from the past, are equally conducive to the happiness of the lowest individual. . . . . . Advertisements for runaway slaves, sales of slaves, commercial auctions, deaths, marriages, births, descriptions of natural history and scenery in the colony, poetry (satirical and political excepted), accidents, receipts, charades, and riddles, in short, every other department of the journal, with the trivial reservations aforesaid, to be left to the editor's discretion. Such is the liberty of the press in most of the colonies of Great Britain; such is the character of a journal that basks there in the sunshine of favour, that is as useful, loyal, and patriotic, in the sense these terms are understood where it flourishes, as its tolerators can desire. Such is the instrument that renders the dim-sighted blinder, mystifies the inhabitants of the mother country, and assists in keeping down the intellect and degrading the character of those among whom it exists—yet most of our colonies have only such, and that which is a blessing in England, operates upon them as a curse. p. 446—448.

Under a press so degraded in purpose, how is it possible any of those good effects can be produced by it, on the morals and manners of the colonies, which we witness among the inhabitants of the mother country? The knowledge that a writer dares not speak the truth, utter his comments freely, or give an account of facts, unless such accounts are first garbled, is fatal to the spread of knowledge and intellectual illumination; it is better to have no colonial press at all, than one which cannot be independent. But there never has been one solid, one rational objection, made to the existence of a Free Press in the colonies. Its enemies have begged every question, and used only assumptive arguments respecting it; they have alleged as consequences what could never possibly happen, conjured up phantoms and bugbears, to alarm the timid and vacillating, and threatened the boldest with insurrection, tumult, and bloodshed, which they did not themselves believe could by any chance of possibility ensue. The truth is, they feel the press is a powerful instrument in their own hands, which it is politic to keep so, that by its means they may colour or suppress a thousand acts which would have a very dubious effect on the public mind at home, and in England, if placed in a true light. It is a wish to keep their own power, however unhallowed, secure, and to conceal truth, that makes the enemies of a Free Press cling so strongly to their present hold upon it. p. 448.

We do not ask for a Press without responsibility; we merely demand that the same liberty should exist, the same right of property prevail, in one part of the British dominions as in the other; that an inherent portion of an Englishman's privileges should not be plundered from him under the flag of his sovereign, from a mean concession to the passions of persons from among the most unintellectual divisions of the British population; that an arbitrary power should not be allowed to exist, and the most grinding oppression have no appeal but to the idle foolery of law aphorisms, or be mocked on demanding relief, with impracticable theories in redress for wrong. . . . . . The will of a governor abroad should be al-

lowed no more latitude over a free subject, than the king possesses at home. There never has been any necessity that it should be otherwise; and if not immediately altered (except in India, where the ten years to come of the charter, which it is hoped never will be renewed, may prevent it), the better feelings of the times will not suffer it to remain long—yet why should it be delayed an hour? p. 449.

We may add, that the Appeal to the King in Council against the regulations for the Indian press, which will be conducted by Mr. Denman and Mr. Williams, will be heard in January next. Mr. Greig is also pursuing his case, in hope of obtaining redress through the Colonial Office, or to get it laid before Parliament. Mr. John Adam and Lord Charles Somerset will therefore go down the stream of history together, and worthy associates they will be.

We had intended to have reviewed at greater length than we shall now be able to do, a publication recently issued by Mr. Richardson, under the title of "Letters to the Marquis of Hastings, on the subject of the Indian Press." We have perused this little volume with considerable pleasure, as affording a strong indication of the growing importance of the subject in public estimation; and as containing the efforts of a laborious and ingenious mind, intermingling facts and reasonings in such a manner as cannot fail to make an impression on the understandings of the most obtuse. The writer in the New Monthly Magazine says, that "the views of the East India Directors at present exhibit a prostration of intellect, and an illiberality of policy not much advanced" from what it was in the worst periods of East Indian mis-government. But low as they are in the scale of intellect, we still hope that the Letters in question will be found to be within their comprehension; and that since they cannot answer either the facts or reasonings contained in them, they will yield a silent assent to their truth, and yet retrace their steps by restoring to India the freedom of the press before it be too late.

We abstain from quoting largely from this work; first, because we trust that most of our readers will procure and examine the volume for themselves; secondly, because our limits are already exceeded; and thirdly, because we would not willingly lessen the effect of the author's consecutive statements, by presenting them in any other than their original and connected form. The editor of the Globe and Traveller, in introducing this volume to the notice of the public, so far from yielding to the weak and unreasonable cry of those who conceive that no subject should be discussed more than once—though the fate of millions should hang on the decision—boldly and energetically assigns to this question the rank which it ought to, and which indeed it will ultimately, attain, by forcing itself on the attention of those who have, either from ignorance or indifference, or both, hitherto turned a deaf ear to its claims on their consideration. He says:

The subject contains one of the most important questions at present mooted in the world—a question as to the application of one of the most important political principles to one of the greatest empires. One assertion respecting it, we think, no candid man will deny—that it is very unfit that the final decision on a question of such moment should rest with the persons who have constituted themselves the judges of it—Mr. John Adam and his compeers—men who (besides that from their peculiar situation they have an obvious sinister interest on this question,) from their rashness and intemperance, from the frivolousness of their pretexts, the inconsistency of their measures, and their disregard of the rights of property and common decency, seem to be quite unfit to be trusted with the decision of any thing. If such men, by chance, are ever not in the wrong, it is too

much to give them credit for being right, without examining their measures. The question should be deliberately discussed and examined in Parliament.

We repeat our conviction that this will be the case; and, with a few brief extracts from the Letters to Lord Hastings, by a Friend of Good Government, to which we may perhaps return on a future occasion, we must hastily conclude.—The writer says:

A free and responsible press must be always cautious; fearing prosecutions for illegal acts, as well as the rivalship of its opponents; and, by such opposition as the various views and rights of the parties concerned would be sure to develope and disclose, it is not likely that the real truth could ever be successfully concealed. Those who are unwilling to recognize such a tendency in a free press, accessible to every citizen, must be prepared to sustain, either that this attribute belongs to no press, or to that only which privileged men *alone* can approach. Should it be supposed that no press is favourable to the developement and disclosure of truth, those who believe this, and who wish, at the same time, for any kind of press, act either inconsistently, or with a view to use the required press for purposes neither favourable to truth or honour, nor directed by the general interests of the whole. Should it be deemed that a privileged press would be more conducive to the discovery of truth than a free and general one, I take the liberty to ask whether to assert this would not be the same as to declare, that a judge who has only attended to the statements of one party is able to decide on the question with better cognizance, and more justice, than a judge who has impartially attended to the observations and the facts submitted by both? Such a declaration as this would be an outrage to common sense; so that all reflecting men must admit that a free press is most conducive to the discovery of truth, and a partial or privileged one is most convenient to the triumph of imposture. p. 29, 30.

In India, it has been said, there is no public! Who then, I ask, offer thanks, perform duties, and pay the tributes? Even the beasts of the forest can feel, and have wants to express, and injuries to complain of. Is the condition of the Indians, or their public, inferior to that of the beasts?

The Indian people, it has also been affirmed, are not in the same condition as the public of England. This is certainly very true. But is it a necessary inference of such a truth, that the former can possess no freedom of the press on such a ground? If so, the English public alone must be regarded as the only privileged nation of the world worthy of enjoying a free press, for there is no nation in the same condition as herself. But Greece, Holland, Switzerland, Chili, Mexico, and the Haytian people, are not an English public, and yet they enjoy a free press; and Naples, Sicily and Spain, while they did not at all resemble the English, also possessed such freedom.

The impelling agency must be always proportioned to its resisting re-action. A greater impulse is therefore requisite to make a graver and more inert matter effect its proper function. If the Indians are, in their present condition, as mere brutes of the field, if the ballast of the Indian state-vessel is thus inert, the only remedy for this Indian stupidity is to be found in a press extremely free, or at least more free than among a people more sensitive and more quickly moved. p. 54, 55.

Are the Indian administrators really despicable, or are they not? If they are, the only remedy is to act better, or to quit their posts, and make room for better men. If they are not, then to fear publicity is folly, and to be afraid of the light is to do wanton injury to their own integrity or good sense.

The Indian government does not add to the opinion of its excellence when it suffers imposture, establishes a censorship on the press, encourages privileged journals, and permits the private force to assume so high an ascendency over the public. It cannot inspire its subjects with any great respect for its magnanimity, when, in the plenitude of its power, it fears mere paper shot. Governments are great in proportion as they are just, impartial, and beneficent; and thus, the opinion of their power and grandeur must lose not a little when the freedom of the press is annihilated, and privileged journals recommended and supported. Every government, under acts of this kind, must appear imbecile, malignant, and unjust; while, by encouraging the liberty of the press, it shews itself to be averse to misrule, and superior to false steps; as prepared to encounter criticism, as anxious to satisfy the wants, and redress the wrongs, of its dependents; and as little appre-

hensive of the private force as it is sincerely occupied in maintaining justice, and preserving the interests of the state. p. 67, 68, 69.

What must be the wants, and what the wishes of a people so conditioned as the Indians are? These people live under a government authorized to act, without obligation to answer for the manner in which it treats them. These people have no right to assemble and petition: they are at a great distance from the India Directors; they have no representatives; no counsellors for their support; and the direction of the affairs of their vast country is entrusted neither to their countrymen, nor to officers disposed to be naturalized among them. The only palladium of safety for a people so conditioned, is to be found in a free press. This establishment alone can make the British authorities in England perceive the real nature of events occurring in these distant regions, and induce them to sympathize with the misfortunes of their vast population. Without such a press, the occurrences that really happen can be disfigured at any hour; and the calls of justice, generosity, and humanity, successfully eluded. It is impossible, without the aid of such a medium, that the dejected and degraded Hindoos can prevent their rulers from passing the proper limits of their power, and injuring their rights and interests.

It is impossible, without such a press, for a people so depressed, so little cultivated, so far distant, and having no representatives, to succeed in obtaining redress against oppressive functionaries, who rule the country with despotic authority, who display such great influence there, and who are here so closely connected by feelings and interests with their future judges. Even intelligent English gentlemen have been unsuccessful in their attempts to obtain redress; how then can poor, ignorant, distant, and unrepresented natives expect success? p. 86, 87, 88.

The Directors of the East India Company, as the sovereigns of Hindostan, would certainly be entitled to the same commendations, if they had but the wisdom to forward the same measures, and to grant the same freedom of publication throughout their extensive dominions. Their persisting in a contrary line of conduct, must entail on them corresponding disgrace. p. 119.

SONNET—WRITTEN IN INDIA.

The storm hath ceased! but yet the dark clouds lower
And shroud the rising sun. The distant hill
Lies hid in mist, the far-descending rill
Rolls darkly through the vale. The lonely tower
Frowns drearily above this withered bower,
Where sits the drooping Minah, voiceless still.
Yon blasted tree the gazer's breast doth fill
With awful sense of majesty and power!
The mighty spirit of the midnight storm
Passed where for ages rose the green-wood's pride;
And what availed its glory? Its proud form,
Cast on the groaning earth, but serves to hide
The serpent's dwelling; and Decay's dull worm
Soon in its mouldering bosom shall abide!

D. L. Richardson.

ON A PASSAGE IN THE ASIATIC JOURNAL.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Permit me to put a question to you, on a point which appears to me of importance to the credit of the Oriental Herald.

On the ability of many of the articles in it I shall not stop to compliment you. I believe that what has struck me more forcibly in that work, will have made the most impression upon others also,—I mean the honesty, candour, and honourable spirit, which has hitherto distinguished it.

In your last number you state, after giving the following passage,

"But Mr. Buckingham cannot be ignorant of the value of character, or *to* the evils which its loss entails."

that it is so printed in the Asiatic Journal.

Now, neither the word *to*, nor any other, appears in italics in my copy. It is plain indeed that the whole letter has been foisted in subsequently to the printing off the number, for the set of the letter-press is totally different from the preceding and succeeding parts, and the number of the two pages which it occupies, is duplicated by the affix of an asterisk. All this was to be expected, the editor of that work (of whose servile and timid plans I have had some evidence myself,) evidently inserted the letter by command.

But the question with me is, whether the word you allude to, was so printed in your copy, not being so in mine.

I cannot for a moment believe, that you have, in this instance, imitated the disingenuous conduct, which so often disgraces the English press in our days, and to which the Oriental Herald has hitherto afforded so honourable a contrast.

I am no Proprietor of India Stock, nor take any further interest in these things, than that which an attachment to Oriental literature, and an ardent wish to see India free and happy, would create in any one.

I remain, Sir, your well-wisher,

Nov. 24, 1824. M——

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

The passage in the Asiatic Journal, to which our kind Correspondent alludes, was printed, word for word, as it stands in the Oriental Herald. There was an evident error, either in the writer or printer, in the manner in which the words were arranged in the original. It should have been, "ignorant of the value of character, or [insensible] *to* the evil which its loss entails;"—or, "ignorant of the loss of character, or *of* the evils which its loss entails." As it stood, however, the word "to" was nonsense, since it could not be said, a man was "ignorant *to* the evils which the loss of character entails." The word "to" was therefore printed in italics, to mark it as singular, and the note was affixed at the foot of the page, to explain that this evident error did not originate with us. Nothing further was meant or intended by so marking it. We are glad to have this opportunity of expressing our hope, that the same "honesty, candour, and honourable spirit, which has hitherto distinguished" this publication (to use the words of the writer himself), will always continue to characterize it: and we shall feel obliged, on every occasion on which we may even *seem* to depart therefrom, to be reminded of our duties, in the frank and open manner in which our Correspondent has now done, that we may offer the explanations required, or suffer the censure deserved.

THOUGHTS OF A CALM OBSERVER ON THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—You flattered me much by the insertion of my letter in your last number, and still more by the expression of your wish for my further correspondence.

Excuse me for observing that you give a somewhat too unqualified interpretation of my doctrine with respect to the legal duration of the East India Company's Charter, if I may judge from the title, or head piece, which you affix to my communication, viz. "The Right of the Nation to abolish at once the East India Company's Charter." I meant not to intimate that the nation had a right so to do, without a fair indemnification, or honest equivalent to the suffering parties.

It may be important to consider, first, the general law with respect to charters of incorporation. Secondly, what is the particular nature of the corporation of the East India Company? Thirdly, by what means its authority may be revoked? And lastly, if such revocation could justly take place without due and liberal compensation to the proprietors?

Various as are the kinds of charters of incorporation, they can flow but from two sources, viz., the grant of the crown, and by act of parliament; even prescriptive charters are held to imply an original consent of the crown.

Parliament erects corporations in two ways; it either enables the king to grant a charter of incorporation, or itself enacts one.

The latter is but a modern practice; it is regarded by some as an invasion of the prerogative, and was treated as such by one of the king's ministers, so recently as the last session of parliament.

A corporation granted solely by the crown, is but of limited privilege, and may be dissolved by the natural death of all its members, by surrender of its franchises, or, "by forfeiture of its charter through negligence, or abuse of its franchise; in which case, the law judges that the body politic has broken the condition on which it was incorporated, and that thereupon the corporation is void."

In either of these cases, it is plain, there can be no pretence for indemnification.

Corporations erected by the crown, *under the authority of parliament*, have stronger coercive, as well as protective, privileges, than those which proceed merely from the crown without that aid; they are generally constituted with more deliberate scrutiny, and more legal care, than such as owe their existence and authority to parliament only. In the former case, the law officers of the crown are charged with the framing of them, and from their judgment there is an appeal to the king in council; whereas, as is well known, acts of parliament are frequently hurried through, under circumstances of great party heat, zealous partisanship, personal canvass, and sometimes, personal corruption!

The two last descriptions of corporations can only be dissolved by the supremacy of parliament; and consistently with justice, but upon one of two grounds, namely, malversation or public policy.

In cases of malversation, no indemnity can be reasonably claimed, any more than in cases of forfeiture of crown-charters "through negligence or abuse of franchise." But the revocation of a charter, or the dissolution of a corporation, on grounds of *public policy,* is matter of very different consideration. Charters and acts of parliament are instruments of great solemnity. If they fail in the guarantee which they hold out, where shall individuals or public bodies look for security?

Forty years ago this subject occupied, for a season, the undivided attention of the British people. A high law officer, with more technical accuracy than good sense, said that a charter, referring to that of the East India Company, was "nothing more than a piece of parchment, with a seal dangling to it." Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, in one of those speeches, upon which his fame and subsequent influence was founded, described the same instrument, as a solemn compact between the government and a portion of the people, which nothing short of the Salus Populi could justify an infraction of.

This same question as to the inviolability of charters, was again argued, some years since, at the bar of the House of Lords, and respecting the same Company. It appears by the parliamentary reports, that upon the charter of that great corporation being treated as revocable upon the mere volition of government, or the legislature, the counsel for the Company observed, that he did not want for argument to meet such reasoning, but he wanted nerve; it was like the caverns of the deep, a bottomless pit, a gulf which swallowed charters, corporations, and immunities whole! it was a proposition of force, not of law. The person then sitting upon the wool-sack, was no less a man than Lord Thurlow, who bowed his assent, and is known afterwards, in private, to have admitted the validity of the remarks, and to have expressed his conviction, that nothing short of the public welfare, made out to demonstration, could justify interfering with rights of so sacred a nature; adding, that the term "public welfare" carried with it the immutable principles of justice, which must, in such a case, award indemnity to the parties so deprived.

In a future letter I will endeavour to explain the particular constitution of the East India Company; to show that the legislature has upon several occasions, interfered with the main provisions of their charter, *pending the term of the grant;* and evince the practicability of making an entire change in the whole administration of our East India affairs, should public policy require it, and that, consistently with the pecuniary interest, and the best feelings of the proprietors of East India stock.

Nov. 24, 1824. A CALM OBSERVER.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

In affixing the title which stood at the head of our able Correspondent's former letter, it was supposed, that the words, "should the public weal require it," would be understood by all: the object being to show, that fixed dates were not the only limitations to public charters, and that the East India Company could not therefore count on the *certain* enjoyment of their present privileges till the year 1833. The perusal of the letter itself must have sufficiently explained the conditions of such right. We may add here, that as we have always conceived "the happiness of the governed," or as Mr. Bentham more forcibly expresses it, "the greatest good of the greatest number," to be the true end and criterion of good government, we should be advocates for the continuance of the Company's

charter, if their system of rule were better adapted than any other to attain that end. But it is because it is hostile to such happiness that we are opposed to it. Respecting indemnification, we are decidedly of opinion, that if the Charter were abolished to-morrow, every individual ought to be compensated to the full extent that he could prove his claim to compensation, by the loss of fair and honourable gain from such change of system. The evil of the existing state of things is this: that neither the Company nor their servants improve the resources of the country for the general good, nor will they suffer colonists to do it for them. They literally realize the fable of the dog in the manger, and ought accordingly to meet the fate which all such selfish monopolists deserve. It will give us great pleasure to receive the frequent communications of our valuable, but unknown, Correspondent, to whom we are indebted for the preceding letter.

FAREWELL.

While joyous youth and hope remain
I ask thee not to think of me,
Though I must ever be the same,
Unchanged in mind, in soul to thee;
While round thee Pleasure weaves her chain,
And gay thy morn of life appears,
Then be forgotten e'en my name,
Though far from thee I droop in tears.
Farewell!

I ask thee not to think of one
Who could have loved through joy and woe;
Whose every thought was thine alone,
Whose ardent love thou ne'er canst know:
Of one whose only wish had been,
Through life to soothe thy every care;
With thee to share death's parting scene,
For oh! to live would be despair.
Farewell!

Should fortune fleet, or friends decay,
With every hope, once dear to thee;
Should sorrow cloud thy cheerless way,
Then in that time remember me.
Till then, again Farewell! Farewell!
In silence I will wail and weep,
And not one sigh my grief shall tell,
Though misery mark my pallid cheek;
Though wastes my form in calm despair,
The tale unbreathed shall perish there.
Farewell!

Madras. HELEN.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Bengal.—By the arrival of the ship Sir Edward Paget, Capt. Geary, from Calcutta, we have received papers and letters from Bengal, extending to the 15th of June.—From the former of these we have selected all the information of public interest, which will be found under their several heads.—From the latter, which are more copious and more free in their communications, we make such extracts as will admit of republication here, commencing with the following, from the interior of India, dated on the 4th of June:

You will have been surprised to hear of our being engaged in warm hostilities with the Burmese. Geo. Swinton is our political secretary, but not equal, I should think, to the conduct of such affairs as these. We wanted such a man as Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, who is really a soldier by education, though not by profession. Out came a flaming proclamation of war all on a sudden, without the Governor-General having consulted the Commander-in-Chief, as I understand, who was up the country, and without any fit preparations having been made for carrying on warfare. After hurling this paper-defiance at our foe, all sorts of vessels were taken up, and a considerable force was shipped off from hence:—pleasure-boats and row-boats were hastily fitted out as gun-boats;—a large quota was also sent from Madras, and the whole expedition was directed to rendezvous at Port Cornwallis at the *hither* end of the Great Andaman. Col. Sir A. Campbell of H. M.'s 38th. was made Commander of the whole, as Brigadier General.

On the 11th ult. (assisted by H. M.'s ships Liffey, Larne, and Sophie) Rangoon was taken, without having offered any resistance worth the mention. About 100 people were found in the town, all the rest of the inhabitants having fled to the Jungles:—we did not lose a man killed or wounded in the capture; but in a foray, two or three days after, with a body of men in a stockade, not far from the town, Lieut. Kerr, of H. M.'s 38th was killed, and Lieut. Wilkinson, of the Liffey, shot through the thigh. Seven or eight English were in fetters, and likely to lose their heads, if our troops had not carried matters into execution so promptly. Proclamations had been sent out, offering protection and safety of property to all who would return quietly to their habitations, but very few had done so.

It is understood that Brigadier Campbell had it in intention to proceed upwards for the capture of Prome, and so on towards Ava and Amarapoora. Col. M'Creagh, of H. M.'s 13th, with a detachment of his own corps and seven companies of the 20th N. I., in H. M.'s ship Slany, &c. had gone from Port Cornwallis direct, to reduce and take possession of the island of Cheduba: another force had gone direct against Negrais; but from those two places we have no accounts yet. As soon as the news of the fall of Rangoon arrived, a royal salute and three volleys were fired in Fort William. It is given out that this was done chiefly to re-assure the natives in Calcutta, who have been in terrible alarm.

But now let us *restrospect* a little. We have seen a grand expedition sent against Rangoon, which was likely to have the effect of putting the enemy on the alert nearer to our own doors. It needed not to be a soldier, only to have common sense, to see how necessary it was to protect our eastern frontier; but nothing of this kind was thought of. Col. Shapland, on that frontier, had perhaps 1500 men altogether under his command, including provincials and Mug levy, and this force was partly detached. Capt. Noton was stationed at Ramoo, with about 350 regulars, about 400 of Mug levy, under Capt. Pringle, and about 200 provincials. A Jemmadar's party formed his advanced guard. One fine morning, a small body of Burmese approached the Jemmadar, and told him that a Burmese General, with an army at no great distance, wished to 'have a little conversation with the English gentlemen.' The Jemmadar sent intimation of this to Capt. Noton, who concluded that the enemy would have attacked and overpowered the Jemmadar: accordingly he advanced 'to the rescue, ho!'

The enemy did not like this appearance, and sniped at Capt. N.'s force as it was passing through a jungle at night. The number of shots, and other indications, evinced that the enemy was in no small force. The Jemmadar's party joined, and Capt. Noton got into a situation for making the best possible defence. The enemy, proving to be about 10,000, with about 200 cavalry, approached the position by regular trenches and sapping, up to within twelve paces of the defences, and then poured in a distressing fire. This was returned briskly by our force, who had been firing away at the Burmese during the two previous days, till at last the enemy burst into the position. The Mugs could stand it no longer, and fled; the provincials followed;

and Capt. Noton, seeing no help for it, ordered a retreat: the enemy took the two field pieces. The retreat was in good order till our troops came to a river, when Capt. N. attempted to form a square, but the panic allowed of no manœuvring: the enemy, especially with their cavalry, pressed hard, and the men now thought of nothing but individual escape.

Capts. Noton, Pringle, and Trueman—Lieuts. Grigg, and Bennett, and Dr. Magsmoor, were killed. Lieut. Scott, of artillery, had been badly wounded before the retreat, and tied upon an elephant, because he could not hold on: the elephant carried him off at a round pace, and saved him. Lieutenant Codrington got upon a loose horse, and made his escape to Coxe's Bazar, closely pursued that far by some of the Burmah cavalry, and thence to Chittagong. Lieutenant Campbell slipped into a boat, then took to the woods (though sharply wounded), and so effected his escape. This defeat happened on the 17th ult. Many of the dispersed Sepoys have since got to Chittagong, but half of the force was destroyed. Brigadier Shapland was placed in an awkward position, fell back, concentratin all his remaining force, upon Chittagong, and called for reinforcements. Col. J. M. Johnson, with his battalion and provincials, and a lieut. of artillery, with a gun and a few men, were the only troops at Dacca. In answer to Col. Shapland's requisition (made a couple of days before the disaster) Col. Johnson detached the larger portion of his corps, with the artillery, to Chittagong, on the evening of the 19th, and received orders to follow himself, with the rest of his battalion, without delay. Accordingly he got his men into boats, ready to drop as soon as the tide served on the evening of the 24th ult. Col. Johnson received successive dispatches from the officer of his half-wing sent forward, communicating strong reports that a large body of the enemy had got into Tipperah, and were in full march for Dacca, adding that he (the officer) was accordingly falling back on that city. The inhabitants of Dacca gave out, at the same time, that the Burmese had positively taken Comillah, and would soon be at Dacca itself. Col. Johnson was at a loss what to do: he supposed that Capt. Crichton (his advanced officer) would not have sent such reports unless he had good reason to believe them, nor have ventured to fall back without just cause. If he quitted Dacca, and the enemy really came there, there would have been nothing but a few provincials to defend it, and *then* he might have been accused of running away from danger. He therefore determined to halt for further information or orders.

The reports proved false. In the mean time Col. Johnson received peremptory orders to repair to Chittagong without delay. He did so, and marched from Dacca on the 28th ult. H. M.'s 44th had been previously ordered down from Dinapore: one half to stay at Berhampore, the other to come to Fort William: the latter being left bare of Europeans. Such was the scarcity of troops for duty, that an ensign's guard of Sepoys did the duty of a captain's guard of Europeans at the Fort in Calcutta, and (curse *such* pitiful and unjust economy! which was not the case under similar circumstances in 1803 and 1804:) they were refused the 14 rupees a day, which is always given to the *Captain* commmanding that guard!

When the natives there learnt these reports,—especially the wealthy Hindoo families of the *Mullicks*, the *Tagores*, and others—they fell into a most dreadful alarm, and no wonder, for there was nothing improbable in them. If the Burmese, after defeating Capt. Noton, had dashed at Chittagong, they must have taken it, overpowering Col. Shapland's force by mere dint of numbers: then on to Dacca, the capture of which would have been easier still; and thence (there being *nothing* to prevent it) for a small matter of plunder, towards Calcutta. A body of 10,000 men might have done this most easily,—aye, and might have sacked Calcutta itself. With a body of 20,000 men, I see no reason why they might not have taken Fort William, by surrounding it and by escalade. This fort *ought* to mount 999 guns; there are not *more* than 80 mounted: it *ought*, fully manned, to be garrisoned with 10,000 troops; there were available, when these reports came up, about 300 of H. M.'s 44th only, two battalions of native infantry, including all at Barrackpore and on duty in the fort, the body guard, and a few hundreds only of disposable native militia, with perhaps 450 European artillery at Dum Dum.

Since these reports, the party of the 44th (which had just arrived from Dinapore) with artillery officers, men, and guns, have been put on board pilot vessels, &c. and sent to Chittagong; more artillery has been sent thither through the Sunderbunds; so that now the fort is again without Europeans, except a few artillery, and some recruits lately arrived for several of our regiments. The head quarters of H. M.'s 44th, are going down from Berhampore we hear; and one of H. M.'s regiments, and a native battalion are coming overland from Madras, and troops ordered up from Cuttack.

Now, and not before, government has bethought itself of strengthening the Eastern Frontier. The Burmese general was still, by the last accounts of 29th ult., stationary near Ramoo with the

main body of his army, but had detached one party to Ték Naaf, and another to Coxe's Bazar, at neither of which places will he meet with any resistance, because all our force is collected at Chittagong. That he should remain thus idle is extraordinary. But the Burmese Emperor is despotic, and if the General made any movement without *positive* orders, he might lose his head in a twinkling.

The people at Dacca are still in great alarm: every shop is shut up there, and only with extreme difficulty are any sorts of provisions to be got; the higher classes of natives have sent away their women and children. I am told that some of the baboos (rich natives) have sent off their families even from Calcutta; yet Company's paper has fallen only 2 per cent. The rumour now is, that besides those already on service, a force of 15,000 of our troops is to be collected as soon as may be, to proceed towards Amarapoora, under the personal command of Sir Edward Paget, to co-operate with the force which has taken Rangoon, and will be pushing on towards Ava. If this be true, our military strength in the upper provinces will be much reduced, and it is to be HOPED that the Goorkahs, and Runjeet Singh (who is said to compassionate Appah Sahib) (*a*) will not take advantage of our dilemma, and pay us an earlier visit than we could wish.

It is said that Sir Edward Paget is quite disgusted at the way in which things have been conducted, and has entered a strong minute on the records of council. Of course we shall get the upper hand in the end, not very rapidly nor easily perhaps; very well, then here is *more* territory, and we must have a greatly encreased standing army. This is well enough for us of the gold and silver top-knots, and *may* be something in the way of the civilians. The present contest will be fortunate either for the company, or for the army, as the case may ultimately turn out.

With the 'New Arrangements,' came out, it seems, certain orders for reducing all staff allowances about one-third; for cutting aide-de-camps down to 150 rupees a month; for clipping tentage or house-rent; for curtailing the allowances of adjutants, quartermasters, and interpreters; for giving only 20 rupees instead of 50 a month to officers commanding companies to repair arms, &c., troops of cavalry in the same proportion; for slicing physic allowances to surgeons, &c. &c. &c. This has excited vast discontent, and if these measures had come at another time, and had been put into execution (for rumour gave out that Lord Amherst, before leaving England, had pledged himself to old Charles Grant to carry them) that discontent might have become universal and *serious*. But in the present posture of affairs, this notable scheme will not, perhaps, be agitated: it would not make our officers *more zealous* during existing hostilities. Some great men among us think that, if these pleasing economical contrivances are enforced, at any time, the country will not be worth more than one year's purchase.

Captain Parlby of the Company's artillery has been INVENTING upon Sir William Congreve's rockets, and has made some, which, as a well-timed puff in the John Bull says, have proved to be *superior* to Congreve's, which Sir William will no doubt be glad to hear! Lord Amherst and Sir Edward Paget were recently present at Dum Dum, at a trial between Sir William Congreve and Capt. Parlby, when the latter is said to have evinced considerable superiority over his *absent* competitor. Some of these rockets would play merry pranks amongst the Burmese; for round shot, unless very heavy, do but little harm to mud banks, and to stockades of green wood. Government has been in great trepidation, now somewhat allayed by the non-advance of the Burmah General. Hints have been given in the John Bull about calling out the train bands! and in spite of all proscription against the settlement in India of unlicensed Englishmen, and the deportation of troublesome ones, our population has so much increased, that we should, horse and foot, make a much more respectable show now than in Lord Wellesley's time. Government has been afraid to do this; first, because it would go to prove the destitute state in which Calcutta is left; and secondly, because the natives, rich and poor, would then suspect that really things had really come to something like *the last shift*.

The fulness of the details in the preceding letter leave little or no occasion for comment; the facts are striking, and the opinions by which they are accompanied, appear to us to be just. The following is from a letter written about the same period, but nearer to head quarters.

General Thomas died at Cawnpore on the 3d of May. Sir Gabriel Martindell, Gen. Browne, and Col. Shuldham have been brought on the staff temporarily. Sir Christopher Puller, our new chief justice, died on the 26th ult., having, like his predecessor, been here only about 5 weeks. Sir John Macdonald died on the 29th ult. Lady Puller goes home with Capt. Geary, who brought her out.

Mr. James Kyd, the builder, is fitting out another fleet of gun-boats. If we do

(*a*) The deposed and fugitive Rajah of Nagpore now sheltered at the Court of Runjeet Singh, the Sikh monarch.

not dislodge the Burmese before the other monsoon sets in, then to a certainty they will make a dash up this way through the salt-water lake. If it be true, as I am told, that there is a connexion, navigable for large boats, between the Amrapoora river and the Burrampooter, then the enemy may visit our territories by that route, if we do not take care to prevent them. Is it not shameful, at this day, that our knowledge of the geography and topography of the Burman empire is so inconsiderable, so next to nothing? A Lieut. Bracken of the Native Infantry, has been compiling a map of the country from about Coxe's bazar up to Chittagong, along the coast, which Dr. Muston has published in his 'Scotsman in the East' (the successor of the Calcutta Journal 'as like to it as I to Hercules'), a meagre affair.

Lieut. Macnaghten has been editing the Hurkaru for some time past, a rankling thorn in the side of the John Bull. He dashed off a few quizzical verses with 'tootle, tootle, tootle,' for their burthen; and Greenlaw, the coroner of Calcutta, and editor of the Bull, is now known by no other name than TOOTLE, and never will be. Macnaghten gave an account of John Bull's *sickness*, with daily bulletins of medical reports, *killed* him, gave us the funeral procession, and *buried* him. Consequently he is now as completely dead as Partridge in days of yore. Macnaghten is down here only on leave.

It should be stated in explanation that Lieut. Macnaghten is a nephew of the Judge of the same name at Calcutta; but there is not the slightest reason to suppose any influence exercised by the latter on the former. The Hurkaru is a paper of no particular political principles, having been alternately whig, tory, ultra, and radical, as the times required. Lieut. Macnaghten is, we believe, a liberal; and, as such, his opposition to the John Bull is consistent and in character. His immediate predecessor, Dr. Abel, the physician of Lord Amherst, was also a whig when in England; what Indian influence has made him, or why he has abandoned the Hurkaru so speedily, we cannot tell. Among the editors of the Hurkaru, previous to Dr. Abel, were Mr. James Mackenzie, the most furious of tories, and first editor of the Indian John Bull; Mr. Greenlaw, the Coroner, the most besotted of ultras, and present or sixth editor of the John Bull; Mr. Arnot, a liberal whig, who conducted that paper in the spirit of the Morning Chronicle previous to his joining the Calcutta Journal; and three or four minor hands after him, before Dr. Abel took it up. This picture of ever-changing interests and opinions in one of the oldest papers in the settlement, will show what little security there is for any public journal maintaining any character for consistency, firmness, and principle, unless it be the property of the individual conducting it, and unless he and his paper be identified as one in public estimation. It was this which made the Calcutta Journal what it really was, "the paper of the public;" and the Indian government, knowing this, were cunning enough to direct their measures against the property as well as the principles of its Conductor, well knowing that if this were broken up and destroyed, it would be difficult to find again another person who would risk his all in the maintenance of those principles, and sacrifice a fortune for life rather than bow the neck to them in slavery. This was no doubt the view which they took of the probable result of their measures; and hitherto at least, no new candidate for ruin has sprung up to defeat the object, or to prove that it was not attainable by these means. We proceed, however, with our letters. The following is an extract from one written under date of the 5th of June, 1824:—

I hear that Lord Amherst is very sick of his Governor-generalship; he did not expect such stirring affairs. They say he is annoyed, too, by the annoyance of Sir Edward Paget at the earlier arrangements about our present warfare. Lord A. was but a new man amidst new scenes. He found a certain constitution of government established, and he supposed he could not go wrong by proceeding in the beaten track. In former times much, in respect of military operations, was transacted by the secretary in the secret, political, and foreign departments; and I fancy that, on this occasion, much has been left to George Swinton, aided by his brother secretary of the military department. Mr. Adam is still enjoying himself somewhere about Subathoo, in the Himalya mountains, and is not expected here immediately. Some of the most talented and *liberal* members of our Indian community have been taken from us lately. Captains Fell and Moodie are dead; so is Dr. Voysey, who was with Colonel Lambton on the trigonometrical survey.

The second paragraph of the following letter, which is dated the 6th of June, will prove, better than any arguments we could offer, the indispensable necessity, in justice to the English as well as native inhabitants of India, of the immediate abolition of the absurd restrictions that prevent

their investing their capital in land. It is only in the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Calcutta that land can now be purchased by Europeans; and we have here a proof of the avidity with which this privilege is seized. If it be an evil for Englishmen to possess land in any part of India, it must be equally as great an evil near the presidency as remote from it. But every one who has ever been in India must know that it is a blessing. We proceed with our extracts.

The rains are heavily set in. Capt. Ross, the marine surveyor general, (*a*) has just returned from a nine months' cruize; he is ordered off again, forthwith, by Sir Edward Paget, to go and take command of all vessels *now* at Chittagong, and *to be* sent there. His departure is so urgently pressed, that he is obliged to go in the *Meriton*, now under weigh, not being allowed to stay even till his own ship, the *Investigator*, can be supplied with fresh stores and water; she is to follow him. This goes to prove that matters are thought to be pressing, and that the Commander-in-chief has, at present, sufficient power of action given to him. I fear that poor Capt. Arrow is no more. Capt. Ross saw him at Penang, and says that he was then more dead than alive.

People don't know what to do with their money; and you have no idea of the enormous price given for land at Garden Reach and other places in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Mr. Smoult has been buying in all directions, and selling again to advantage. A few years ago, Mr. Trebeck bought land here for about 15,000 rupees from Mr. M'Clintock; not long since the same land sold to Mr. Smoult for about 45,000; he has resold it in parcels (a good deal to Mr. Turton, I believe) for 100,000 rupees, they say. But Mr. Smoult has still two or three Garden Reach estates. Mr. W. B. Bayley, chief secretary, has bought the salt office at Garden Reach, next to Dr. Ballard's, and also Major Gilbert's house at Alleypore. The concern of Taylor & Co. (auctioneers) has come to a stand still, I hear, exceedingly involved.

The following is from another letter, which was commenced on the 4th and closed on the 9th of June. It confirms much in the former letters, and adds some new facts and opinions on the same subjects.

In my last I stated that Rangoon was taken by the expedition; since that it has been officially announced, and the details are before the public. It has caused no great sensation here; people are only calculating upon the chances of the expedition being able to get up to Prome or Umerapoora, up an unknown river, lined with densely-peopled villages and jungly banks, and the people no cowardly race either. As the rains have set in, it is not probable that any operations will be attempted before the next cold weather, although report says that a part of the troops will immediately proceed to Prome, two months boat-journey. The general opinion here is, that the next accounts will bring intelligence of our defeat, as it is hardly possible that a people, not at all deficient in courage, should not take advantage of the natural defences of their country. The death of poor Capt. Noton hangs heavy on our minds; he was sacrificed from the want of a proper force on the eastern frontier. Sir Edward Paget, the commander-in-chief, I understand, is on bad terms with the council; they are all at their wit's end. Lord Amherst will not do; he has no talent: we want Lord Hastings back again; he would soon set all to rights. Sir E. Paget remains in Calcutta: and it is confidently said that he has sent home to request his being recalled.

Should Runjeet Singh take it into his head to annoy us at this juncture, we should be in a pretty mess. The government have apparently provided for this; as, with the exception of *one* battalion ordered from Benares, not a sepoy has stirred from any station out of Bengal and Bahar. The civil servants are very dissatisfied, so are the superior officers, at the new arrangements; only the subs throw up their caps, and cry "Long live the Company."

General Sir John M'Donald died on Saturday last. Poor Mr. Arnot, after having been sent to Bencoolen, and there burnt out, has now been sent back to Calcutta: he arrived on Sunday the 30th ult., but I have not yet seen him; I am afraid they will not permit him even to come on shore; I do not suppose they will suffer him to remain.

Another letter from another quarter, in allusion to Mr. Arnot's return to Bengal, says:

Mr. Arnot has come here again. If Sir Christopher Puller had still been alive, perhaps the government would have handed Mr. Arnot over again to the kind care of the town major in Fort William; but as Sir Francis Macnaghten is now our acting chief justice again, and has already pronounced his opinion, this step would be useless. As it is, however, there is little hope of his being permitted to remain in India; so that I suppose he will be put on board the first Company's ship that may be sailing from this to England.

Another letter communicates the

(*a*) For this distinguished officer, see Orient. Herald, vol. i. p. 52.

death of Brigadier-General Macmoriane, who commanded at Chittagong. It appears that the climate had begun to be felt injurious to exertion in that quarter and at that season; and more victims will undoubtedly fall a prey to it before the campaign is at an end.

In addition to the private letters, from which the preceding information is entirely drawn, we have received Calcutta Papers to the 12th of June: portions of the contents of these have already appeared in the papers of the day; but as we desire to bring the whole of the information that relates to India and its affairs, within such point of view as will render it more intelligible and complete to our readers, we add these to our private and exclusive communications.

We have received by the ship Sir Edward Paget, a Calcutta Government Gazette of the 12th June, with details of a successful, though not very important, affair of boats with the Burmese. A letter, which we also give, states, that after the affair at Ramoo, the Burmese might with ease have advanced on Calcutta. The alarm has subsided, but the ground for it, which once existed, shows a wonderful absence of foresight or energy on the part of the Bengal Government:—

The following is an Extract of a Letter, dated Calcutta, 12th June, 1824, received by the Sir Edward Paget:—

'I enclose a Government Gazette extraordinary, out only ten minutes, giving some account of an affair of boats, in which the little Company's cruiser Vestal has been engaged, at Tek Naaf. It is represented as a brilliant affair; but there are accounts in town representing it as a very disastrous business. Our party have behaved very well, but they have suffered severely. Some of our gun-boats, it is said, have been destroyed. Whether these reports come from croaking people or not, it is difficult to say. The great alarm respecting an invasion from the Burmese has subsided, though all agree, that they might have advanced upon Calcutta with the greatest ease. They are still within our territory at Ramoo, strongly stockaded. This is the scene of their victory over Captain Noton's detachment; and the scene of their barbarities upon Captain Trueman. They say they will exterminate the Europeans. Ramoo is eighty miles south of the Sudder station of Chittagong or Islamabad, as it is put down in the maps.'

The following is a copy of the Government Gazette extraordinary, dated Calcutta, June 12.

"*Brilliant affair with a Fleet of Burmese War Boats.*"—It is given as an Extract from a Letter, dated Naaf River, June 4th, H. C. C. Vestal.

'Yesterday 7 A. M. the Subadar in charge of the stockade at Tek Naaf came on board, after enduring much hardship and peril, to inform us that the Provincial troops under his command had mutinied and given themselves up to the Burmese, after refusing to obey his orders to fire upon the enemy the preceding evening; under which circumstances he immediately spiked the gun, and destroyed the ammunition belonging to it, and would have done the same with the magazine, but the Sepoys threatened to take his life, if he did so. He escaped to us in disguise, with his orderly, having seen the Burmese, whose force consists of 120 horse and a large body of foot.

'Supplies being now cut off and our stay of no further utility, at three P. M. weighed and stood down the river. At Mundoo Creek we fell in with a fleet of Burmese war-boats, most of them carrying swivels and one hundred men each, drawn out in order of battle; one came off with an order for us immediately to surrender the vessel, or every hand on board would be massacred. The gun-boats under Mr. Boyce's command returned for answer a shower of grape and canister, and bore down upon them, firing as fast as they could load. An immense number of men were killed, and some of the largest boats totally disabled. Nothing could exceed the high-spirited conduct of Mr. Boyce, the artillerymen, and Mug Sepoys, in the boat under his command.

'After silencing the boats and men on shore, who had kept up a close fire during the attack, the vessel made for Shuporee Islands, where a great number of boats and men lay, who, upon our pouring in a brisk fire, drew up their boats and ran into the jungle, but not before a vast number were killed; in fact, they were literally mown down by our great guns. By this time the gun-boats came up, which were left to complete the confusion by clearing the shore and jungle, which they did most effectually. While the brig bore down on the stockade, situated on the opposite shore, on nearing it they gave us three cheers, or, more properly speaking, three war whoops, but our first broadside soon silenced them; the boats

likewise gave their assistance in this grand object. Night coming on, we anchored a little to the southward of the stockade. All the men under arms and at their quarters during the whole of the night, expecting an attack in the dark; but the great loss they sustained during the day, I fancy, deterred them.

'This morning we weighed, and are now on our way to Chittagong; not a boat to be seen in the river. I conceive there were yesterday at least 2000 men afloat, and twice that number on shore. To give you an idea of the havoc made among them would be impossible, and had not the night prevented, it would have been much greater. During our stay at anchor, we saw the place we left in the morning on fire, but as the villages were deserted some time ago, no great damage could have been done. Our decks exhibit a most motley group—men, women, and children, with 32 Mug Sepoys, together with the Subadar, Daroga, and Mug Jemadars, who have put themselves under our protection.'

The Commander-in-chief of the British forces was concentrating his army, about 23,000 strong, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta; and twenty-six gunboats were building by the Honourable Company, which it is supposed were to convey these forces up the Burrampooter, with the view of the Commander-in-chief's attacking the Burmese on the northern frontier after the cessation of the rains, while Sir A. Campbell and his army at Rangoon advanced upon Ava. Every ship belonging to the port was in request, which had created a spirit of activity in the mercantile houses, unknown for years past. An extraordinary rise in the value of shipping had taken place, and owing to the want of the usual supplies of timber from Rangoon, the builders were much distressed; teak timber, iron, and ship-building materials, were in consequence scarce and dear. A vessel just launched, and which had been sold for 45,000 rs. sold almost immediately afterwards for 70,000.

Eighty-one pieces of artillery, many of which were serviceable, with six hundred stand of arms, had been taken at Rangoon. It appears by the latest advices from Chittagong, that the Ramoo affair was by no means so disastrous, in point of loss of lives, as was at first represented; for, of the party said to have been completely destroyed at that place, more than one half had returned to Chittagong unhurt. A spy taken at Chuckereeah had given information that the Burmese force at Ramoo amounted to 8000 foot and 200 horse. Of these 1500 had gone down against Tek Naaf, 1500 had returned to the Pullungs, and the remainder intended shortly to move on Hungbung, a stage to the northward of Chuckereeah. The spy further added, that the Burmese loss at Ramoo was four Sirdars and one hundred men killed. A considerable body of the Burmese troops were ravaging the country in the neighbourhood of Dacca, an eastern province, 170 miles from Calcutta.

The Indigo crops were favourable, but it is supposed they would receive damage from the enemy, as the frontiers were defenceless, owing to so many troops having been withdrawn for the expedition.

The advices from Kulliabar, in Assam, of the 18th of May, mention the complete success of an attack made by a detachment consisting of one company of the 46th regt. and a Rusala of irregular horse under the command of Lieut. F. T. Richardson of the 46th regt. on a party of Burmese troops, who had returned to that vicinity, and re-occupied the stockade at Hunlear. It appears that the Lieutenant sent his infantry to attack the stockade in front, while he led the cavalry round the jungle in the rear of the stockade. The Burmese fired a few rounds at the British as they approached the stockade, and then fled, but were interrupted by Lieut. Richardson and the cavalry, who committed great havoc. No loss was sustained by the British in this affair.

Letters from Gurruckpoor state, that the missionaries round that neighbourhood had made great progress in converting the Hindoos, and that a new church was erecting, which was to be consecrated by the Bishop of Calcutta in May. Sir F. Macnaghten, the chief justice of Calcutta, who had intended to return to England in the Sir Edward Paget, had, in consequence of the death of Sir Christopher Puller, been obliged to defer his departure. It is a remarkable fact, that Sir C. Puller enjoyed his appointment exactly the same number of days as his predecessor, Sir H. Blossett.

During the latter end of May and the beginning of June, fine showers of rain had been experienced at Calcutta and its neighbourhood, and by the 9th of the latter month the rains had finally set in. The indigo in Ben-

gal, it was thought, would be very fine; but all those on the upper part of India, except Tirhoot, would not clear their expenses. It was expected indigo would be very high. The rate of exchange between Calcutta and London had not improved; the Company's paper had fallen two per cent. since the Burmese war, and would have fallen still more; but owing to the absurd restrictions which prevented British subjects from buying land, there was a great stagnation of capital, without fair and honourable channels for its employment being open.

The following is an extract from a letter of an officer, engaged in the operations against the Burmese, dated, Rangoon, May 21, 1824.

'In the affair of Ramoo, the Burmese fought well, and lost 70 or 80 killed, for no quarter was given on either side, nor do I think it will be during the war; for if you save a Burman's life, it is ten to one but he returns the favour by taking yours. From all appearances this will be a bloody and protracted warfare. We are about to send an expedition against Syriani and the ancient city of Pegu in a few days. It is about 70 miles up the river, and we shall have bush-fighting all the way. I do not think we shall be ready for the expedition up the Irrawaddy river to Prome in less than a month. The capt. of the Larne will then hoist his pendant on board the steam-boat, Sir A. Campbell, with the major part of the forces, will join him, and there will be only a sufficient force left to protect Rangoon. If we reach Prome, all will be well, but it is extremely difficult to transport in open boats a force of six or seven thousand men up a rapid river, within a stone's throw of the bank, and a determined enemy annoying us the whole way. The mode of attack on the part of the enemy is by fire rafts and war-boats, and as the rainy season is now coming on, they will have the advantage of the dark nights. They also sink large boats to the gunwales, and turn them adrift upon us, and the force with which they come down, aided by the current, is very great. One nearly came on board of us the other night; it caught a rope, which cut off a boy's leg as clean off as if it had been amputated. We are going to send twelve of the Madras vessels for 3000 men and provisions.'

The following information respecting the changes in the commerce of Calcutta, is from a source that may be safely relied on:—

'In the years 1822-23, there was collected in the sea department of the Custom House at Calcutta, nearly 18 lacs of rupees; in 1823-24, little more than 14 lacs were received. On British ships, both in their exports and imports, there was an increase during that period; but the deficiency arose from an almost entire failure in the foreign trade. Foreign ships, had, it is true, visited Calcutta; but they had neither taken away from thence their accustomed purchases of piece goods, indigo, nor saltpetre. Indigo indeed had been at such high prices that neither foreign purchasers from Europe, nor even Indian traders to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, could venture to purchase it at all.'

Madras.—The arrival of the General Palmer, from Madras, has brought letters to the 1st of August, and papers towards the latter end of July. At the moment of our writing this, none of the letters have been delivered; but such information as may be obtained from them will be inserted under a supplementary head, if obtained in time. The following has already transpired:—

The accounts from India by the General Palmer, from Madras, are up to the beginning of August. On the 19th of July, letters were received from Bengal, stating that all alarm from the incursion of the Burmese at Ramoo had subsided, but the military operations on the side of Assam were likely to be unimportant for some time, on account of the state of the season.

Some of the letters from Madras, dated 1st August, are of a most unpleasant nature. Intelligence had been received from Rangoon to the 12th June. The operations of the British force in that quarter had been paralysed, it is stated, by a serious misunderstanding among the military commanders. This state of affairs is said to have been not of recent date, and to have arisen from some offence taken at some proceedings of the Governor-General. A high military officer had in consequence tendered his resignation. The reports from Rangoon were "there was no unanimity among the officers assembled for the purpose of opening the campaign."

The despatches from India describe as much of our military operations against the Burmese in Aracan and Pegu as it is deemed prudent to make public. These relate to a stockade

contest at Kemmendine, by the troops under Sir Archibald Campbell; and some further details of the capture of the island of Cheduba, by Brigadier M'Creagh, who attacked 600 of the Burmese intrenched in it, with a force of 300 men. Nearly half the enemy were destroyed. In both cases the British troops behaved with their accustomed gallantry.

The stockade at Kemmendine was very strong. On the 10th June Sir A. Campbell moved to attack it with about 3,000 men, 4 18-pounders, 4 mortars, and some field-pieces, sending two divisions of vessels up the river to prevent the enemy from escaping on that side.

'It was my intention (says sir A. Campbell) not to lose a man if it could be avoided. The enemy had already frequently experienced the irresistible influence of the British bayonet, and it was now my wish they should also know that we had still other and perhaps more dreadful means of exterminating them in every stockade they might be found in. The country, season, and roads rendered the undertaking extremely arduous, but not beyond the inexhaustible spirit of such soldiers as I command. About two miles from town, the head of the column was stopped by a stockade apparently very strong and full of men. I ordered two heavy guns and some field-pieces to open upon it, while the troops surrounded it on three sides, but the jungle was so very thick and close as to prevent the possibility of altogether cutting off the garrison. In less than half an hour a considerable gap was made in the outward defences of the work, and the defendants not daring any where to show themselves, I ordered a part of the Madras European regiment, supported by part of the 41st regiment, to charge, and the work was immediately carried, with a trifling loss on our part, the enemy leaving 150 men dead on the ground; Major Chalmers, leading the support of the 41st regiment, and one of the first men in the breach, received a wound in the face from a spear, which I am happy to say is not dangerous. While this was going on under my own eye, a very spirited and successful attack was made on the other side of the stockade by the advanced companies of the 13th and 38th regiments, who, by assisting each other up the face of the stockade (at least ten feet high), entered about the same time as the party by the breach, putting every man to death who opposed their entrance; and it affords me pleasure to state that the first man who appeared on the top of the work was, I believe, Major Sale, of his Majesty's 13th Light Infantry.

'This point gained, the column again moved forward nearly a mile, where our left was posted, communicating with the flotilla on the river about half a mile, under the great stockade and fortified camp: the head of the column moving up in the right with great toil and labour through the thick and tenacious jungle, for the purpose of again reaching the river above the stockade, and thus completely investing the enemy's great strong hold. In this I was partly disappointed. The enemy having thrown up other works above the stockade which would have exposed my right to certain loss, and not being able to invest the whole of the enemy's extensive fortifications, I was under the necessity of leaving about a hundred yards, between our right and the river, unoccupied; but as the principal work appeared full of men, animating each other with loud and boisterous cheering, I still hoped they would remain till the impression I intended had been made. At four p. m. my troops were in position in many places within a hundred yards of the place; but in all parts with a very thick jungle in front, extending to the very bottom of the stockade. The night passed in erecting batteries and making preparations for opening the guns at daylight next morning; the enemy continued loud and incessant cheering till after daylight in the morning. The moment we had sufficient light on the following day, a heavy and well-directed fire was opened from our breaching and mortar batteries, which was kept up nearly two hours, when a party advancing to observe the breach, found the enemy, during the cannonade, had evacuated the place, carrying off their dead and wounded. The chain of posts occupied by the enemy rendered flight at all times easy, and the thickness of the jungle necessarily prevented our observing when it took place.

General Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the troops comprising the expedition under the command of Brigadier-General Campbell, K.C.B., serving against the dominions of the King of Ava, from the 1st to the 16th of June, 1824.

June 3, 1824.—*Commissioned Officers.*

Madras European Regt.—Wounded 1 Captain and 1 Lieutenant.

His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry—Wounded, 1 Lieutenant.

His Majesty's 38th Foot—Wounded, 1 Lieutenant.

His Majesty's 41st Foot—1 Major.

Madras European Regt.—Wounded, 1 Lieutenant.

Total — Commissioned Officers, wounded 6; non-commissioned, rank and file, killed 14; wounded 105. Natives attached—Killed 2; wounded 11.

Remarks.—His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry; name of Officer wounded, Lieutenant James Petry, slightly.

His Majesty's 38th Foot; name of Officer wounded, Lieutenant Henry Grimes, slightly.

His Majesty's 41st Foot; name of Officer wounded, Major P. L. Chambers, severely, not dangerously.

Madras European Regiment; names of Officers wounded, Captain Kyd, Lieutenants Stenton and Robertson, severely, not dangerously.

Two men of the Madras European Regiment were missing soon after the arrival of the army at Rangoon, and have not been inserted in any of the returns, having been taken while straying from their line, and not whilst engaged with the enemy.

N. B. The quantity of slugs made use of by the enemy will account for the great disparity in the proportions of killed and wounded.

List of Officers, Seamen, and Marines, belonging to His Majesty's ship *Slaney*, Charles Mitchell, Esq. Commander, who were killed or wounded at the reduction of the island of Cheduba.

John Parr, corp. mar., killed; John Thompson, quarter-master, wounded dangerously, (since dead); Bathurst Mathews, 1st Lieutenant, slightly; James Mayning, boatswain, slightly; Edward Chamberlain, captain's steward, slightly.

(Signed) C. Mitchell, Captain.

His Majesty's ship *Slaney*, in Cheduba roads, May 29, 1824.

Killed, 1 marine; wounded 1 Lieutenant and 4 seamen.

Cheduba, May 18, 1824.

Return of killed and wounded of the force under the command of Brigadier M'Creagh, C. B., from the 14th to the 17th of May, 1824, both days inclusive.

Grand Total—Killed, 2; wounded 36.

(Signed) G. W. Malins, Brigade Maj.

NAMES OF OFFICERS WOUNDED.

His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry—Brevet Major Thornhill slightly.

Ditto ditto—Ensign Kershaw, slightly.

2d Batt. 20th Regt. Native Infantry—Lieutenant and Acting Adjutant Margrave, severely.

Letters from Madras received in town by the last arrival, confirm much that we have heard from Bengal. The following, from an Evening and Morning Paper, embodies the substance of the information alluded to.

'We mentioned a few days ago, on the authority of letters received at Madras from Rangoon, reports of disagreements between the authorities in India, which were supposed to have had an unfavourable effect upon the conduct of the war against the Burmese. We have since derived information from letters from Calcutta, written by persons who have the best means of information, which affords an explanation of these reports, and gives them a more serious character than we had been disposed to attribute to them.

'We scarcely need remind our readers that the high offices of Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in India, which were united in the person of the Marquis of Hastings, are now severed during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Amherst, Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Paget being Commander-in-Chief. It may be necessary, however, to observe that Sir Edward Paget has a seat in Council. Now, the letters to which we have referred state that the war against the Burmese was declared by the Governor-General in Council, while Sir Edward Paget was on a tour of inspection, and without consulting him, an omission the more remarkable from his being, as a Member of the Council, a constituent part of the supreme executive power in India. When the Commander-in-Chief hurried down to Calcutta, he found that the plans for the conduct of the war had been also completely settled on the judgment of Col. Casement, the Military Secretary. This sort of treatment towards an old Lieutenant-General, Commander-in-Chief, a Member of the Council, and, what in his own opinion is probably scarcely of less consequence, a *Paget*—the making him a sort of subordinate officer to a Colonel in the Company's service—was sufficiently provoking; but it was not all. About this time, some orders of the Court of Directors, for the reduction of the allowances of officers of their army above the rank of Lieutenant, orders not made, of course, in the contemplation of the

Burmese war, were received by the Governor in Council, and were directed to be promulgated. General Sir E. Paget is said to have strongly remonstrated against the publication of these orders at the moment of commencing a new and not very popular war, and to have even gone so far as to say, that if the orders were carried into effect, he would not be answerable for the fidelity of the army. His remonstrances were disregarded, and the orders were promulgated. Sir E. Paget is said, in consequence, to have (not tendered his resignation, which, under the circumstances, would have been inconsistent with military duties and discipline, but) transmitted to England a request that he might be recalled from a station in which, from the want of confidence of the local Government, he could be no longer useful. In the mean time, as his duty requires, he continues to hold the command. Such are the statements current in the best-informed circles in Calcutta.

'It is also said, that the officers of the Indian army in general have much the same feelings towards the Military Secretary and the Government as Sir E. Paget has expressed. There prevails a strong conviction as to the inexpediency of the plans for the prosecution of the war, not at all mitigated by the notion that the author of them has been recommending himself to the Government by proposals for the reduction of all military allowances. The issue of these plans will show what merit they possess; but there seems to be but one opinion in India respecting Lord Amherst's administration.'

'According to all the accounts we have heard, it is clear that the Commander-in-Chief in India has not been treated by the Governor-General with that attention to which his rank, character and services entitle him, and he has therefore felt it his duty, in self-defence, to apply for leave to return home. The feeling in India is, we understand, decidedly favourable to the gallant General; and we do not apprehend that the difference, to whatever changes it may lead, is likely to deprive the Indian army of its Commander-in-Chief.'

Singapore.—It is stated in the accounts from this new colony that the Honourable Company's resident, Mr. Crawfurd, had made a strong representation to the Bengal government on the propriety of seizing upon two provinces at the neck of the Malay peninsula, at present in the possession of the Burmese. These provinces might afterwards be retained by the British government, or delivered over to their old masters, the Siamese, upon condition that they permit a free transit to British goods into that part of the country. Should this arrangement be followed up, it will put our government in possession of one of the finest harbours in all India, and by this means the trade of Great Britain will be greatly extended in a part of the world from which hitherto it has been virtually excluded.

The last arrival from Singapore brings an account, shewing the resort of European and native shipping to Singapore, from the end of December, 1822, to the beginning of January, 1824. From this it appears that the number of port clearances granted to European vessels during this period amounted to 208. Of these 47 cleared out for India, 42 for Malacca and Penang; 48 for China; 9 for Great Britain; 4 for Manilla; 3 for Siam; 4 for Tringanei and Kalantan; 5 for Borneo; 29 for Java; 6 for Sumatra; 11 for Borneo, and one for New South Wales. The tonnage of these vessels amounted to upwards of 73,000 tons; but, as must be evident enough, from the nature and situation of the place, many of the vessels put in for the convenience of wooding and watering only, others again loaded to a small extent, some took in a large portion of their cargoes, and a few the whole amount of lading. The place, indeed, is so conveniently situated, from the facility of ingress and egress, that almost every ship that passes through the Straits of Malacca touches, if for no other view than to obtain information. Indeed, out of 424 vessels that passed and repassed the Straits of Malacca during the year 1823, not more than six or seven passed on without touching, and these were chiefly Dutch men of war. The most important branch of trade is probably that of the Chinese Junks of Canton and Fokien. In 1823, these amounted to six in number, in all about 3000 tons. These junks export and import complete cargoes to and from Singapore only. The native trade to Siam amounted in 1823 to thirty-four junks, which may be considered equal to 11,000 tons. The greater number of these import full cargoes, and carry away an equivalent. A few have traded previously at the ports of Java and Penang, and touch at Singapore to make up their cargoes.

The native trade with Cochin China during 1823 amounted to twenty-seven junks, and to about 4000 tons. Almost the whole of these also trade alone with Singapore. The trade of the Indian islanders with Singapore may be divided into the following classes:—That of the Bugis, of the Borneans, the Sumatrans, and that of the Malayans in our immediate neighbourhood. The whole of the port clearances throughout the year, an account of all of these, amounted to 1345, and in this enumeration the same vessels are, of necessity, frequently included. Between this port and every place within the Straits of Malacca, frequent intercourse is kept throughout the year, and there is, for example, a class of vessels, the *Prahu Pukut*, which often make three voyages a month between Singapore and the Dutch Settlement of Rio, about 60 miles distant. The most important branch of the trade of the Indian Archipelago is that of the Bugis, who, from their distance, and the nature of the monsoons, make but one voyage throughout the year. In 1823 the Bugis Prahus of the different countries they inhabit, which trade to Singapore, were not less than 80 in number, amounting to nearly 3000 tons. The trade with the state of Borneo Proper is another considerable branch of the island trade which is worth particularizing. It may amount to about 25 large prahus, or to a tonnage of about 1500 tons. The whole of the native trade of the Archipelago to Singapore, taken together, may be reckoned at 4500 tons annually. The result of these different data show that the whole amount of shipping and vessels of all descriptions, touching at Singapore, for the purpose of trade, &c. during the year 1823, amounted to little short of 100,000.

The Governor had also sanctioned the following provisional regulations for the port of Singapore:

'1st. The arrivals of all ships and vessels shall be immediately reported to the master attendant in the ordinary report book, and afterwards by the commander in person, at the master attendant's office, as soon as the vessel shall have anchored.

2d. The intended departure of any ship or vessel shall be reported to the master attendant twenty-four hours previous to her sailing, except in cases of emergency, which will be determined by the resident.

3d. Commanders of all vessels are required, when boarded by the master attendant's boat, to deliver to the post-office letter-carrier, all letters, packets, or dispatches, for the settlement, and to receive and furnish a receipt for post-office packets which may be sent on board at their departure.

4th. With a view of affording an authentic record of the progress of the trade of the settlement, all commanders of European or square-rigged vessels are required to give in, before sailing, to the master attendant, an accurate specification of the goods imported and exported by them; such statement to be sealed, and not opened until the vessel shall have quitted the port. To facilitate this operation, the master attendant will supply the commanders with proper forms.

5th. With the same object in view, a verbal statement of the import and export cargoes of native vessels shall be given in by their commanders.

6th. After reporting at the master attendant's office on their arrival, and immediately previous to their departure, all commanders of European and native vessels are required to wait on the sitting magistrates, and supply them with a list of the passengers intending to remain at or depart from this settlement.

7th. All vessels, European and native, will promptly receive a port clearance, on application at the master attendant's office, and such port clearance will be given without fee or charge.

8th. All cargo boats shall be regularly admeasured, numbered, and registered, in the master attendant's office; and such boat shall have marked upon her bow her number and tonnage.

9th. All cargo boats shall be supplied with good and sufficient coverings, adequate to protect the goods received on board from damage.

10th. The following shall be the maximum of charges taken for boat-hire, wooding, watering, and ballasting of ships touching at the port, and whose stay does not exceed 48 hours, as well as in all other cases, where no previous arrangements or contract is made.

Boat-hire 68 cents of a Spanish dollar, per royan of 40 piculs.

Fire-wood, per 1000 billets (of 18 ratties per billet) 5½ Spanish dollars.

Ditto, ditto, boat-hire included, 8½ Spanish dollars.

Ballast sand per royan, including boat-hire, 80 cents.

Ditto, stone, ditto, 90 cents.

Water with ships casks, one dollar per ton, including boat-hire.

Ditto, when ships casks are not used, one dollar 12 cents.

11th. The business of supplying wood, water, and ballast for ships, and the employment of cargo-boats, shall not be considered subject to any official restraint or regulation beyond those already mentioned; and the mediation and assistance of the officers of the government with regard to them are deemed, in the present advanced state of the trade of the port, no longer necessary.'

12th. Nothing contained in these regulations shall be construed to operate against the most perfect liberty to ships to wood, water, and ballast with their own boats.'

Batavia.—All the accounts from this quarter give a very gloomy picture of the state of trade. The high duties upon woollen and other goods from parts westward of the Cape, amounted to nearly a prohibition of British manufactures; and a great check had been put upon business by the cessation of credit to the Chinese merchants on account of the many failures among them. The exchange upon the dollar had fallen to 3*s.* 3*d.* The Dutch government was extremely distressed for money, and had been compelled to borrow of the private merchants to meet the exigencies of the moment. This had been caused by their prohibitory decree, which had produced a complete stagnation of commerce, as many vessels had left on learning its provisions, and consequently the duties paid had fallen off very materially. As a proof of the distress to which the government was reduced, the coffee crop, which they had purchased at 15½, they had been compelled to bring into the market at 12, to meet the exigencies of the moment. The principal persons to whom the government had applied were the English merchants, many of whom had refused to yield any assistance, alleging that the late measures were so hostile to their interests, that they could not countenance them by advancing money to the source from whence they had emanated. In consequence of this, it was generally believed that the obnoxious regulations would be repealed.

It appears that the rumours of the death of Mr. Thornton, the merchant, were at least premature. An account brought by the last arrival, which, however, requires confirmation, states that the Batavian government had received positive advices of Mr. Thornton's being still a prisoner in one of the Malay islands, and that in consequence they had seized upon two of the Malay princes, whom they intended to retain until he was delivered up.

New South Wales.—The following account of the massacre of Capt. Powell and four of his crew appears in the papers of New South Wales:

The circumstances that gave rise to this tragical event are as follows: Capt. Powell had been exercising for four or five days off the island of Vavaoo (one of the Friendly Islands,) which time was occupied in procuring water. On the day preceding the massacre, four black men and an apprentice ran away into the island. The boy's restoration was demanded from the chief, and a present of 100 flints and a barrel of gunpowder was offered. Finding entreaty useless, Capt. Powell fired three guns on shore, and afterwards two more. He then landed with a boat's crew on the island, and was seen walking on the beach, when about sixty or seventy armed natives rushed upon him and four of the men, and instantly despatched them. The other seamen, being near the boat, succeeded in regaining the vessel, although one of them was wounded with a spear. The names of the men who perished were, Peter Ashburn, John Jones, William Halback, and James Loft. The Rambler having lost ten hands, including the runaways, Mr. Holliday, the present commander, thought it most prudent to make for Port Jackson.

We cannot but blame Capt. Powell's temerity in landing among the islanders, after having doubtless destroyed many of them by the previous fire from the ship. There is no account of any barbarity on the part of the natives before the firing took place, and we cannot but think he sacrificed himself by this apparently ill-judged proceeding.

Van Dieman's Land.—The last arrival from this place mentions the arrival of the new Governor, and states that the colony was in a prosperous state. The market, however, was overstocked with European goods.

AFRICA AND ITS ISLANDS.

Cape of Good Hope.—By recent letters from the Cape of Good Hope, we learn that a newspaper, called "The South African Chronicle and Mercantile

Advertiser," has been started under the immediate patronage and inspection, as is understood, of Lord Charles Somerset. The public cannot fail to observe the duplicity, as well as baseness, of this transaction. A person, named Bridekirk (formerly connected with the Colonial government printing-office), has been chosen to superintend the mechanical operations. Who it is that has undertaken the editorship, does not appear; but we cannot for a moment suppose that any of the conductors of the late independent and suppressed journals would lend themselves to such a glaring job. It would appear that Lord Charles Somerset's conduct was thus calculated not merely to ruin the future prospects of Mr. Greig, the injured and oppressed proprietor of the late "South African Commercial Advertiser," by thus establishing a paper on the wreck of the one he had suppressed, but also to deceive the home government with an appearance of his being favourable to the existence of a free press in the colony. It is unnecessary to add, that his Excellency's plan, while it adds an aggravating ingredient to the case of Mr. Greig, is, in both points of view, too palpable to blind, even for a moment, the most strenuous advocate of an arbitrary system.

Cape Coast.—By the last arrivals from this part of Africa, we learn that the war with the Ashantees had ended, but that Cape Town exhibited nothing but squalid want and misery. Several poor creatures were seen lying in the streets faint and even dead from starvation; the houses were unroofed, and the place, in fact, was in a state of ruin. The inmates of the Castle were in a sickly condition, and of eleven young officers, who had recently arrived, seven were either dead or dangerously ill.

General Turner, the new Governor of Sierra Leone, who has recently embarked for that settlement, was to go first to Sierra Leone, and then to Cape Coast, where he has to exhibit the olive branch to the Ashantees, to whose monarch he took out a rich palanquin canopy, &c. to be presented in the event of his being friendly.

MEDITERRANEAN.

Constantinople.—The last accounts from the Turkish capital convey intelligence of the arrival of the Captain Pasha, from his voyage, with one frigate towed by a brig, two schooners, and about eight or nine transports, being the wreck of that mighty expedition fitted out a few months since by the Turkish Government to crush and overwhelm all who were struggling for liberty in Greece. The Captain Pasha, we learn by recent letters, has experienced the fate of his predecessors, having been executed by order of the Sultan; but whether this act of cruelty will stimulate his countrymen to new efforts, or disgust them by its unnecessary barbarity, time will determine. All the accounts we have seen concur in expressing a belief that the disjointed empire of the Ottomans is fast falling into ruin and decay. It will be seen, however, by the following firman, that the Sultan is not idle as regards, what to him appears no doubt a very important subject, the toilette of the Turkish women. To show to our readers the importance and sagacity of the decrees of these legitimate sovereigns, we have inserted this relic of royal wisdom and love for the subject entire.

'Since the women must never, when they go out, deviate from the rules of decency and honour, it is especially necessary to take care that none of their actions be contrary to the Holy Law. An imperial firman has already been published to hinder them from wearing embroidered Feredjis and improper colours. The duty of the officers to whom that firman was addressed was to see its execution. They have not done so. In these latter times, therefore, certain women have been seen to change the tone of decency and honour for manners the least becoming in Musulmans. They have not feared to wear embroidered feredjis and condemnable colours, and go to the public walks with extraordinary veils, which suffer their faces to be seen.

'If such conduct is equally contrary to the Divine Law and to my supreme will, it is evident that the Government must put a stop to such an irregularity, and that it is also the absolute duty of husbands to take care that their wives do not go out in a dress which, being irreconcileable to decency and honour, cannot be suitable to Musulman women.

'Henceforward, therefore, the women shall not wear embroidered feredjis, nor condemnable colours, nor veils artfully contrived to shew their faces; whoever be the husband or the relations of all those who may be seen in such a dress, they shall be made answerable, and punished for the conduct of their women.

'You, my Cadi, will transmit the present order to all the Imans, to be published in all the quarters, and you will employ the greatest diligence to hinder the women from going out in a costume which our Imperial will has prohibited.—Given in the month of Muharrem, the year 1240.—September, 1824.'

Smyrna.—The accounts from Smyrna are not of great public interest. The only occurrence of any importance in that city had been the encampment of about 1200 Asiatic troops in the suburbs, preparatory to their joining the forces engaged against the Greeks; and the barbarians not being immediately employed, as they wished, in the pillage of the Greek villages, had proceeded to practise on those in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, destroying the fig plantations and plundering the houses of the peasants. These outrages were only put an end to by the exertions of the Pasha, who quelled them by the interposition of the regular military force in Smyrna.

Persia.—Letters from Bagdad, coming by way of the Mediterranean, of the 4th August, contain the following particulars:—

'It seems certain that the city of Shiraz, on the east of the Persian Gulf, has lately experienced a misfortune similar to that of Aleppo. An earthquake has almost wholly destroyed it. We expect the particulars of the melancholy event.

'The King of Persia has left Teheran for Sultanieh, where he is going to assemble his family for the marriage of his grandson, the Prince of Kermanshah, with the daughter of his son, Abbas Mirza. At the close of the summer, the King of Persia will come to Kermanshah. Some persons pretend that it is for the purpose of being nearer at hand to see the military preparations intended against the Pashalic of Bagdad. Sulemanieh is still occupied by the Persian troops.

'It is said that M. Mazarowetha, Chargé d'Affaires of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia at the Court of Persia, has just been replaced by another person, who is to take the title of Ambassador. It is said that the Russian army in Georgia has advanced towards Erivan.

'The province of Astracan is still in a state of insurrection: the king's troops have not yet been able to subdue the rebels.

'The two French officers who are at Kermanshah are still busy in forming and organizing new levies of troops.'

Greece.—The accounts from Greece are decisive of the success of the Christians. Defeat after defeat has proclaimed the triumph of knowledge and freedom over despotism and ignorance. Our space will not permit us to enter so largely into detail as we could wish; but the following summary, from the Globe and Traveller, deserves republication:—

'The recent naval engagements in the Levant have justified the hopes of the most ardent friends of the Greeks, and seem to have secured the independence of that regenerated nation against all attempts on the part of the Mohammedans. The result of the several actions is better known in the gross, from the magnitude of the preparations for the expeditions from Constantinople and Alexandria, and from the notorious fact, that both these armaments have ended by doing nothing, than by an enumeration of losses, the statements of which rest on uncertain authority. The Viceroy of Egypt collected for his expedition 56 vessels of war, of various sizes, about 100 Egyptian transports, and 86 (according to another account, 89) hired transports under European flags. His whole armament, therefore amounted to from 240 to 250 sail, and is said to have carried, besides the ordinary crews, nearly 20,000 infantry and cavalry. When we consider the expense of naval expeditions, of which, in the last war, we had ample experience, this effort seems a vast one, and could not have been made, except in the anticipation of great results. The expedition sent from Constantinople under the Captain Pasha, though probably not so well equipped as the Egyptian fleet, must have been nearly as large, when we consider that it was calculated as sufficient to transport from the continent of Asia to Samos the vast hordes assembled at Scala Nuova, and variously estimated from 40 to 60,000 men. The Greek vessels which were prepared to contend against these expeditions, are stated in the Hydra Government Paper of the 1st (12th) August, to have been 95 vessels, generally of a much smaller size than those of the enemy; and notwithstanding this disparity of forces, they have been entirely successful. The first series of actions took place between a division of the Greek fleet and that of the Captain Pasha, in the Straits of Bogazi, between Samos and

he Main, on the 15th and 16th August and some following days, in which several large ships were burned, a number of transports driven on shore and sunk, and the whole expedition against Samos frustrated, the troops collected at Scala Nuova having disbanded themselves and dispersed. The Captain Pasha having abandoned his hopes of undertaking any thing alone, sailed southward with the remains of his fleet, and joined the Egyptian armament near Cos. The Greek divisions, one of which had been watching the Turkish and the other the Alexandrian vessels, appear also to have united, and to have attempted, by means of fire-ships, to burn their enemies' vessels in the bay of Boudroun (or Halicarnassus). On the 5th and 9th September there were some indecisive actions. The Turkish and Egyptian fleets, to avoid being entangled in the bay, came forth and gave battle on the 10th September. This battle is said to have been kept up the whole day with extreme fury. What is certain is, that the Egyptian ship African, which was some time ago at Deptford (a large and very fine frigate), and a brig of the same squadron, were burned by the Greeks. On the 16th and 17th September, there are said to have been further actions near the same spot, which sufficiently show that the Turks, who remained so near their port, must have severely suffered in the former actions.

The Captain Pasha's fleet afterwards took shelter under the guns of the Castle of Dardanelles, attended by one frigate and three brigs of war. The remainder of the Turkish fleet had been left off Mitylene. The celebrated Ismael Gibraltar, the Egyptian admiral, had been taken prisoner by the Greeks, and carried to Hydra, where he is kept as a prisoner of war; 200,000 Spanish dollars have been offered for his ransom; but the Greeks answered that they wanted seven frigates, and until these should be delivered, he must remain a captive. Another frigate was also demanded for the other officers of Turks who had fallen into their hands.

The Greeks have been indebted for much of their success to the excellent management of their fire-ships, and to the enthusiasm and self-devotion of one man—Canaris, an inhabitant of the little island of Ipsara, the devastation of which is the only action of which the Turks have had to boast. Canaris is one of the most remarkable men of modern times; he has by some of the foreign journals been called an admiral, but he has never in reality accepted of any rank beyond that of captain, from a notion generally very foreign to those to whom promotion is offered, namely, that he is not fit for it. Among a people who have, like more advanced and better established states, their full share of intrigue and rapacity, he has offered a constant example of disinterestedness, and has proposed to himself to save his country, not to rob it.

It is said that the Greek senate intend to make an appeal to Christians in every part of the globe to take part in a vast crusade, the object of which will be the conquest of Egypt and the Holy Sepulchre. This appeal will also be addressed to the Knights of Malta, and the senate will offer them one of the islands in the Archipelago as their property. Such a conquest would undoubtedly be an easy one; but we sincerely hope that we shall hear no more of religious crusades; the world has been drenched in blood too often on that account already.

From a letter dated Napoli di Romania we learn that Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mahomet Ali, sent a frigate to his father with the following letter: 'My Father,—All that we learn in Egypt on the state of Greece, and all that was written to us from Zante, namely, that Greece was divided by factions, and the Spartans ready to receive us, was false. On the contrary, I have found the whole of Greece in union and amity, and Sparta in the same sentiments as the rest of Greece. I have found all unanimous and ready by sea and land to oppose us with incredible energy, and on that account I foresee that not only we shall not reach our aim, but I and all our army will be the victims of this undertaking. I beg, therefore, you will order me to return. Nearly 1000 of our cavalry have left us, and have deserted to Asia Minor.'

The number of prisoners at Napoli di Romania are said to be so considerable, that every family has now a Turkish slave.

The land triumphs of the Greeks have been no less decisive than their victories at sea. On the 26th of July, Dervish Pasha, determining upon opening a passage to Salona, advanced at the head of all his forces. The Greeks, considerably reinforced, were in position at Amplana. The contest lasted more than nine hours, and the Greek troops, well post-

ed, maintained their positions with great valour, though repeatedly repulsed. The Albanians, relying on their great numerical superiority, returned to the charge. In this state of uncertainty, the Suliote Tzavellas, grandson to the immortal Photas Tzavellas, ordered the trumpet to sound, rushed from the intrenchments sabre in hand, with 200 Suliotes, flung himself into the midst of the enemy's ranks, where he spread terror and disorder. His example, followed up by that of the troops, decided the battle; and three thousand Greeks routed the entire Albanian army, superior in number, and pursued them the remainder of the day.

The terror of the enemy was such, that a great number of them, hotly pursued, threw themselves from the rocks, to escape the fire of the victors; others, intercepted in their flight, threw down their arms. The loss of the Turks amounted to more than 2000 men. Seven standards, all the artillery, the tents, military music, stores of Dervish Pasha, &c. fell into the hands of the Greeks.

Since then, desertion, defeat, and sickness, have followed the broken troops of the barbarians; and at the last accounts, Greece was regarded as on the eve of casting off for ever the Turkish yoke.

The decree of the Greeks against foreign vessels, referred to in our previous numbers, had been repealed at the instance of Sir F. Adam, who visited Napoli di Romania for that purpose. The following is a copy of the new manifesto of the Greek government:

'The president of the executive power, the Greek government, having no other care than the preservation of the Greek nation, to avoid every thing that may lead to its destruction, published, on the information it had received, the proclamation of the 27th of May, which concerned the European merchant ships which were freighted at Constantinople and Alexandria to convey the enemy's troops to Greece; but the government having learned that the said vessels do not convey the enemy's troops, but warlike stores, provisions, &c., and as the Greek government takes care that neutrality and the laws of nations are observed in commerce with all possible precision, and, as far as the rights of war will permit, orders—

'1. The European vessels freighted by the enemy to convey arms, ammunition, horses, provisions, and any other articles for the use of the enemy, are subject to the laws of neutrality, and shall be treated by our naval forces according to the usages existing under similar circumstances among the European powers.

'2. The present ordinance shall be communicated to the admirals of the Greek naval force, and published in the government Gazette. Copies shall be sent to all the consuls, vice-consuls, and agents of the European powers who are in the Greek Archipelago.—Napoli di Romania, Aug. 15, 1824.

'The President, G. Conduriotte.

'Provis. Sec. of State G. Rhodius.'

Syria.—All the news which we receive from Asia Minor, describes the countries under the rule of the Musulmans as in a state of the most complete anarchy. Revolt and massacre are the order of the day. Tripoli in Syria is in open rebellion, and has chased away its governor, Hassan Bey. The first act of the rebels was to relieve the persons confined for debt. They poisoned their Mutesellim. Since the events at Tripoli, it is said that the pacific tribes have again revolted; it is certain that no caravan dare proceed from Aleppo to Latakea. Not a night passes that the inhabitants have not some combats with the Arnaouts of the Castle. Antioch has chased away its governor, and has only consented to receive another who has no troops and no real power. The other towns of the Pashalic will no doubt follow the same example. The Sheriffs and the Janissaries have quarrelled in the Pashalic of Antab and of Marack. The Janissaries of Antab have summoned to their assistance an Arab chief, who, by his own authority, has established himself the sovereign of a numerous tribe of Arabs, and of adventurers from all countries, whom he receives, arms, and governs by a code of laws for the division of the spoil. He is named Fahal, and he is established in the Zohour, on the banks of the Euphrates. The Pasha has fallen into the power of these barbarians after a sanguinary combat. This event is of the greatest importance, and will no doubt attract all the attention of the Ottoman Porte. A military force must be immediately sent to stop a movement that may otherwise separate a part, and perhaps the whole of Upper Syria, from the dominion of the Grand Signior. A bilious epidemic fever has prevailed for the last three months in the two

principalities. It is not fatal, but hardly any person escapes it. There are 9,000 sick at Jassy. The Emir Besheer, of the Pashalid of Saint John d'Acra, who was to send men to the assistance of the Pasha of Egypt, has sent one of his sons with rich presents, and an excuse, not being able to contribute as he wished that assistance in carrying on the operations recommended by his highness. The chief of the Janissaries of Aleppo, the friend of the Europeans, the hope of all the honest men of the city, Mehemed Aga Ben el Kattan, is no more. Playing at the jereed, a horse, which had broke away, ran against his horse, overthrew it, and inflicted a blow on the rider, which, at the end of a few hours, carried him off. There is a report that the Pasha of Acra has rebelled; if this be true, the ruin of Syria is completed.

Algiers.—Recent letters from the Mediterranean state that the English expedition against Algiers, had done more to encourage than to check the arrogance of the barbarous ruler of that state; and give a very different version of the result of that affair from that contained in the official report of the English Government. The following account of the expedition, dated from Algiers, Sept. 16, will be found interesting:—

'The English arrived off Algiers on July 10th, with one ship of 80 guns, five frigates, four bomb vessels, four cutters, two corvettes, two brigs, and two transports, besides a steam-boat. On the 12th, the Admiral anchored with four frigates almost within gun-shot, and a cutter having approached too near and got becalmed, was attacked by all the Algerine gun-boats, amounting to 33. The forts also fired upon her. A breeze having sprung up, the cutter made off, and the combat, which began at six o'clock, was finished at seven. The English Admiral's ship and the frigate fired on the gun-boats. On the following day the Admiral, with his squadron, weighed and stood off shore. After this the enthusiasm of the Algerines was very great. The courage of the mob was inflamed by numerous absurd stories, and the Dey distributed considerable sums of money among his sailors who distinguished themselves. On July the 24th, the English returned, and anchored in line of battle, and every thing announced a serious attack. The Algerines were the first to begin firing, but they had hardly commenced, when, to the astonishment of every body, the English Admiral's ship hoisted a flag of truce. A frigate hoisted the same signal; but, in spite of these pacific demonstrations, the Algerines continued to fire from their forts and vessels. A boat then left the Admiral's ship, and, the batteries having ceased firing by orders of the Dey, the harbour-master sent a boat to reconnoitre the English boat, which brought on shore a superior officer of the English squadron, appointed by the Admiral, to make proposals to the Dey. The Dey immediately received him, and declared that Admiral Neale made the same proposals as for the last time, and added, that if they were not accepted in two hours, he would attack the town. 'Go and tell your Admiral,' replied the Dey, 'that I have sworn by the living God, and by our religion, that as long as I live, the Consul shall not put his foot in my dominions; tell him, morever, that I have a watch in my hand, and if in two hours he does not commence firing, I will.' Notwithstanding the arrogance of this reply, the negotiations were continued, and the English consented to send another Consul in the place of the one the Dey would not receive. The peace was signed on July 26, at ten o'clock. The forts saluted the squadron, and the English Admiral's ship returned the salute. There are different opinions here on the conduct of the English, but most of the Europeans suppose they intended rather to encourage than humilitate these barbarians. If this was their object, they have fully succeeded, for the Government now threatens Sardinia and Holland, and is fitting out its vessels to send against the Spaniards.'

The accuracy of this statement is certainly borne out by the fact of the Dey having declared war against Spain, and fitted out a squadron to cruise against the Spanish flag. He had also declared his intention of commencing hostilities against Sardinia, unless the tribute which he thought fit to demand, was immediately paid. Austria, Tuscany, and Naples were likewise threatened by this pirate ruler; and the Dutch had been informed, that unless they dissolved their alliance with Spain, and made the customary present to the Dey, cruizers would be despatched against the Netherlands flag. In consequence of this, the Governor of Minorca had issued a circular notice to merchants, dated from the Consular

Chambers, Sept. 2, stating that the Dutch ships of war could no longer protect any vessels, but those of their own nation, against the Algerines!

Tripoli.—Of the English travellers who left Tripoli for the purpose of penetrating into the interior of Africa, Dr. Oudney, chief director of the expedition, had died, and also the youngest of the travellers, Mr. Tool.

Malta.—Nothing of importance has reached us from this island since our last number. The Marquis of Hastings had issued a proclamation on the 11th of September, of which the following paragraph is important.

'His Excellency the Governor, in pursuance of his intentions already declared, to afford every possible facility to the commercial interests of these islands, and especially in regard to such articles as may be introduced herein with the view of being subsequently re-exported, is pleased to order and direct, that from and after the date of this proclamation, Government warehouses shall be set aside for the express purpose of receiving in bond articles of every description which may be imported into the island of Malta; which articles will not be subject to any import duty so long as they remain therein, or on their removal thence, if it be for immediate re-shipment and exportation; it being the intention of Government, to levy the import duty on such of those articles only, as may be taken out for the consumption of these islands.'

Gibraltar.—Accounts from Gibraltar state the trade there to be extremely dull, and the market for British manufactured goods perfectly stagnant. This is said to arise from the French troops having smuggled into all parts of Spain, immense quantities of French manufactures; which, from their paying no duty, are offered at so low a price, that it is impossible for the British merchant to compete with them.

WEST INDIES.

The pressure of other matter has so encroached upon our limits, that we have been unable to pay the attention we wished and intended, to the affairs of our Colonies in the West. There is one piece of information, however, from that quarter, which has reached England during the past month, and of which scarcely any notice has been taken by the press of England, that we feel it our duty to record. It is this:

Demerara.—Letters from this island state, that the *Colonist* newspaper has been suppressed by the Government, in consequence of some articles of an inflammatory nature having appeared, relative to the slave trade, and to the proceedings lately adopted by the English government, for the amelioration of the slave population in Trinidad, and the other new colonies.

It is not stated what the articles were, except that they were "inflammatory," a term that may be applied to any article with equal propriety, and which there is no known standard to determine: except, perhaps, this: that every Governor considers every thing "inflammatory," which is condemnatory of himself or the system of which he is the supporter. This case will add another to the many flagrant instances of tyranny and oppression directed against the press within the past year, and will help, we trust, to rouse the attention of Parliament to a subject which ought not to be allowed to remain uninvestigated a single day longer than necessary, and which we sincerely hope to see among the earliest topics of Parliamentary discussion.

EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE.

Proprietors' Courts.—The absence from town of most of the leading Members of Parliament, Ministers, Members of the Board of Control, Directors, and Proprietors of India Stock, has occasioned the last two months to pass away without any thing of interest occurring in the Home Department of Indian Affairs. A General Quarterly Court will be held at the latter end of this month (December), and something will then, no doubt, be done.

Papers respecting Oude.—We hear, from good authority, that the papers respecting certain transactions in Oude, which Colonel Bailey, the Director, moved for on a late occasion, are in a state of preparation at the India House. Different opinions are entertained as to the conduct of Lord Hastings and Colonel Bailey, during the residence of the latter at the Court of Lucknow; but the production of the papers adverted to, will enable every

one to correct their opinions by reference to the documents themselves.

The misconceptions and misrepresentations that have taken place, with respect to the transactions at Hyderabad and Lucknow, never could have happened, had the press of India been as free as it ought to have been. But, during the period in which it was suffered to comment, without restraint, on questions of European politics, all discussion of the affairs of Oude was especially prohibited; and general ignorance was the necessary consequence. The details of these affairs are now for the first time about to be made public, when all discussion on them will be useless, as far as discussion operates as a check against misrule: and the only purpose which such protracted publicity can answer, is to settle a disputed question whether Lord Hastings or Colonel Bailey were right or wrong in certain measures with which their names are associated; a matter of no moment whatever to the good government of India and the happiness of its people,—the great consideration which ought to take precedence of every other, though it is perpetually lost sight of by those to whom it ought to be ever present.

Qualifications of Cadets.—In a printed paper, which is furnished to Cadets for the Indian Army, on their admission into the service, it is stated that "each Cadet (upon his being examined and approved) will be ranked according to his actual departure from England;" and it is added, as a necessary consequence, "that the sooner he proceeds to India, the higher his rank will be above those who may be appointed in the same season as himself."

This is so strong an inducement to young men entering a service in which seniority determines every thing, and their retirement from which may be accelerated or retarded by several years, in consequence of the gain or loss of a month at the outset, that it is natural they should hurry away to India as soon as possible after their admission into the service, to reap all the advantages which even a day's priority in the date of their arrival in that country would ensure them.

In another part of the same paper, the following passage occurs:—"It is further expected, that the Cadet will, upon his arrival in India, endeavour to qualify himself for his future situation by professional acquirements, and by the attainment of a knowledge of the languages of the country; in failure of which he will render himself liable to be dismissed the service, and ordered back to England at his own expense." This is as strong an inducement as can be held out to his making a proficiency in the native languages of even still greater importance than his early arrival in India, because, by a failure in the last he only lengthens his period of service, while, by a failure in the former, he runs the risk of losing his appointment altogether.

To attain the proficiency in the native languages here required, it appears to us that a beginning should be made in England, and that the student should proceed far enough in his task to be enabled to prosecute his studies in company with others of his own age and profession during the four months consumed in the voyage to India, so that on his arrival there he might be qualified to enter on a more enlarged and practical acquaintance with the languages most in use. This is done, we believe, by many of the medical students, who attend the lectures of Dr. Gilchrist in London, before they embark, and the consequences are apparent in the superior proficiency of all his pupils on their reaching the country of their future career. But while the regulation which determines the military rank of the Cadet by the period of his landing in India, continues to remain in force, it is in vain to expect that any Cadet will take advantage of these lectures, to the evident loss of rank in his profession.

We have dwelt the longer on this subject, because we think it one of considerable importance; and we sincerely hope that the attention of the Directors will be drawn to it without delay. The following remarks on the same topic appeared in the *Times*, during the early part of the past month, and are preserved here for future reference, if necessary:

'It will be gratifying to the promoters of Oriental Literature, and the friends of the natives of Hindostan, to be informed that the Government in Bengal have issued regulations, which, if strictly enforced, must prove a great stimulus to every Englishman proceeding to India, to learn the native languages. Attempts have been made at different times in England by some of the Proprietors, to induce the Court of Directors to establish a rule, that all their military servants should be instructed in the Hindostanee or colloquial language of India, which would

render their services of much more value to the Company and the public, than they ever can be in the state of ignorance of the native languages in which officers go out in the Company's service, and have generally remained, even after many years' service in India.

'The East India Company have, perhaps, 150,000 natives of India in arms, commanded by English officers in the proportion, as has lately been stated, of only from 5 to 9 English officers to a battalion of 1,000 natives in the field; and as all routine of duty is performed by these officers, the efficiency of these native troops for every purpose in peace or war, must be more or less perfect, according as the English officers can understand what the natives have to make known to them. It might therefore be expected that the Company would require their English officers to have some knowledge of the language of the natives they are to command and govern. No such thing: for when it was proposed in the Court of Proprietors, that every one of the three or four hundred cadets sent out annually to India, to become officers of the native corps, should be obliged to qualify themselves for such duties, by learning the Hindostanee language before leaving England, the Court of Directors opposed the motion, and ever have, contrary to the welfare of India, continued to send out youths ignorant of the native language, and consequently, unfit for the duties that devolve on them on their landing. We should expect that the mistakes and errors resulting from such ignorance would induce the Directors to enact regulations proper for the qualifications of cadets, as respects languages; for the greatest and often irreparable evils arise to the officers themselves from such proceedings. It is true that the Court of Directors do require all the medical men to obtain a knowledge of Hindostanee before they can take up their appointments for India. But this very fact is a heavy charge against them, for not ordering their military servants to do the same.

'What has given rise to these observations is the receipt from Bengal of an abstract of the orders lately published there respecting the qualifications required of officers for certain regimental staff officers; such regulations do credit to the Government in India, although very late in taking place, and reflect disgrace on the ruling powers in England, for having so long refused the proposition so often made to them—"that every one of their servants sent to India should at least be acquainted with the colloquial languages of that country."

'It may be proper to state, that four or five years ago Dr. Gilchrist, with that enthusiasm which has marked his career as a philologist, and rendered his long labours so useful to the Indian public, offered to the Duke of York to teach the colloquial languages free of expense to one or all the officers of every King's regiment going to India; but we believe he has never been favoured with an answer to that liberal and valuable offer. The gentlemen in India are beginning to see the necessity of doing something towards what Dr. Gilchrist proposed to do, as necessary for the efficiency and comfort of the King's troops and the natives of India. The following is an abstract of the regulations alluded to:

To pass an examination for the post of Quarter-master and Interpreter to a regiment of Native Infantry or Cavalry, it is required, by a recent order, that the probationer should, in addition to proving his knowledge of the Hindostanee—

1. Read and translate the Bagh Buhar in the Oordoo.

2. Read and translate the poem Sagar in the Khuree Bolee, written in the Nagoree character.

3. Execute written translations from selected orders and regulations from English into Hindostanee in both characters.

4. Read and translate the Goolistan or Unwar-i-Sooheelee in Persian.

A civil officer gets off somewhat cheaper: he must—

1. Read and translate the Bagh-o-Buhar and Khereed Upoz, in the Oordoo.

2. Read and translate the Goolistan and Unwar-i-Sooheelee in Persian.

3. Translate, *without aid of Dictionary*, certain passages (previously prepared) from English into Hindostanee and Persian, in the Persi-Arabic characters.

4. Translate, without previous preparation, certain selected passages in Hindostanee and Persian.

Law Proceedings.—The following cases have appeared during the past month, which may be considered of some interest to Indian readers generally; the first and second were in the Court of Chancery: the third and

fourth in the Prerogative Court; and the last in the Court of King's Bench.

The Ship Apollo.—In this case an application was made in the Court of Chancery, on the 4th of November, on behalf of a part-owner of the vessel in question, to refer his claim for compensation against the other partners, to the Court of Register and Merchants. It appeared that the ship, which was the joint property of three persons, named Tennant, Tarbot, and Nesbit, had been chartered by the Company to proceed to India, but in consequence of some difference between the owners, had been arrested by process out of this Court, and prevented from proceeding to sea. She afterwards underwent some repairs, the expense of which was considerable; and eventually, after other disappointments, proceeded on a voyage to India; but on her return home was wrecked off the Cape of Good Hope. The party applying attributed the loss to mismanagement, and complained of unnecessary expense having been incurred. The parties have been litigating the question for a long time, and offers of compromise had been more than once made, which were not accepted.

Drs. Lushington and Dodson were in support of the application, and Drs. Jenner and Jesse Adams opposed to it.

The greater part of the day was consumed in reading over the evidence in the case, which was filled with details, containing no interest whatever, except to the parties concerned.

The Marquis of Hastings.—In the case of Sims *v.* Ridge, brought on in the Court of Chancery, on the 13th of November, it appeared the bill originally filed by the plaintiff, was heard before the Master of the Rolls. Four annuities, amounting in all to the sum of 4,900*l.*, had been granted by the Marquis and Marchioness of Hastings to the plaintiff. In order to redeem these annuities the Marquis and Marchioness had executed a bond in favour of Sims, by which he was allowed interest upon the sum of 4,900*l.*, and Ridge, the defendant, became surety for the payment of that interest. The bill was filed by the plaintiff for the enforcement of this bond; but as there was not sufficient proof of the execution of the bond by the Noble Marquis, the bill was dismissed. Previous, however, to its dismissal, an order of court had been made for the transference of the sum of 1,689*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* in the hands of the Accountant-General, from the cause of Ridge *v.* Ridge, to that of Sims *v.* Ridge.

The Solicitor-General now moved for an injunction to restrain the payment of the sum of 1,689*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* out of the hands of the Accountant-General, notwithstanding the dismissal of the bill; and also to restrain Mr. Christopher Shepherd Parker from taking any further proceeding in the matter until the petition of appeal was heard. The ground, therefore, upon which this motion was made, was, that an appeal from the judgment of the Master of the Rolls was about to be brought, and that the money ought not to be taken out until that appeal was decided.

Mr. Agar, on the other side, opposed the motion, contending that, as the decree for dismissal had not yet been drawn up, no appeal could be brought.

The Lord Chancellor said, that the simple question for him to consider was, whether, upon a reasonable time, the payment of this money ought to be restrained? It was true, undoubtedly, that no appeal could be brought until the decree upon which the appeal was founded had been drawn up. He had learnt this in the House of Lords, he might say, from hard experience, for he had sometimes gone through the merits of a very difficult and complicated case, and after having spent days and days in considering it, it was discovered that the decree had not been drawn up. The consequence was, that the whole case was to be heard over again. If, with respect to the present case, counsel would pledge themselves to appeal (and it was due to the learned counsel who practised in this court to go that length), notice should be given that the transference should not be made until a certain day after the appeal was brought.

The motion, therefore, was allowed, and the payment of the money restrained until a fortnight after the appeal was lodged.

Colvin v. *Jennings.*—Dr. Lushington moved the Court that letters of administration should be granted to Mr. Colvin, who stated himself to be a creditor for 8000*l.* Mr. Jennings died at Bengal in the year 1823, leaving a widow and several children. Last Term a citation had been issued, to show cause why a decree for administration should not be granted to Mr. Colvin, and a copy of the notice had been posted on the pillars of the Royal Exchange in the usual manner. The

property in the diocese of Canterbury was sworn to be about 5000*l*.—Motion granted.

In the goods of Hugh Wilkinson, Dr. Lushington stated, that Mr. Wilkinson, formerly of Calcutta, died in Bath, leaving his brother, Thomas Wilkinson, the next a-kin, sole residuary legatee. The deceased had executed two codicils to his will at the Cape of Good Hope, appointing four executors, of whom only two now survived. Those two were cited in the last Term to appear, and show cause why probate of the goods and chattels of the deceased should not be granted to the brother. There was no appearance given, and the Learned Doctor moved for probate to be granted to Thomas Wilkinson.—Motion granted.

The Marquis of Hastings.—Mr. Scarlett moved for a criminal information against the proprietor, printer, and publisher of a paper called the *Sunday Times*. The reason of the delay in making this application was, that the Noble Marquis had been at Rome at the time, and had sent home an affidavit, sworn before the representative of the Court of Hanover there. This affidavit could not be recognised by the courts in this country. This was intimated to his Lordship, who sent another affidavit, sworn before the Chief Justice of Malta. This affidavit had not arrived in this country until after last Trinity term. Consequently, this application could not be made at an earlier period. The publication was on the 28th of January last; it was headed "Threatened Impeachment of a Noble Personage." It stated that a deficiency of 300,000*l*. had been discovered by the Court of East India Directors; that that Court had already refused a pension of 5,000*l*. to the late Governor-General of India; that the writer was in possession of documents fully showing the nature of the transaction, but that it would not be just to give further details.—The affidavit of the Noble Marquis completely negatived the imputations insinuated in this paragraph. No deficiency to any amount had ever been found or alleged in his Lordship's accounts during the whole period that he had been Governor-General of India, from 1813 to 1823. His Lordship had even refused to receive perquisites which had only usage to support them. There never had been any intention or threat of impeachment.

The Learned Counsel, in answer to the Court, stated that he had the affidavit of a person in this country to the hand-writing of the Chief Justice of Malta, and that he had affidavits of the persons who were proprietor, printer, and publisher of this paper.

The Lord Chief Justice—Take a rule to show cause.

On Saturday, the 27th of November, it was publicly stated that Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey, proprietor of the *Sunday Times*, had made a subsequent avowal, in his own paper, of the inaccuracy of the information—had expressed his regret at the paragraph appearing, and his conviction of the integrity of the Marquis of Hastings. With this, the Counsel of the Noble Marquis stated, that his client would be satisfied; and, with the consent of the Court, the rule was accordingly discharged with costs.

The Army.—Detachments belonging to the 57th (West Middlesex) Regiment of Foot, have embarked as guards, on board the Sir Charles Forbes, Royal Charlotte, Hercules, and Hooghly, convict ships, for New South Wales.

On the 26th of June last an order was issued, suspending the issuing of half-pay to officers in the army who had taken Holy Orders. It was immediately afterwards perceived, that if this order were to have a retrospective effect, it would operate with great hardship, and, indeed, with injustice, on individuals who had acted on the faith of existing regulations, which regarded the half-pay as a compensation for past services, and had (some of them with the express approbation of superior authority) entered upon a profession for which they were fully qualified. The Lords of the Treasury, therefore, have taken the order into further consideration, and have decided, as the justice of the case required, that no half-pay shall be issued subsequently to the 25th of Dec. next, to officers who may hereafter enter into Holy Orders; but that the measure shall not be retrospective.

General Anderson.—We have been informed that General Anderson, of the East India Company's service, who died lately in London, has bequeathed the bulk of his fortune, amounting to about 70,000*l*., for the purpose of establishing two institutions in Elgin: the one for the reception of indigent natives of that country, who are upwards of 55 years of age; the other for the education of poor children.

The Ex-Queen of Hayti.—This lady arrived at Florence on the 21st of October. She is accompanied by her two daughters, who are perfectly black,

but genteel in their appearance, and well educated. An English lady travels with her, and also several English servants. She intends to pass the winter in Tuscany.

West India Bishops.—The Right Rev. the Bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes, have embarked at Portsmouth, in one of the King's yachts, for their respective destinations.

Population of Greece.—The actual population of Greece, according to the most exact calculations, and taking a middle estimate between the different valuations which have been made, amount to four millions. Half live on terra firma; a million in the Morea and Negropont; and a million in the isles. This population, it is true, is composed of Greeks, Turks, Albanians, Jews, and Franks; but it may be with certainty calculated, that the true Greeks compose three-quarters of it; and in adding to them those who live in Asia, European Turkey, Russia, and Germany, the whole population of the Greeks may still, without exaggeration, be rated at four millons. The population of ancient Greece was not more numerous.

Sir James Mackintosh.—We understand that Sir J. Mackintosh has written a masterly paper on international law, with reference to the Greeks, in which he urges the establishment of Marine Tribunals in Greece. This paper the Greek Committee have determined to transmit to the provisional government.

Daughter of Lord Byron.—The Greek Government has sent over two letters, addressed to the daughter of Lord Byron, giving an account of her father's death, and of the services he had rendered their country, and declaring that Greece will consider her as its own child.

American Subscription for the Greeks.—It is highly gratifying to find the Americans do not slacken in their exertions in aid of the Greeks. In addition to the subscription already received at New York, 1311*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* have been remitted to Messrs. Baring, Brothers and Co., to the order of the Greek authorities.

Friend of the Greeks.—Colonel Gordon of Cairness, to his immortal honour, has already spent nearly 20,000*l.* in the Greek cause.

Progress of Knowledge.—In Columbia, the population of which is reckoned at four millions, there are already eighteen public journals, forty new schools of mutual instruction, ten colleges (one in each of the ten departments of the Republic), and three universities, at Bogota, Caraccas, and Quito. There are taught in the schools all the sciences cultivated in Europe, except political economy, and the mechanic and industrious arts. The French language is there particularly cultivated. The public library at Bogota is composed of 14,000 choice books, and contains a great number of French works.

Steam Engines.—The value of the steam engine to this country may be estimated from calculations which show, that in England it represents the power of 320,000 horses, which is equal to that of 1,920,000 men; which being in fact managed by 36,000, add actually to the power of the population 1,834,000 men.

The New Timber Ship.—The new vessel that is on the stocks at Quebec, on the same plan as the Columbus, is of much larger dimensions. She is represented to be in a very forward state, and will be ready for launching early in the year.

Extraordinary Steam Gun.—Mr. Perkins has produced at his manufactory in the Regent's Park, a curious piece of mechanism, called the steam-gun. The gun is simply formed, by introducing a barrel into the steam generator of any engine, and, by the addition of two pipes towards the chamber of the gun, introducing a quantity of balls, which, by the action of a handle to the chamber, are dropped into the barrel, and fired, one by one, at the rate of from four to five hundred in the minute. The explosive force of the steam, which rushes from the generator and expels the ball, is about 700 lb. to the square inch; with this force, a musket-ball, fired at an iron plate, at the distance of 100 feet, is completely flattened. The expense of charging artillery in this way is very trifling, compared with the present system. One pound weight of coals is found to produce the same effect as four pounds weight of gunpowder. An explosion from this gun is nearly impossible; for the greater the rapidity of firing, the less is the danger, for the stream of vapour rushes forward without check, and finds a vent in the open air. Ten guns in the field, on this principle, would be more than equal to 200 on the present system, and a vessel of only six guns would be a match for a seventy-four.

LETTER OF MAJOR FRITH, IN DEFENCE OF THE LATE MR. WILKINSON.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—"De mortuis nil nisi bonum," is a very old saying, and one to which deference is paid by most liberal men. I was therefore much mortified on perusing that INTERESTING *publication*,* the Asiatic Journal, which contains your speech in the Court of Proprietors, on the question of Mr. Marjoribanks's Claim, wherein you introduce the name of an old and worthy friend of mine, who is now no more, in a manner little to his credit, and still less to the support of your argument. You must be aware how necessary it is, when a member of a public assembly is endeavouring to support his arguments by the statement of facts, that he should be careful those statements be correct, otherwise they are better omitted, as they only tend to weaken, rather than strengthen his argument; and feeling satisfied that the error only requires to be pointed out to you to be corrected, I beg to inform you, that Mr. Wilkinson, whose case you brought forward, only went to the Cape of Good Hope *twice*, instead of four or five times, as stated by you; the first time was, I think, in the year 1814; he returned in 1817, and was proceeding to join his station, when ill health obliged him to go a second time, and he returned in 1820-21, in order to receive his salary, that he might be enabled to return to Europe, where only was the chance of his regaining his health. He came home in 1821, and died in 1823; so you see his was not a mock errand, nor did he return with five or six lacs of rupees; for on making up his accounts with Messrs. Palmer and Co., there appeared a balance in his favour of *sixteen thousand rupees*. I refer you to our mutual friend, Mr. Palmer, for the truth of this. That he ought to have had more I do not deny; but he was too liberal and too hospitable, and I have every reason to suppose he was a good public servant, or he would not have held the high situations he did during my twenty years acquaintance with him. Excuse this long letter; but in the cause of a friend I could be twice as long, if it did not put you to double expense.

Your obedient servant,

W. H. L. FRITH.

Salcombe House, Sidmouth,
Nov. 2, 1824.

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* So marked in the original.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

Having, on the receipt of the letter given above, entertained doubts as to what might have been the intentions of the writer with respect to its publication, we were induced to make a reference to him on the subject, and having received his consent to its publication in its present form, we give the letter entire, to which, however, we are bound in justice to append a few observations.

In the first place, though the motto quoted be a very *old* saying, we are far from admitting it to be a *just* one. In Mr. Bentham's "Book of Fallacies," a work that we recommend to the attentive perusal of the writer, there is an exposure of the pernicious qualities of this maxim in the author's happiest style, which, for the sake of the truths it contains, we are tempted to give at length. The venerable writer is treating of the particular fallacy of the "wisdom of our ancestors," and, in illustration of its causes and effects, he says:

'Another cause of delusion which promotes the employment of this fallacy, is the reigning prejudice in favour of the dead—a prejudice which, in former times, contributed more than any thing else to the practice of idolatry. The dead were speedily elevated to the rank of divinities; the superstitious invoked them, and ascribed a miraculous efficacy to their relics.

'This prejudice, when examined, will be seen to be no less indefensible than pernicious; no less pernicious than indefensible.

'By propagating this mischievous notion, and acting accordingly, the man of selfishness and malice obtains the praise of humanity and social virtue. With this jargon in his mouth, he is permitted to sacrifice the real interest of the living to the imaginary interest of the dead. Thus imposture in this shape finds, in the folly or improbity of mankind, a never-failing fund of encouragement and reward.

'*De mortuis nil nisi bonum.* With all its absurdity, the adage is but too frequently received as a leading principle of morals. Of two attacks, which is the more barbarous, on a man that does feel it, or on a man that does not? On the man that does feel it, says the principle of utility; on the man that does not, says the principle of caprice and prejudice—the principle of sentimentalism—the principle in which the imagination is the

sole mover—the principle in and by which feelings are disregarded as not worth notice.

'The same man who bepraises you when dead, would have plagued you without mercy when living.

'Thus, as between Pitt and Fox; while both were living, the friends of each reckoned so many adversaries in the friends of the other. On the death of him who died first, his adversaries were converted into friends. At what price this friendship was paid for by the people is no secret:† see the Statute-Book, see the Debates of the time, and see Defence of Economy against Burke and Rose.

'The cause of this so extensively-prevalent and extensively-pernicious propensity lies not very deep.

'A dead man has no rivals; to nobody is he an object of envy; in whosesoever way he may have stood when living, when dead he no longer stands in any body's way. If he was a man of genius, those who denied him any merit during his life, even his very enemies, changing their tone all at once, assume an air of justice and kindness, which costs them nothing, and enables them, under respect for the dead, to gratify their malignity towards the living.'—p. 72 to 74.

On this subject, which cannot be too frequently or too severely exposed, the last Number of the Westminster Review has the following apposite remarks:

'Few sessions of Parliament pass by without an example of this popular sophism. Mr. Huskisson may lavish his encomiums, and even give vent to his sorrow, on the death of the late member for Portarlington. It is certainly not surprising that a political economist should admire so distinguished a promoter of his science as the late Mr. Ricardo; or that an ex-reformer should lament the loss of an amiable advocate of free government, in whom he had no reason to dread an aspirant to office. But we can hardly digest an eulogy, and much less a lamentation, over the late Secretary of State, whose death, as a minister of state, it is impossible for any well-wisher of mankind to "deplore"—from the lips of Sir James Mackintosh.'‡

So much for the "old saying," to which our correspondent attaches so much importance. Proceed we to the subject-matter of the letter. The writer says, that the name of Mr. Wilkinson was introduced into the debate at the India House little to that gentleman's credit, and still less to the support of our argument. If what was there said of Mr. Wilkinson was true in *substance*, though inaccurate in the form of stating it, we agree that it was little to his credit: but for the very same reason, namely, it being true in substance, it was of great service to the argument, the drift of which was to show not only that there were temptations to abuse the present system of obtaining leave of absence to the Cape, but that such temptations were sometimes yielded to.

Let us see, then, whether the facts stated by this friend of Mr. Wilkinson himself does not bear out the position we assumed. He says that Mr. Wilkinson *first* went to the Cape in 1814, and returned in 1817, after an absence of three years. He then, almost immediately after landing in India, and receiving his pay and allowances for the first period of absence, re-embarked for the Cape again in 1817, and returned, in 1820 or 1821, to receive his pay and allowances for the second stay at the Cape, after an absence of three or four years. Here, then, we have a period of seven years absence from duty, during which the absentee was enjoying the emoluments of office, though others were performing the labour; and whether these seven years were consumed in two visits to the Cape, or in four, cannot affect the real state of the question in the least. It was matter of common notoriety in India, that Mr. Wilkinson was living an easy life at the public expense; and his name was repeatedly cited in that country as an illustration of the folly and injustice of the present system, which could be so easily taken advantage of by men who preferred a residence at the Cape to one in Hindoostan.

The voyage to England made a *third*, in point of number; although nothing is more probable than that the writer himself may be mistaken as to the number of those to the Cape; as seven years would easily allow of three separate voyages being made, and then we should have four in the whole. That a gentleman who has led what is called a free life in India, should die within two years after he returned to England, is not at all to be wondered at: but so far is this fact from proving that his health required him to leave India, that his case may be compared to that of numerous others, who having lived for a number of years in a certain manner in eastern climates, accelerate their death by the very act of coming to England, and commencing, which they must of necessity, an entirely new mode of living. Many, who would doubtless have lived to a good old age in

† For the payment of Mr. Pitt's creditors was voted 40,000*l*. of the public money; to Mr. Fox's widow 1,500*l*. a-year.

‡ "I then observed to the Noble Marquess (the Marquess of Londonderry), *whose loss we all deplore*, that I felt myself as inferior to him in intellect," &c.—Speech on the Alien Bill, March 23d, as reported in the Morning Chronicle of the following day.

India, are cut off much more suddenly than Mr. Wilkinson appears to have been by a change of climate and habits of living for which they were not prepared.

The circumstances under which this gentleman died, and the state of his pecuniary accounts at that moment, did not come within our contemplation. Since they have been mentioned, however, by the writer who defends his memory, we have no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of his statement, and can only say, that the mere fact of a civil servant of the East India Company, holding such high situations, and receiving such ample allowances for many years, possessing so small a sum at the period of his decease, can prove little more than the improvidence and extravagance of his general expenditure, which the writer dignifies with the terms, "liberal and hospitable;' forgetting, apparently, that these supposed virtues may, by their very excess, become the greatest of vices, when founded in injustice, and a total disregard of the honest claims of others—a case that we regret to say is far from rare in India.

The closing sentence of the writer's letter contains, however, the most remarkable fallacy of the whole. He says, "I have every reason to suppose he was a good public servant, or he would not have held the high situations he did during my twenty years acquaintance with him." If this argument were worth any thing, it would go to prove that every man holding office was a good public servant, merely because he held office—a sophism that needs only to be stated to be condemned. We have seen that out of these twenty years, seven were consumed in voyages to and from the Cape, and residences there; and another three in the voyage to and stay in England. Here, then, is an acknowledgment, on the part of the friend himself, that ten years of Mr. Wilkinson's twenty were passed without performing any duties whatever, although he still continued to hold "the high situations" alluded to, and for the greater part of the time to derive the emoluments resulting therefrom. This case is, indeed, a most appropriate companion to that of Mr. Marjoribanks; and both together will explain to the English public one feature at least of the Civil Establishment of India. That Mr. Wilkinson was *not* distinguished for the most zealous and faithful discharge of his duties as a public servant, even in the ten years that he attended to the affairs of his office, we have also reason to believe; and justice to the other members of the service requires that he should not be held up as a fair specimen of their general character. That he was a careless, thoughtless, benevolent, social, hospitable, and, what is emphatically called a generous-hearted man, we do not doubt. But these are not the qualities that are most desirable in public servants; and, indeed, if Mr. Wilkinson really possessed all the requisite qualifications attributed to him under the title of "a good public servant," we have seen that he was half his time absent from his post, and receiving pay for duties that he did not, and could not, during such absence, have performed.

ADDRESS PRESENTED TO SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES, BY THE INHABITANTS OF BENCOOLEN, PREVIOUS TO HIS EMBARKATION FOR ENGLAND ON BOARD THE SHIP FAME.

To the Honourable Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Knt. Lieutenant Governor of Bencoolen and its dependencies.

HONOURABLE SIR,

IN the prospect of the loss we are about to sustain by your departure from Sumatra, permit us, the undersigned inhabitants of this settlement, to express the deep regret which fills our hearts, under circumstances so calculated to excite such a feeling.

During the last six years that we have had the happiness to live under your government, ample opportunity has been afforded us of appreciating the zeal and ability which have marked your administration, the unwearied exertion of your superior talents for the benefit of the community u,əig2uejeɹ and the powerful philanthropy so manifest in all your schemes for meliorating the condition of the natives; and while our minds have been filled with acknowledged admiration for your public conduct, our hearts have learnt too deeply to esteem your character, ever to forget the author of so many enlightened, judicious, and growingly beneficial plans. It is still fresh in our memories, that your arrival on this coast was almost instantaneously followed by the overthrow of a disgraceful system of monopoly and forced services, which for nearly a century had tyrannized over the depressed natives—deadening the lustre of the British name. It was you, Honourable Sir, that removed this stain, and by next endeavouring to eradicate slavery, that

noxious weed, which so generally taints the atmosphere of Eastern climes, taught a naturally independent and intelligent race that they were fellow men, and entitled to the privileges of free-born subjects—thus raising in the hearts and affections of a grateful people a monument more durable than brass or stone, which will proclaim to succeeding generations the wisdom and benevolence of your institutions, while, at the same time, you implanted sentiments of respect and veneration for the British character and government, by nobly exemplifying in your own career those prominent and sterling virtues by which they are so eminently distinguished and adorned.

The fair promise of the moral and intellectual improvement of the Malays, from the efforts now making in the native schools, as well as the progress of civilization among them, are equally owing to your constant, ever active, and philanthropic spirit. But not alone does the *Native* stand your debtor, the *Merchant* and the *Agriculturist* warmly join to acknowledge, that to you, Honourable Sir, they are indebted for the removal of restrictions which tended to impede the fertilizing tide of commerce, and that from your hands the Agriculture of the country has received an *impetus*, which in its progress we trust will gain strength and acceleration.

The establishment of Singapore, the grand emporium of Eastern Commerce, which owes its rise to your judicious selection, calls for higher encomiums than can be offered by us, and we must leave to the British nation at large to offer their tribute of praise and gratitude for the advantages that must result to them, from the new sources of wealth which you have there laid open; affording a boundless field for commercial speculation, and every possible encouragement to individual industry.

If our object were that of panegyric, we might largely expatiate upon your memorable and brilliant administration in Java, which, by the happiness and blessings it diffused, taught the oppressed native the superiority of British control; it was there, also, that you first declared to the world the true character of the Malays of the Eastern Archipelago, a people so long misunderstood and misrepresented as the most execrable and blood-thirsty of the human race; we might dwell upon the discoveries and contributions with which you have enriched the various departments of science and literature, or speak of your humane interference in behalf of the forsaken orphans, of your earnestness to promote Christianity among the benighted Heathens and Mahomedans—but *this* is not our aim, it is the genuine expression of our sorrow, in the prospect of your leaving us, which we desire to convey to you; but while we lament your departure from us, we must not selfishly overlook the blessings which are, we trust, awaiting you in our mother country, and since your health, with that of Lady Raffles, appears so imperiously to demand a change of climate, let us rather offer our congratulations upon the honourable close of your Indian career.

But before we take our leave, allow us, Honourable Sir, to make the humble request, that you will grant us one further indulgence, and honour us by your acceptance of a piece of plate, to be purchased at our common expense, as a token of our regard for your public and private virtues.

That you may for many years realize all the felicity and honour that England can confer upon deserving merit, and that the Almighty Disposer of events may grant to yourself and your amiable consort a prosperous passage, and a long and happy settlement in your native land, is the earnest and sincere wish of,

Honourable Sir, &c.

[Signed by all the European Inhabitants of Fort Marlbro'.]

Fort Marlbro', Jan. 26, 1824.

REPLY OF

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES.

GENTLEMEN,

The powerful language of your Address has excited emotions in my breast which I shall not attempt to describe; to stand well with one's friends is always desirable—to stand well with the public, even higher, perhaps, than we deserve, is too flattering to human vanity, not to be gratifying; and while I feel most sensibly that in your kindness and attachment to my person, you have far overrated my humble exertions, as an individual, I accept and receive with cordiality and satisfaction the praise and approval which you have so justly bestowed on the principles which have guided my administration; principles, which I am proud to say, as an Englishman, and as a servant of the East-India Company, have emanated from a higher source, and for the adoption of which I can claim no other merit than what may be due to a conscientious discharge of the high trust reposed in me. They are British principles, I hope, also, Christian principles, and as a British Governor, and a Christian, I could not have departed from them without a manifest dereliction (in my own mind at least) of my duty to my Country and to my God.

But your Address is satisfactory to me on another and more particular account—it declares the unanimous adoption,

by the inhabitants of this Settlement, of those principles; and in this respect I hold it to be a document no less flattering to me than honourable to yourselves. However highly the warmth of your feelings, at such a moment, may have led you to colour the expression of your sentiments towards me, personally, I believe that the sentiments which you have expressed are sincere, and I hail this public avowal of them, as the commencement of a new and better order of things, which, under the direction of an All-wise Providence, may eventually lead to great and important changes in this long neglected Island.

You have, Gentlemen, adverted, in a particular manner, to the establishment which it fell to my lot to form at Singapore, and most cordially do I unite with you in the hope and expectation, that the light which it is calculated to diffuse throughout this extensive Archipelago may not be overcast or extinguished by local or temporary expedients, or by a recurrence to any of those baneful practices, which have on former occasions lowered our character, and checked our influence in these seas.

The establishment of Singapore was unconnected with ambition or conquest; it was formed without any view to national aggrandizement or pecuniary revenue. The British flag was no sooner hoisted, simply as a measure of just precaution for the protection of our own trade, and that of other nations, than Singapore was declared to be a *free port*, and the trade thrown open to all the world, *free of duty, equally and alike to all*. We claim not to enjoy higher privileges in the Eastern Seas, than what we would give to all other nations.

It has formerly been the policy of European Governments in these seas, to raise their principal revenues from the vices of the people; no wonder, therefore, that the Malayan character should have appeared exceptionable. At Singapore, I thank God, these vile expedients have not been allowed to take root, and that it is one of the fundamental laws of the settlement, approved and confirmed by the highest authority in India, that no public gaming-houses shall ever be licensed or tolerated by the Government, much less shall any public revenue be derived from them.

The Settlement of Singapore having been established subsequent to the declaration of the British Legislature forbidding the Slave Trade, is also free from all concern in that foul stain, and no fixed inhabitant can ever be bought, sold, or treated as a slave.

Europeans have been permitted to hold land at Singapore, and if the measures which are in progress for the establishment of an independent magistracy and equal and humane laws to all and every one alike, should succeed, we may hope that it will afford due security for person and property; and that, united with the efforts of the Singapore Institution, the objects of which are to maintain inviolate the just and Christian principles of its establishment, *under all circumstances*, and to diffuse light and knowledge to all around according to its means, we may one day see Singapore, not only the centre of Commerce, but the centre of Civilization also.

Promising, however, as may be the prospects held out by our station at Singapore, it is not to that station alone that we are to look. We have our institutions here also—our Schools, our Press, our Missionaries are already working wonders. The very tone and state of society have essentially changed for the better: and in referring you to the reports this day delivered of the Agricultural Society, and of the Committee for superintending the Education of the Native Inhabitants, I have only to recommend a continuance of the same means which have hitherto proved so successful, for exciting the industry and improving the moral condition of the inhabitants. The objects of our institutions here, though they may at present be confined to the immediate vicinity of Bencoolen, embrace the whole of Sumatra, a field too interesting and important for me to attempt any description of it on the present occasion.

Gentlemen, I have lived long enough among you to appreciate the value of your services, and as far as you may consider the reforms or improvements attempted under my administration to be commendable, I hope you will allow me to transfer the main credit of them to those without whose co-operation and assistance they could not have been effected, and without whose unremitting and continued exertions, after my departure, they are not likely to be of much avail. Allow me, at any rate, in the success of our Schools, to give to our pious, intelligent, and active Missionaries that high credit which is so justly and peculiarly due to their individual exertions, and to hope that their efforts and views, which I am satisfied will always be reasonable and moderate, will at all times be seconded and supported by the public authorities and inhabitants of the place generally.

There is one part of your Address to which I feel considerable difficulty and delicacy in replying. You have been pleased to request my acceptance of a piece of plate. I am aware, that to refuse a present in this part of the world, is, under any circumstances, likely to give offence; and yet I have my doubts how far I should be justified in accepting that which you have offered, and it is my wish to decline it; at any rate, it

would be against my best feelings and principles, to allow you to put yourselves to an expense which you can ill afford, for the purpose of affording me a *token* of what I hope and trust will for ever remain in my grateful remembrance without it.

Accept, Gentlemen, in few words, my grateful acknowledgements for the honour you have conferred on me, by presenting so flattering an Address, and for expressing with so much feeling your regret at my departure; and, in return, allow me to offer my most sincere and fervent wishes for your health and prosperity; and be assured that neither time nor distance will ever make any change in the principles which I have professed and acted upon, and which you have this day so highly and publicly extolled, much less will they erase from my memory the period of my life which I have passed among you.

(For Second Address and Reply, see p. 619.)

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[*From the London Gazettes.*]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS.

MADRAS.

1*st Foot.* Capt. J. O. Glover to be Maj. by purchase, vice Nixon, who retires, dated Oct. 21, 1824; Lieut. H. Suckling to be Capt. by purchase, vice Glover, dated Oct. 21, 1824; Ens. J. Temple to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Suckling, by purchase, dated Oct. 21, 1824; — Every, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Temple, dated Oct. 21, 1824; Lieut. L. Mackay, from half-pay, 42d Foot, to be Quartermaster, vice T. Griffith, who exchanges, dated Oct. 28, 1824.

30*th Foot.* Staff Quartermaster Serj. Ward to be Quartermaster, vice Kingsley, deceased, dated Oct. 21, 1824.

41*st Foot.* Second Lieut. R. Price, to be Ens., vice Tathwell, promoted, dated Oct. 7, 1824.

BOMBAY.

4*th Light Dragoons.* J. R. Somerville, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice W. Bulkley, promoted, dated Oct. 14, 1824; Cornet W. Bulkley to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Methold, promoted in 75th Foot, dated Oct. 14, 1824.

CEYLON.

16*th Foot.* To be Lieuts. without purchase: Lieut. G. Hutchison, half-pay Royal Staff Corps Cavalry, vice Regney, deceased, dated May 5, 1824; Ens. M. Henley, vice O'Hara, deceased, dated May 25, 1824; Ens. R. Luxmore, vice Wall, deceased, dated June 11, 1824. To be Ensigns: G. Mylius, Gent. vice Henley, dated Oct. 27, 1824; W. S. Smith, Gent. vice Luxmore, dated Oct. 28, 1824.

45*th Foot.* W. Hope, Gent. to be Ens., without purchase, vice Harrison, promoted in 83d Foot, dated Nov. 4, 1824.

83*d Foot.* Ens. J. Harrison, from 45th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Summerfield, deceased, dated Oct. 28, 1824.

Ceylon Regt. Lieut. W. Malcolm to be Capt. without purchase, vice Dunn, deceased, dated May 4, 1824; Second Lieut. R. Mylius to be First Lieut. vice Smith, deceased, dated May 30, 1824; W. Garstin, Gent. to be Second Lieut. vice Mylius, dated Oct. 28, 1824.

ISLE OF FRANCE.

82*d Foot.* Lieut. C. M'Kenzie Campbell, from the Colonial Company at the Mauritius, to be Lieut. vice Holdsworth, who retires upon half-pay of the Colonial Company, dated Oct. 28, 1824.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Cape Corps (*Infantry*). Lieut. W. Harrison, from 53d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Adams, who exchanges, dated Nov. 4, 1824.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

[*From the Indian Gazettes.*]

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—April 1. W. L. Cleland, Esq. to be Barrister of the Supreme Court; C. Hogg, Esq. to be King's Proctor in Court of Admiralty.—May 14. Hon. R. F. Moore to be Second Assistant to the Resident in Malwa Rajpootana; Lieut. the Hon. W. Stapleton to be an extra Assistant to ditto.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—April 1. The Rev. M. Stow, A. M. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

GENERAL ORDER.

New Arrangement of the Army.

Fort William, May 6, 1824.—In obedience to instructions received from the Hon. Court of Directors, under date the 25th Nov. 1823, the armies of the three Presidencies will be placed on the following establishments, to officers, from the 1st instant. All promotions will be dated accordingly, and made in the usual manner, by line promotions, to the rank of Colonel, Lieut. Col. Commandant, or

Lieut. Col., and by regimental gradation in all inferior ranks.

European Infantry.

Bengal, 1 regt.; Madras, 1 regt.; Bombay, 1 regt.

Each regt.: 2 Colonels, 2 Lieut. Cols., 2 Majors, 10 Capts., 20 Lieuts., 10 Ens.

Native Infantry.

Bengal, 34 regts.; Madras, 25 regts.; Bombay, 12 regts.

Each regt. of two batts.: 2 Cols., 2 Lieut. Cols., 2 Majors, 10 Capts., 20 Lieuts., 10 Ens.

Native Cavalry.

Bengal, 8 regts.; Madras, 8 regts. Bombay, 3 regts.

Each regt. (8 troops): 1 Col., 1 Lieut. Col., 1 Major, 5 Capts., 10 Lieuts., 5 Cornets.

The extra Majors to be borne as supernumerary until absorbed by vacancies in their respective corps.

Artillery.

Brigades of Horse Artillery, of 4 troops or companies each: Bengal 3, Madras 2, Bombay 1.

Battalions of Foot Artillery, of 4 troops or companies each: Bengal 5, Madras 3, Bombay 2.

Battalions of Golundaz as at present: Bengal 1, Madras 1, Bombay 0.

Each battalion or brigade: 1 Col., 1 Lieut. Col., 1 Major, 5 Capts., 10 First Lieuts., 5 Second do.

N.B. The Rocket Troops and Native Horse Artillery to form component parts of the Horse Brigades authorized.

The officers of artillery will continue to rise in one corps as heretofore, at each Presidency.

Engineers.

In one Corps each.

	Ben.	Mad.	Bom.
Colonels - -	2	2	2
Lieutenant Colonels	2	2	2
Majors - -	2	1	1
Captains -	10	10	10
1st Lieutenants -	20	16	16
2d Lieutenants -	10	7	7
Total	46	38	38

N.B. The Major and Captains in the Bengal Engineers extra to this establishment, will be returned Supernumerary, till brought on the Effective List by casualties.

Medical Department.

Bengal, 100 Surgeons, 200 Assist. do.; Madras, 70 Surgeons, 140 Assist. do.; Bombay, 40 Surgeons, 80 Assist. do.; including all ranks, whether members of the medical board, superintending surgeons of divisions, civil station surgeons or assistants, as well as those who have given up promotions for permanent stations.

An additional general officer on the Hon. Company's establishment is authorized for the staff of each Presidency, and the generals of artillery and engineers are rendered eligible to the staff, the command of those corps devolving to the senior colonels or field officers.

The Hon. Court having entirely separated the senior list of each Presidency from the effective strength of the army, no casualties occurring in it after the 1st May, 1824, are to give promotion as heretofore.

The regiments of cavalry on the Bombay establishment are to be placed on the same scale of organization in respect to officers and men, as those on the Bengal and Madras establishments; and, from the date of carrying this arrangement into effect, the field officers of cavalry at Bombay, who now rise in line with the infantry, are to be promoted in a line amongst themselves, as at the other presidencies.

No half-mounting stoppages are to be made from any branch of the native armies from the receipt of these orders; further regulations will be issued on this subject.

So soon as the infantry promotions are effected, the several regiments of European and native infantry will be divided into *two regiments* each, by the final separation of battalions; and the officers posted alternately, i. e. all the odd or uneven numbers of each rank to the *first*, and the even numbers to the *second* battalions of their present regiments, when the several regiments on this new formation will be numbered in the order in which they were *first* raised and formed. Casualties anterior to the 1st May to be filled up at each Presidency, if known, on the date of promulgating the posting of officers to regiments of single battalions.

It is not intended that, in carrying the present orders into effect, officers should be permanently removed from the particular battalion in which they may long have served and wish to remain, provided, that by an interchange between officers standing the same number of removes from promotion, each could be retained in his particular battalion, and both are willing to make the exchange, and shall prefer an application for that purpose within four months from the date at which the present arrangement shall take effect, or within twelve months where either of the parties shall be absent on furlough.

The officers, who, by the above arrangement become colonels, or lieutenant colonels commandant of regiments or battalions in each branch of the service, shall succeed, according to seniority, to a half share of off-reckonings; the two seniors being admitted to this benefit on the occurrence of each vacancy among

the present colonels of regiments: but each officer who stands first at the date assigned to this arrangement, for succession to the benefits of the off-reckoning fund in each branch of the service, and all who may succeed to off-reckoning shares within two years from the same date (1st May), shall receive direct from the treasury, an allowance equal to the difference between the amount of the share actually enjoyed by him under the new plan, and that which he would have been entitled to under the existing system, and from such date only as he would have been entitled had that system continued.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will be pleased to give effect to this arrangement as early as possible, as far as respects the Bengal army; and the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay are requested to issue the necessary orders to the armies of those Presidencies respectively.

(Signed) Wm. Casement, Lieut. Col.,
Sec. to Gov. Mil. Dept.

Fort William, May 13, 1824. The Governor General in Council is pleased to direct, that the following extract (Pars. 12 and 13), of a General Letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors in the Military Department, dated the 7th January 1824, be published in General Orders:

Par. 12. We have resolved, that for the period of the necessary residence in India, of a general officer in his Majesty's service after the date of his removal from the staff, he be allowed to draw the full batta of his regimental rank until the day of embarkation; that this period shall, however, in no instance exceed three months from the date of the announcement of the removal in General Orders at the station where he may be serving.

13. This regulation is to take effect from the date of promulgation in General Orders.

Officers not of the Engineer Corps who may be temporarily appointed to receive charge from garrison or executive engineer absent on leave, &c. will not be considered as entitled to any portion of the personal staff allowance attached to the situation, but in the event of such officer having the executive superintendence of any public works, during the period of absence of the garrison engineer, his claim to remuneration for such works will be brought forward specially for the consideration of Government through the Military Board.

NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.

Fort William, May 20, 1824. The Right Honorable the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following promotions, consequent on the new organization of the army. Date of commissions the 1st of May, 1824:

Artillery Regiment.

Lieut. Cols. James Doddington Sherwood, Alexander M' Leod, C. B. Gervaise Pennington, Robert Hetzler, C. B. and Clements Brown, to be Lieut. Cols. Commandant; Majs. Harry Stark, Henry Faithful, Charles Parker, George Swiney, George Pollock, and Alexander Lindsay, to be Lieut. Cols.; Brevet Majors and Captains William Samson Whish and John Sodber, and Captains Warren Hastings Leslie Frith, Samuel Shaw, William Battine, and William M' Quhae, to be Majors; Brevet Capts. and 1st Lieuts. George Gladwin Denniss and Charles Smith, and 1st Lieuts. John Rawlins, Hugh Cossart Baker, George Henry Woodrooffe, Thomas Blair, and Henry Ralfe, to be Capts.; 2nd Lieuts. James Alexander, Edward Cumberland Thomas Bostock Hughes, Henry Clerk, Edward Fitzgerald Day, Henry Humfrey, William Anderson, Joseph Turton, Frederick Brind, John Lealand Mowatt, Charles Henry Wiggens, Thomas Pickop Ackers, Philip Bowles Burlton, Harry Burrard Dalzell, Erroll Blake, James Richard Greene, John Raithby Revell, and John Theophilus Lane, to be 1st Lieuts.

Corps of Engineers.

Lieut. Col. Charles Mouat to be Lieut. Col. Commandant; Brevet Lieut. Col. and Major Thomas Robertson to be Lieut. Col.; Ens. Thomas Prinsep, John Thomson, John Mudge, Edward Sanders, James Arden Crommelin, Joseph Tindal, John Theophilus Boilean, William Dickson, and Frederic Abbott, to be 1st Lieuts.

N.B. Supernumerary Major Thomas Wood, C. B., and Supernumerary Capt. Edward Garstin, to be brought on the Establishment when vacancies occur in those ranks.

Cavalry.

Lieut. Cols. John Nuthall, Martin Fitzgerald, Robert Houstoun, C. B., and Richard Clarke, C. B., to be Lieut. Cols. Commandant; Majors George Herbert Gall, John Tombs, George Becher, and Robert Sterling, to be Lieut. Cols.

1st Light Cavalry. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. James Franklin to be Capt. of a Troop; Cornets John Augustus Scott, Pringle O'Hanlon, and John Fowler Bradford, to be Lieuts.

2d Light Cavalry. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. Henry Fisher Salter to be Capt. of a Troop; Cornets George St. Patrick Lawrence, Charles Digby Dawkins, and Philip Schalch, to be Lieuts.

3d Light Cavalry. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. John Angelo to be Capt. of a Troop; Cornets Robert Percival Pennefather, Henry Drummond, and Charles Devaynes Blair, to be Lieuts.

4th Light Cavalry. Lieut. William Mactier to be Capt. of a Troop; Cornets Charles O'Hara, Gilbert Coventry Streynsham Master, and Nathaniel Dunbar Barton, to be Lieuts.

5th Light Cavalry. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. Robert Hawkes to be Capt. of a Troop; Cornets William Alexander, Frederick Becher Rocke, and Edward Macleod Blair, to be Lieuts.

6th Light Cavalry. Lieut. Lucius Horton Smith to be Capt. of a Troop; Cornets Windsor Parker, Frederic Coventry, and Alexander Maxwell Key, to be Lieuts.

7th Light Cavalry. Lieut. Robert Adrian Stedman to be Capt. of a Troop; Cornets Edward Barnes Backhouse, Benjamin Travell Phillips, and Charles Newbery, to be Lieuts.

8th Light Cavalry. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. Alexander Pope to be Capt. of a Troop; Cornets Charles Herbert White, Farquharson Tweedale, and Edward Cook Archbold, to be Lieuts.

Infantry.

Lieut. Cols. George Macmorine, John Greenstreet, Donald M'Leod, C. B., Joseph O'Halloran, C. B., Robert Stevenson, Christopher Fagan, Goddard Richards, Peter Littlejohn, John Shapland, C. B., William Casement, C. B., James Garner, Martin White, William Croxton, James Rutherford Lumley, William Comyn, John Rose, Jeremiah Martin Johnson, George Munro Popham, C. B. Christopher Baldock, James Nicol, Edward Pitches Wilson, Sir Thomas Ramsay, Bart., Hastings Dare, John Alexander Paul Macgregor, William Richards, Alexander Duncan, Thomas Whitehead, Thomas Penson, Robert James Latter, Robert Patton, C. B., William Hill Perkins, Joseph James Alldin, William Lamb Duncan, M'Pherson, and William Innes, C. B., to be Lieut. Cols. Commandant.

Majors John Truscott, Robert Clement Garnham, James John Forbes Leith, Henry Huthwaite, William Conrad Faithfull, John Delamain, George Knight, Thomas Wilson, Felix Vincent Raper, William Nassau Fountaine, James Alexander, Alexander Stewart, Richard Augustus Clay Watson, Henry Stephen Pepper, Walter Raleigh Gilbert, Thomas Paterson Smith, James Robertson, William Baker, Charles Thomas Higgins, Simon Fraser, George Veale Baines, Pownoll Phipps, Powel Thomas Comyn, Charles Jackson Doveton, John Leys, Augustus Thomas Watson, William Ball, William Henville Wood, James George, James Clark, George Thomas D'Aguilar, George Warden, William Short, William Moxon, and James Blackney, to be Lieut. Cols.

Honourable Company's European Regiment.

Capt. James Auriol to be Major, vice Wood promoted; Brevet Captains and Lieuts. John Irwin, Henry Peter Carleton, and James Harrison, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Robert Crofton to be Lieut.

Native Infantry.

1st Regt. Capt. Horatio Thomas Tapp to be Major, vice Stewart promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Henry Francis Caley, Thomas Cully, and John Hailes, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Henry Smith to be Lieut.

2d Regt. Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. James Charter and Alexander Francis Peter M'Leod, to be Capts. of Companies.

3d Regt. Capt. John Smith to be Major, vice Pepper promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. William Pasmore, Edward Carncross Sneyd, and Arthur Fordyce Dingwall, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. David Cabel Keiller to be Lieut.

4th Regt. Capts. Richard Collier Andree and Archibald Oliver to be Majors, vice Faithfull and Clark promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Charles Christie, Arthur Wight, Stephen Moody, and John Dunlop, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Alfred Arabin and the Hon. Henry Gordon to be Lieuts.

5th Regt. Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Richard Benson and William Charles Denby to be Capts. of Companies.

6th Regt. Capt. William Worsley Davis to be Major, vice Fraser promoted; Brevet Capt. and Lieuts. William Cubitt, George Freer Holland, and Robert Pringle, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Augustus Leycester Barwell to be Lieut.

7th Regt. Capt. Russel Martin to be Major, vice Comyn promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. David Pringle, George Tomkyns, and Richard Gardner, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Frederic St. John Sturt to be Lieut.

8th Regt. Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Henry James Bland, and John Moore Adolphus Lucas, to be Capts. of Companies.

9th Regt. Capt. John Ward to be Major, vice Fountaine promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. John Graham, James Leslie Day, and William Whiting Foord, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Hugh Todd to be Lieut.

10th Regt. Capt. Edgar Wyatt to be Major, vice Raper promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. William Bowe, John Armstrong Currie, and James Somerville, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Cortland Skinner Barberrie to be Lieutenant.

11th Regt. Capts. John Dun and Harrie Nichelson to be Majors, vice Robertson and Short promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Andrew Hunter Wood, James Richard Colnett, Charles Kiernander, and John Wilson, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Henry Stone and William Hunter to be Lieuts.

12th Regt. Capt. John Littledale Gale

to be Major, vice Knight promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. James Read and Louis Bruce, and Lieut. John Bell, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. John Studholme Hodgson to be Lieut.

13th Regt. Capts. Arthur Owen and Charles Henry Baines to be Majors, vice Phipps and D'Aguilar promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. David Bruce, Robert Fernie, Joseph Todd, and Hugh Robertson Murray, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. George Burford and William Mills Tritton to be Lieuts.

14th Regt. Capt. Archibald Galloway to be Major, vice Ball promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Charles Pearce, Henry Capel Sandys, and Charles Thomas Gustavus Weston, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Henry Fitz-Simons to be Lieut.

15th Regt. Capt. Charles Henry Lloyd to be Major, vice Gilbert promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. John Fleming Hyde, Henry Francis Wroughton, and John Brown, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. William Robert Corfield to be Lieut.

16th Regt. Capt. John Hay to be Major, vice Moxon promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Robert Agnew and William Churcher Oriel, and Lieut. Archibald Fullerton Richmond, to be Captains of Companies; Ens. Thomas William Bolton to be Lieut.

17th Regt. Capt. Robert Walters Baldock to be Major, vice Blackney promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. James Stuart, Thomas Monteath, and William Bayley, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Henry Moore to be Lieut.

18th Regt. Capt. Charles Robert Kenneth to be Major, vice Baines promoted; Brevet Captains and Lieuts. James Cragie, Frederick Henry Sandys, and Thomas Alexander Mein, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Ferdinand Charles Milner to be Lieut.

19th Regt. Capts. Godfrey Phipps Baker and Henry Weston to be Majors, vice Alexander and Doveton promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Francis Rutledge, John Cowslade, George Weyland Moseley, and Alexander Orr, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Henry Francis Broderip and William Clifford to be Lieuts.

20th Regt. Lieuts. John Sowerby and Thomas Haslam to be Capts. of Companies.

21st Regt. Capt. William Swinton to be Major, vice Baker promoted; Brevet Captains and Lieuts. Henry Dwyer, Hugh Sibbald, and James Oram Clarkson, to be Captains of Companies; Ens. Thomas Dalyell to be Lieut.

22d Regt. Capts. William Larkins Watson and Edward Cave Browne to be Majors, vice R. A. C. Watson and Higgins promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Edward Jeffrys, Sir Robert Colquhoun, Bart. James Bourdieu, and Robert MacMullin, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Henry Fowle and Henry Lyell to be Lieuts.

23d Regt. Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Thomas Noton and John Brandon to be Capts. of Companies.

24th Regt. Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Benjamin Blake and James Johnston to be Capts. of Companies.

25th Regt. Capts. James Tod and William Henry Kemm to be Majors, vice Smith and George promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Hugh Caldwell, James D. Parsons, David Mason, and Adoniah Smith, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Robert Codrington and Francis Trimmer to be Lieuts.

26th Regt. Capts. Edward Day and William Dunlop to be Majors, vice Wilson and Watson promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Henry Clapton Barnard, Elias Bird Pryce, John Robson Wornum, and James William Douglas, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. David Ross and Samuel Stapleton to be Lieuts.

27th Regt. Capts. John Canning and Mills Thomas to be Majors, vice Truscott and Warden promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Newton Wallace, William Henry Hayes, John Hoggan, and William Turner, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Francis Hunter and Hugh Augustus Boscawen to be Lieuts.

28th Regt. Capts. Frederick Sackville and Hugh Wrottesley to be Majors, vice Leith and Leys promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Thomas Dickenson, George Richard Pemberton, George Bryant, and Hope Dick, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. William Freeth and Daniel Bamfield to be Lieuts.

29th Regt. Capt. William Wilson to be Major, vice Delamain promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Henry Chambers Murray Cox, Walter Badenach, and Charles Edward Davis, to be Captains of Companies; Ens. George Augustus Mee to be Lieut.

30th Regt. Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. John Campbell and John Frederick Berguer to be Capts. of Companies.

31st Regt. Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Robert Stewart and Francis Crossley to be Capts. of Companies.

32d Regt. Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. George Jenkins and John Davies to be Captains of Companies.

33d Regt. Captain John Augustus Shadwell to be Major, vice Garnham promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Peter Grant, Andrew Harvey, and Ralph Foster, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. John Hindson to be Lieut.

34th Regt. Captain John Henry Cave to be Major, vice Huthwaithe promoted; Brevet Capts. and Lieuts. Hugh Wilson, James Smith, and Nicholas Penny, to be Capts. of Companies; Ens. Edward Jackson to be Lieut.

Formation of the Infantry into Regiments of one Battalion each.

1st Europ. Regt. Major J. Bryant; Capts. A. Brown, C. C. Smith, R. Ledlie, J. Orchard, H. P. Carleton; Lieuts. (B. C.) D. Ruddell, (B. C.) W. Davison, W. H. Howard, W. G. Beachamp, G. Warren, C. Wilson, G. A. C. Stewart, A. C. Scott, F. Beaty, J. Matthie; Ens. C. Jorden.

2d Europ. Regt. Major J. Auriol; Capt. T. Watson, G. Bolton, W. Burroughs, J. Irwin, J. Harrison; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. Marshall, H. W. Bennett, J. A. Thompson, D. Birrell, J. S. Pitts, J. P. Ripley, W. Shortreed, T. Lysaght, E. Rushworth, R. Crofton; Ens. H. Candy.

1st Batt. 1st Regt. (Raised in 1758.) Now 2d Regt. N. I. Major E. Simons; Capts. G. Engleheart, D. Dowie, S. Maltby, C. R. W. Lane, T. Culley; Lieuts. J. J. Tillotson, W. Murray, G. W. J. Hickman, J. Oliver, A. C. Beatson, H. W. Farrington, W. Hickey, J. Cooper, B. Boswell, R. Macdonald; Ens. A. Bogle, R. Woodward.

2d Batt. 1st Regt. (Raised in 1759.) Now 4th Regt. N. I. Major H. T. Tapp; Capts. C. Taylor, J. Holbrow, S. Speck, H. F. Caley, J. Hailes; Lieuts. J. Nicholson, J. P. Hickman, G. R. Wilton, A. Chitty, A. R. Macdonald, H. Doveton, C. J. Oldfield, W. Y. Torckler, P. Goldney, H. Smith; Ens. G. Salter.

1st Batt. 2d Regt. (Raised in 1759.) Now 5th Regt. N. I. Major F. A. Weston; Capts. J. Gerrard, W. G. Mackenzie, P. Jeremine, J. Donaldson, J. Charter; Lieuts. (B. C.) P. Johnston, (B. C.) S. Swayne, (B. C.) J. L. Jones, J. Jervis, H. J. G. B. Cathcart, G. L. Vanzetti, A. Spens, W. Mackintosh, F. Warwick, B. Bygrave; Ens. J. Peacocke, M. W. Gilmore.

2d Batt. 2d Regt. (Raised in 1778.) Now 22d Regt. N. I. Major J. C. Grant; Capts. J. Duncan, T. W. Broadbent, T. J. Baldwin, E. Lawrence, A. F. P. M'Leod; Lieuts. (B. C.) R. Chalmers, (B. C.) G. Oliphant, F. C. Robb, C. Hamilton, T. E. Sampson, J. S. Mostyn, G. Templer, W. Murray, R. E. Battley, W. Stewart; Ens. N. S. Nesbitt, G. Halhed.

1st Batt. 3d Regt. (Raised in 1759.) Now 6th Regt. N. I. Major J. Nesbitt; Capts. T. Taylor, W. Decluzeau, W. P. Cooke, J. Eckford, E. G. Sneyd; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. G. Drummond, T. Birkett, A. Farquharson, G. Cracklow, R. Stewart, J. Ludlow, J. Stevens, J. H. Clarkson, A. K. Agnew, W. Macgeorge; Ens. O. B. Thomas, C. G. Ross.

2nd Batt. 3d Regt. (Raised in 1776.) Now 19th Regt. N. I. Major J. Smith; Capts. G. Williamson, R. Rich, J. Taylor, W. Pasmore, A. F. Dingwall; Lieuts. G. Mayer, J. W. Ingram, A. Wortham, J. Murray, J. D. Syers, J. George, E. Wakefield, T. H. Newhouse, W. D. Stewart, D. C. Keiller; Ens. H. W. J. Wilkinson.

1st Batt. 4th Regt. (Raised in 1759.) Now 7th Regt. N. I. Major R. C. Andree; Capts. W. R. C. Costley, J. B. Platt, E. T. Bradby, C. Christie, S. Moody; Lieuts. (B. C.) G. Holmes, S. Walker, W. Buttanshaw, H. Templer, P. La Touche, J. L. Revell, J. K. M'Causland, H. Hudleston, S. R. Bagshawe, A. Arabin; Ens. W. H. R. Boland.

2d Batt. 4th Regt. (Raised in 1788.) Now 23d Regt. N. I. Major A. Oliver; Capts. H. Cock, G. B. Field, G. Snodgrass, A. Wight, J. Dunlop; Lieuts. J. J. Hamilton, J. Moule, C. J. Crane, J. D. D. Bean, J. Fisher, J. Holmes, J. Platt, C. Chester, M. Smith, Hon. H. Gordon; Ens. W. L. Hall.

1st Batt. 5th Regt. (Raised in 1763.) Now 11th Regt. N. I. Major W. G. Patrickson; Capts. W. Lloyd, R. Braddon, S. Houlton, D. G. Scott, R. Benson; Lieuts. (B. C.) R. Boyes, (B. C.) D. Hepburn, N. Stewart, J. Croudace, H. Patch, H. Fendall, B. J. Fleming, J. R. Birrell, F. B. Todd, J. Maclean; Ens. A. C. Dennistoun, J. Stephen.

2d Batt. 5th Regt. (Raised in 1776.) Now 20th Regt. N. I. Major G. Cooper; Capts. T. H. Paul, T. F. Hutchinson, A. Bannerman, W. Price, W. C. Denby; Lieuts. (B. C.) C. Rogers, (B. C.) H. James, J. T. Kennedy, W. Briggs, G. Ross, T. Sewell, W. Douglas, F. B. Corfield, E. E. Ludlow, T. Gear; Ens. J. H. Craigie.

1st Batt. 6th Regt. (Raised in 1758.) Now 3d Regt. N. I. Major S. P. Bishop; Capts. H. Sinnock, T. Oliver, S. D. Riley, F. M. Chambers, G. F. Holland; Lieuts. (B. C.) R. Bayldon, T. E. Soady, J. Martin, J. G. Burns, J. C. Tweedale, G. N. Prole, D. Downing, M. Richardson, J. Butler, J. Hannay; Ens. J. R. Bigge, W. Little, A. Tweedale.

2d Batt. 6th Regt. (Raised in 1776.) Now 18th Regt. N. I. Major W. W. Davis; Capts. T. A. Cobbe, R. Ross, R. Blissett, W. Cubitt, R. Pringle; Lieuts. R. Kent, J. Holyoke, J. P. M'Millan, J. Donnelly, W. Minto, J. Brooke, H. Cuming, C. Gale, E. J. Betts, A. L. Barwell; Ens. F. W. Anson, J. C. C. Gray.

1st Batt. 7th Regt. (Raised in 1761.) Now 13th Regt. N. I. Major C. W. Hamilton; Capts. C. Frye, H. O'Donel, E. Gwatkin, C. A. Munro, G. Tomkins; Lieuts. (B. C.) S. L. Thornton, (B. C.) A. Davidson, R. B. Brittridge, J. E. Bruere, G. H. Edwardes, G. Griffiths, R. W. Beatson, J. P. Wade, J. Burney, C. Commeline; Ens. J. Craigie, R. M'Murdo.

2nd Batt. 7th Regt. (Raised in 1762.) Now 10th Regt. N. I. Major R. Martin; Capts. T. Maddock, G. Spellisay, A. Macdonald, D. Pringle, R. Gardner; Lieuts. (B. C.) D. Thomas, H. Carter, R. Redigout, J. Swetenham, B. Wood, W. M. N.

Sturt, B. W. Ebhart, W. Foley, [illegible] Welchman, F. St. J. Sturt; Ens. E. W. Hardwick, R. M. Hunter.

1st Batt. 8th Regt. (Raised in 1761.) Now 9th Regt. N. I. Major E. H. Simpson; Capts. P. C. Gilman, M. C. Paul, J. Fagan, J. L. Earle, H. J. Bland; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. D. Herbert, (B. C.) J. Manson, P. Gerard, C. Field, G. A. Smith, J. Woodburn, W. Beckett, J. F. Landers, F. C. Reeves, H. Charlton; Ens. F. Duke Townshend, G. B. Michell.

2d Batt. 8th Regt. (Raised in 1779.) Now 24th Regt. N. I. Major W. D. Playfair; Capts. St. John Heard, C. E. Turnor, C. F. Wild, J. Robeson, J. M. A. Lucas; Lieuts. (B. C.) B. Burney, (B. C.) M. Ramsay, L. S. Bird, W. H. Terraneau, J. T. Savary, J. Griffin, A. T. A. Wilson, R. Birch, G. Wilson, A. S. Singer; Ens. G. E. Van Heythuysen, J. G. Sharpe.

1st Batt. 9th Regt. (Raised in 1760.) Now 8th Regt. N. I. Major H. W. Wilkinson; Capts. H. D. Showers, W. Kenedy, J. Wilkie, J. Nind, J. L. Day; Lieuts. (B. C.) G. Hicks, (B. C.) J. Hall, H. B. Henderson, G. F. F. Vincent, A. Ramsay, G. Farquharson, G. Gordon, G. R. Talbot, C. H. Naylor, S. Williams; Ens C. J. F. Burnett, W. S. Menteath.

2d Batt. 9th Regt. (Raised in 1776.) Now 21st Regt. N. I. Major L. Ward; Capts. E. R. Broughton, T. S. Oliver, W. Guise, J. Graham, W. W. Foord; Lieuts. (B. C.) W. Simonds, N. Campbell, T. B. Malden, J. C. C. Gray, G. Palmer, J. P. Macdougall, C. Farmer, W. H. Phibbs, O. Lomer, H. Todd; Ens. J. Dyson, A. M. Skinner.

1st Batt. 10th Regt. (Raised in 1764.) Now 14th Regt. N. I. Major T. Newton; Capts. J. W. Littler, T. U. Raban, P. Dudgeon, R. C. Faithfull, J. A. Currie; Lieuts. (B. C.) W. J. Gairdner, R. S. Brownrigg, J. W. Hull, R. Thorpe, C. Douglas, C. V. Wylde, R. Chetwode, W. Struthers, J. Buncombe, H. N. Worsley; Ens. C. H. Boisragon, F. Gresley.

2d Batt. 10th Regt. (Raised in 1765.) Now 16th Regt. N. I. Major E. Wyatt; Capts. J. Scott, W. Bertram, H. E. Peach, W. Bowe, J. Somerville; Lieuts. J. M'Laren, J. Heaver, L. N. Hall, F. E. Manning, M. Dormer, C. G. Macan, J. Burney, A. Macdonald, H. M. Graves, C. S. Barberie; Ens. E. J. Dickey.

1st Batt. 11th Regt. (Raised in 1764.) Now 15th Regt. N. I. Major J. Dun; Capts. S. Hawthorne, F. Irvine, R. Mackenzie, A. H. Wood, C. Kiernander; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. M. Sim, A. Durie, A. Carnegy, C. T. Thomas, W. A. Troup, Z. H. Turton, G. E. Cary, J. Evans, R. M'Nair, H. Stone; Ens. J. V. Forbes.

2d Batt. 11th Regt. (Raised in 1765.) Now 17th Regt. N. I. Major H. Nichelson; Capts. R. C. Dickson, J. W. Jones, J. Oliver, J. R. Colnett, J. Wilson; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. Hicks, T. Michael, D. P. Wood, H. Mackenzie, J. C. Maclean, M. Blood, T. Cooke, R. J. H. Birch, J. C. Plowden, W. Hunter: Ens. J. H. Wakefield.

1st Batt. 12th Regt. (Raised in 1763.) Now 12th Regt. N. I. Major C. Ryan; Capts. A. M'Leod, L. Conroy, W. W. Moore, J. Campbell, L. Bruce; Lieuts. T. Lamb, J. C. Mansfield, A. Wright, W. J. Thompson, A. Lermit, A. D. Gordon, F. Mullins, W. A. Ludlow, J. L. Farrer, R. H. Miles; Ens. F. Corner, J. S. Gifford.

2d Batt. 12th Regt. (Raised in 1757.) Now 1st Regt. N. I. Major J. L. Gale; Capts. B. Sissmore, P. Teulon, A. Lomas, J. Read, J. Bell; Lieuts. W. H. Sleeman, J. Mansfield, J. Bunyon, E. R. Jardine, A. Fenton, F. Rowcroft, T. Goldney, J. Corfield, W. Innes, J. S. Hodgson; Ens. A. Barclay, H. Kirke.

1st Batt. 13th Regt. (Raised in 1797.) Now 26th Regt. N. I. Major A. Owen; Capts. A. Trotter, J. Elliot, R. Seymour, D. Bruce, T. Todd; Lieuts. (B. C.) W. Hodgson, B. Purvis, P. B. Fitton, C. Smith, E. Sutherland, W. Grant, J. R. Browne, G. M. S. Robe, A. Watt, G. Burford; Ens. W. Glen, W. Brownlow.

2d Batt. 13th Regt. (Raised in 1797.) Now 27th Regt. N. I. Major C. H. Baines; Capts. R. Axford, A. Roberts, C. Savage, R. Fernie, H. R. Murray; Lieuts. (B. C.) A. Gerard, G. H. Johnstone, R. Colebrooke, H. Gordon, J. W. Dunbar, J. Nash, G. Huish, C. J. Huthwaite, J. B. D. Gahan, W. M. Tritton; Ens. I. H. Handscomb.

1st Batt. 14th Regt. (Raised in 1797.) Now 28th Regt. N. I. Major J. Simpson; Capts. W. Hiatt, S. Swinhoe, A. Stewart, R. Armstrong, H. C. Sandys; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. T. Lowis, T. W. Incell, C. D. Wilkinson, J. Aitchison, J. F. May, J. W. J. Ouseley, R. W. Halhed, W. Rutherford; H. C. Boileau, J. A. Fairhead; Ens. J. Chesney, R. Smith.

2d Batt. 14th Regt. (Raised in 1797.) Now 29th Regt. N. I. Major A. Galloway; Capts. R. B. Jenkins, R. Hornby, D. D. Anderson, C. Pearce, C. T. G. Weston; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. A. Schalch, C. H. Marley, J. Satchwell, T. M. Campbell, P. Brown, D. Simpson, A. Hodges, G. N. Irvine, W. Wise, H. Fitz-Simons; Ens. J. Bracken.

1st Batt. 15th Regt. (Raised in 1798.) Now 30th Regt. N. I. Major H. E. G. Cooper; Capts. J. Garner, W. Pickersgill, J. E. Wallis, D. H. Heptinstall, H. F. Wroughton; Lieuts. (B. C.) G. H. Hutchins, W. H. Whinfield, J. Blair, M. Nicholson, T. M'Sherry, J. W. Stiles, W. Payne, C. Manning, J. G. Gordon, W. H. Leacock; Ens. C. R. Eyre, A. Jackson.

2d Batt. 15th Regt. (Raised in 1798.) Now 31st Regt. N. I. Major C. H. Lloyd; Capts. H. Davidson, D. Crichton, A. Shuldham, J. F. Hyde, J. Brown; Lieuts.

(B. C.) J. Thomson, F. S. Wiggens, H. Ingle, J. S. H. Weston, G. M. Cooke, J. M. Heptinstall, E. N. Townshend, J. W. Rowe, A. L. Durie, W. R. Corfield; Ens. R. Menzies, W. Saurin.

1st Batt. 16th Regt. (Raised in 1798.) Now 32d Regt. N. I. Major P. Starling; Capts. J. W. Loder, L. R. Stacy, P. Thomas, A. L. Swanston, W. C. Oriel; Lieuts. C. Coventry, W. F. Steer, J. Pyne, H. V. Glegg, S. Boileau, C. Haldane, E. F. Spencer, A. Lewis, J. W. Colquhoun, J. Campbell; Ens. W. Mitchell.

2d Batt. 16th Regt. (Raised in 1798.) Now 33d Regt. N. I. Major J. Hay; Capts. W. Gowan, H. Hall, C. D. Aplin, R. Agnew, A. F. Richmond; Lieuts. R. K. Erskine, G. Barker, T. B. P. Festing, A. Fuller, W. Vernon, J. W. J. Robertson, G. Irvine, A. E. M'Murdo, F. Hewitt, T. W. Bolton; Ens. R. Riddell.

1st Batt. 17th Regt. (Raised in 1798.) Now 34th Regt. N. I. Major E. F. Waters; Capts. A. Montgomerie, M. C. Webber, W. Walkinsha; W. Mathew, T. Monteath; Lieuts. (B. C.) F. Hodgson, G. Grose, W. H. Marshall, C. W. Cowley, J. W. Smith, W. Dalzell, J. Hay, J. Sheil, J. Gresham, G. T. Marshall; Ens. T. Seaton.

2d Batt. 17th Regt. (Raised in 1798.) Now 35th Regt. N. I. Major R. W. Baldock; Capts. C. H. Glover, J. J. Gordon, S. Mercer, J. Stuart, W. Bayley; Lieuts. R. Row, P. W. Grant, G. H. Robinson, J. T. Croft, S. G. Wheeler, W. J. Phillott, H. H. Arnaud, R. Angelo, J. Gibb, H. Moore; Ens. S. A. Lyons.

1st Batt. 18th Regt. (Raised in 1800.) Now 36th Regt. N. I. Major P. Le Fevre; Capts. W. Gage, W. B. Salmon, H. L. White, C. Godby, F. H. Sandys; Lieuts. (B. C.) S. P. C. Humfrays, (B. C.) G. Chapman, W. Garden, J. A. Barstow, J. W. Patron, C. R. Bellew, W. S. Prole, T. L. Kennedy, H. B. Smith, F. Thomas; Ens. A. E. Campbell, G. E. Westmacott.

2d Batt. 18th Regt. (Raised in 1800.) Now 37th Regt. N. I. Major C. R. Kennett; Capts. C. A. G. Wallington, F. Buckley, J. Herring, J. Craigie, T. A. Mein; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. W. Prideaux, C. Griffiths, J. Paterson, J. T. Lane, H. Lloyd, J. R. Troup, V. Shortland, W. C. Carleton, B. Scott, F. C. Milner; Ens. T. Box.

1st Batt. 19th Regt. (Raised in 1800.) Now 38th Regt. N. I. Major G. P. Baker; Capts. J. Aubert, J. Fleeming, W. Ledlie, F. Rutledge, G. W. Moseley; Lieuts. (B. C.) S. M. Horsburgh, (B. C.) W. Aldous, E. S. Hawkins, W. Brown, F. S. Hawkins, P. Craigie, G. Burney, T. C. Wilton, J. Blencowe, H. F. Broderip; Ens. W. J. B. Knyvett, T. H. Scott.

2d Batt. 19th Regt. (Raised in 1800.) Now 39th Regt. N. I. Major H. Weston; Capts. T. Palmer, F. Grant, E. Pettingal, J. Cowslade, A. Orr; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. J. Casement, W. H. Earle, H. Monke, R. H. Burton, H. T. C. Kerr, H. P. Ridge, R. Garrett, J. Roxburgh, W. Palmer, W. Clifford; Ens. W. E. Hay.

1st Batt. 20th Regt. (Raised in 1795.) Now 25th Regt. N. I. Major W. Nott; Capts. W. Vincent, T. D. L. Davies, W. L. Trueman, H. Burney, J. Sowerby; Lieuts. H. Macfarquhar, T. R. Fell, G. W. Bonham, W. Senior, G. Thomson, J. Hay, S. F. Hannah, S. Long, C. B. Hall, R. Chitty; Ens. J. Tierney, W. D. Kennedy.

2d Batt. 20th Regt. (Raised in 1802.) Now 40th Regt. N. I. Major T. Murray; Capts. C. R. Skardon, S. C. Crooke, W. H. Hewitt, M. A. Bunbury, T. Haslam; Lieuts. J. Alston, J. O. D. Macgrath, H. D. Cox, S. Corbett, A. A. Williamson, W. H. Symes, R. R. Margrave, J. H. Vanrenen, G. D. Johnstone, W. G. Cooper; Ens. C. E. Reinagle.

1st Batt. 21st Regt. (Raised in 1803.) Now 41st Regt. N. I. Major C. Peach; Capts. G. Hunter, J. C. Odell, D. Williamson, G. Watson, H. Sibbald; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. Steel, W. Ramsay, H. C. M'Kenly, T. Polwhele, J. Martin, W. H. Halford, E. Wintle, J. Cumberlege, F. W. Birch, W. Tritton; Ens. J. W. V. Stephen, H. Alpe.

2d Batt. 21st Regt. (Raised in 1803.) Now 42d Regt. N. I. Major W. Swinton; Capts. T. Fiddes, H. Ross, R. B. Wilkins, H. Dwyer, J. O. Clarkson; Lieuts. A. M'Kinnon, J. B. Neufville, H. C. Clerkson, J. Liptrap, G. H. Jackson, J. Leeson, A. M'Kean, J. Gibbs, R. Stewart, T. Dalyell; Ens. W. B. Gould.

1st Batt 22nd Regt. (Raised in 1803.) Now 43d Regt. N. I. Major W. L. Watson; Capts. T. C. Cowslade, H. G. Maxwell, J. Tulloch, E. Jeffreys, J. Bourdieu; Lieuts. (B. C.) S. Hart, W. R. L. Faithful, G. M. Home, J. Nash, W. G. Lennox, Hon. P. Sinclair, R. Balderston, J. Bardeman, J. Woodburn, H. Fowle; Ens. J. Burnett, J. M. Farnworth.

2d Batt. 22d Regt. (Raised in 1803.) Now 44th Regt. N. I. Major E. C. Browne; Capts. T. J. Anquetil, O. Stubbs, R. Newton, Sir R. Colquhoun, Bt., R. M'Mullin; Lieuts. W. H. Wake, T. Des Vœux, M. Hughes, R. B. Pemberton, H. Browne, S. Earle, R. Campbell, H. Mackintosh, A. Webster, H. Lyell; Ens. T. Dixon, W. W. Blyth.

1st Batt. 23d Regt. (Raised in 1803.) Now 45th Regt. N. I. Major J. Fergusson; Capts. T. Gough, T. Worsley, T. N. Jackson, W. Stirling, T. Noton; Lieuts. (B. C.) T. Wardlaw, (B. C.) T. R. Macqueen, T. Ward, C. M. Wade, H. E. Pigot, C. Burrowes, W. Ellis, C. Bracken, D. Williams, H. Baseley; Ens. K. Campbell, R. W. Fraser.

2d Batt. 23d Regt. (Raised in 1803.) Now 46th Regt. N. I. Major G. B. Capts. C. W. Brooke, A. Spiers, J. Johns

eston, A. Horsburgh, J. Brandon; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. H. Waldron, W. B. Girdlestone, H. L. Barnett, M. Grigg, W. Fraser, F. T. Richardson, J. Jones, C. Guthrie, J. C. Tudor, J. Russell; Ens. W. T. Savary, F. Bennett.

1st Batt. 24th Regt. (Raised in 1804.) Now 47th Regt. N. I. Major W. C. Baddeley; Capts. E. B. Craigie, T. Dundas, R. W. Pogson, F. W. Frith, B. Blake; Lieuts. (B. C.) T. Bolten, A. Goldie, F. Jenkins, J. S. Winfield, H. T. Raban, H. C. Williams, P. Deare, N. J. Cumberlege, C. Troup, J. Macdonald; Ens. T. J. Rocke, G. C. Armstrong, E. C. Macpherson.

2d Batt. 24th Regt. (Raised in 1804.) Now 48th Regt. N. I. Major G. D. Heathcote; Capts. J. Craigie, H. M. Wheeler, R. A. Thomas, W. Hough, J. Johnston; Lieuts. W. Sage, J. Bedford, D. Sheriff, T. Fisher, R. Raban, F. C. Smith, E. Brace, C. H. S. Freeman, A. Charlton, A. T. Lloyd; Ens. G. Byron, C. Boulton.

1st Batt. 25th Regt. (Raised in 1804.) Now 49th Regt. N. I. Major J. Tod; Capts. J. Wilkie, J. C. B. Parke, J. R. Knight, H. Caldwell, D. Mason; Lieuts. (B. C.) R. H. Philipps, J. Mackintosh, G. F. Agar, R. C. Macdonald, G. T. S. Sandby, J. G. M'Gregor, J. White, J. F. Douglas, J. Wyllie, R. Codrington; Ens. J. W. Michell.

2d Batt. 25th Regt. (Raised in 1804.) Now 50th Regt. N. I. Major W. H. Kemm; Capts. J. Drysdale, G. Boyd, R. Blackall, J. Parsons, A. Smith; Lieuts. V. L. Palmer, W. W. Rees, H. R. Impey, R. C. Johnson, H. J. White, J. Graham, C. J. Lewes, J. Saunders, D. Balderston, F. Trimmer; Ens. J. H. Hamilton.

1st Batt 26th Regt. (Raised in 1804.) Now 51st Regt. N. I. Major E. Day; Capts. S. Hawes, J. Trelawny, T. Frobisher, H. C. Barnard, J. R. Wornum; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. Price, G. S. Blundell, J. T. Somerville, H. Brown, T. Roberts, G. A. Currie, J. Finnis, J. Pollard, C. Griffin, D. Ross; Ens. C. Baseley, C. Cheape.

2d Batt. 26th Regt. (Raised in 1804.) Now 52d Regt. N. I. Major W. Dunlop; Capts. E. Presgrave, G. Kingston, F. G. Lister, E. B. Pryce, J. W. Douglas; Lieuts. F. Auberjonois, J. G. M'Bean, J. Macan, A. Grant, J. Hewett, G. W. M. Gore, H. Lock, T. P. Ellis, F. Moore, S. Stapleton; Ens. T. H. Shuldham.

1st Batt. 27th Regt. (Raised in 1804.) Now 53d Regt. N. I. Major J. Canning; Capts. H. F. Denty, W. Reding, H. A. Montgomerie, N. Wallace, J. Hoggan; Lieuts. W. E. B. Leadbeater, W. Barnett, W. Heysham, W. D. Conway, A. Mercer, C. H. Wintour, J. D. Douglas, C. Campbell, O. W. Span, F. Hunter; Ens. L. C. Brown, H. Vetch.

2d Batt. 27th Regt. (Raised in 1804.) Now 54th Regt. N. I. Major M. Thomas; Capts. T. Young, W. Cunningham, G. A. Vetch, W. H. Hayes, W. Turner; Lieuts. J. Kerr, C. Penrose, C. F. Urquhart, W. Ewart, A. J. Anstruther, H. R. Osborn, A. A. L. Corri, W. T. Beatson, R. F. Burnett, H. A. Boscawen; Ens. B. Stewart.

1st Batt. 28th Regt. (Raised in 1815.) Now 55th Regt. N. I. Major F. Sackville; Capts. R. T. Seyer, S. Watson, R. Home, T. Dickenson, G. Bryant; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. H. Simmonds, W. P. Welland, F. J. Simpson, J. Scott, A. H. Jellicoe, P. J. Fleming, Hon. W. Stapleton, E. Squibb, A. Clerke, W. Freeth; Ens. R. Nelson, E. Meade.

2d Batt. 28th Regt. (Raised in 1815.) Now 56th Regt. N. I. Major H. Wrottesley; Capts. W. S. Webb, A. Hardy, C. Young, G. R. Pemberton, H. Dick; Lieuts. O. Phillips, A. Garstin, G. B. B. Hetzler, D. Thompson, H. W. Bellew, J. Dade, D. L. Richardson, A. J. Fraser, W. Peel, D. Bamfield; Ens. C. Graham.

1st Batt. 29th Regt. (Raised in 1815.) Now 57th Regt. N. I. Major J. Swinton; Capts. E. Barton, H. Morrieson, J. Vyse, W. Martin, W. Badenach; Lieuts. (B. C.) A. Syme, (B. C.) E. Herring, (B. C.) J. S. Marshall, G. C. Holroyd, N. Jones, H. V. Cary, R. E. J. Kerr, A. T. Davies, W. M'D. Hopper, W. A. Smith; Ens. G. M. Sherer, E. Darvall.

2d Batt. 29th Regt. (Raised in 1815.) Now 58th Regt. N. I. Major W. Wilson; Capts. J. Hunter, T. M. Black, J. Frushard, H. C. M. Cox, C. E. Davis; Lieuts. (B. C.) T. Williams, F. Welchman, W. Turner, W. Sargent, A. C. Baillie, J. Paton, E. M. Orr, E. A. Cumberlege, W. G. J. Robe, G. A. Mee; Ens. J. C. Lumsdaine, H. Hunter.

1st Batt. 30th Regt. (Raised in 1815.) Now 59th Regt. N. I. Major J. Pester; Capts. E. Browne, W. M'Kie, E. Fitzgerald, G. Moore, J. Campbell; Lieuts. (B. C.) B. Woolley, (B. C.) A. White, T. Webster, J. E. Watson, J. W. H. Turner, R. Wilcox, G. Kinlock, J. T. Talbot, P. Grant, E. J. Watson; Ens. F. Winter, W. Anderson.

2d Batt. 30th Regt. (Raised in 1815.) Now 60th Regt. N. I. Major C. Bowyer; Capts. S. Land, J. Home, H. Norton, P. H. Dewaal, J. F. Berguer; Lieuts. (B. C.) A. Dickson, (B. C.) J. Gouldhawke, C. B. M'Kenly, C. Fitzgerald, J. R. Ouseley, E. Morshead, W. Whitaker, T. E. A. Napleton, C. H. Cobbe, F. V. M'Grath; Ens. G. Cox, W. Riddell.

1st Batt. 31st. Regt. (Raised in 1823.) Now 61st Regt. N. I. Major C. Martin; Capts. J. A. Hodgson, G. P. Wymer, W. Gregory, T. Hepworth, R. Stewart; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. C. Wotherspoon, (B. C.) B. Maltby, J. Tomlinson, J. R. Stock, R. A. M'Naghten, W. Forbes, W. Glasgow, J. C. Sage, R. C. Jenkins, G. Cumine; Ens. J. B. Robinson, P. P. Turner.

2d Batt. 31st Regt. (Raised in 1823.) Now 62d Regt. N. I. Major B. Roope; Capts. E. B. Higgins, A. Dick, J. Watkins, R. Becher, F. Crossley; Lieuts. (B. C.) B. Ashe, (B. C.) H. G. Nash, E. Marshall, F. J. Bellew, G. E. Britten, R. R. Hughes, G. H. Cox, J. H. Smith, J. O. Oldham, W. M. Ramsay; Ens. H. Beaty.

1st Batt. 32d Regt. (Raised in 1823.) Now 63d Regt. N. I. Major S. H. Tod; Capts. A. Lockett, J. Anderson, J. Harris, T. Reynolds, G. Jenkins; Lieuts. (B. C.) R. B. Fergnson, (B. C.) J. B. Smith, J. H. Mackinlay, E. E. Isaac, R. M'C. Pollock, R. Wroughton, Hon. W. Hamilton, W. Hoggan, R. Houghton, E. Carte; Ens. W. C. Ormsby, W. Biddulph, W. F. Grant.

2d Batt. 32d Regt. (Raised in 1823.) Now 64th Regt. N. I. Major N. Bucke; Capts. I. Maling, P. Brewer, T. Robinson, C. Andrews, J. Davies; Lieuts. (B. C.) W. Jover, (B. C.) F. Mackenzie, J. R. Aire, P. C. Anderson, W. Bignell, F. Candy, N. Lowis, A. Wilson, K. F. Mackenzie, A. Knyvett; Ens. F. Knyvett, C. B. Kennett.

1st Batt. 33d Regt. (Raised in 1823.) Now 65th Regt. N. I. Major J. Delamain; Capts. F. Walker, F. Wollocombe, J. Peirson, G. W. A. Lloyd; A. Hervey, Lieuts. (B. C.) G. J. B. Johnston, (B. C.) W. Bacon, R. W. Wilson, F. T. Boyd, R. Taylor, G. D. Roebuck, G. Fleming, C. Fowle, J. T. Lowe, J. Whiteford; Ens. D'Arcy Preston, C. Urquhart.

2d Batt. 33d Regt. (Raised in 1823.) Now 66th Regt. N. I. Major J. A. Shadwell; Capts. W. Skene, P. M. Hay, W. James, P. Grant, R. Forster; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. Grant, H. A. Newton, R. Delamain, H. Paul, M. G. White, R. D. White, A. B. S. Kent, H. Thorp, J. Knyvett, J. Hindson; Ens. W. Souter, J. S. Browne.

1st Batt. 34th Regt. (Raised in 1823.) Now 67th Regt. N. I. Major A. Stoneham; Capts. T. Barron, W. A. Yates, H. T. Smith, W. Grant, J. Smith; Lieuts. (B. C.) A. M'Mahon, (B. C.) R. S. Phillipps, H. Lawrence, L. Vansandau, J. B. Fenton, G. Iliff, J. Frederick, T. Smith, A. M. L. Maclean, F. Macrea; Ens. J. Ross, H. O. Frederick.

2d Batt. 34th Regt. (Raised in 1823.) Now 68th Regt. N. I. Major J. H. Cave; Capts. F. Young, G. B. Bell, G. Young, H. Wilson, N. Penny; Lieuts. (B. C.) J. Thompson, C. Thoresby, C. Marshall, R. P. Fulcher, A. G. Ward, G. H. White, G. F. Dalby, S. Twemlow, W. F. A. Seymour, E. Jackson; Ens. A. Barclay.

WM. CASEMENT, Lieut. Col.
Sec. to Gov. Mil. Dep.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort William, May 13.—Assist. Surg. John Burnett, attached to the civil station of Agra, is permitted to proceed to the Mauritius for the benefit of his health, and to be absent from Bengal on that account for twelve months.

The undermentioned officers having respectively forwarded medical cerificates from the Cape of Good Hope, their leave of absence is extended to the dates specified opposite to their names:

Lieut. G. R. Crommelin, of 1st Regt. Light Cavalry, to the 18th September 1824. Lieut, T. Lamb, 12th Regt. Native Infantry, Barrack Master 2d Division, to the 1st November 1824. Lieut. P. W. Grant, of the 17th Regt. Native Infantry, Revenue Surveyor, to the 10th November 1824. Lieut. P. C. Anderson, of the 32d Regt. Native Infantry, to the 17th March 1825.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.—May 11. Brev. Capt. A. Dickson, 30th regt. N. I. to be Adjutant to the Dacca Provincial Battalion, Fort William.—13. Capt. F. Sackville, 28th regt. N. I. to be Agent for Army Clothing, 1st Division, vice Fagan resigned.—18. Lieut. T. L. Kennedy, 18th regt. N. I. to be Adjutant to the Rungpore Light Infantry, vice Wallace, who resigns.—26. Lieut. C. Bracken to be Interpreter and Quarter Master to the 45th regt. vice Noton, killed; Lieut. W. Fraser, 46th regt. to act as Adjutant to 45th regt. vice Grigg, killed.—27. Lieut. Col. G. Swiney, of the regt. of Artillery to be Principal Commissary of Ordnance, vice Faithfull resigned; Major William M'Quhae, of the regt. of Artillery, to be Principal Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, vice Swiney promoted to a Lieut. Colonelcy; Captain S. Parlby, of the regt. of Artillery, to be Agent for Gunpowder at Allahabad, vice Lindsay promoted to a Lieut. Colonelcy; Captain R. B. Fulton, Assistant to the Agent for Gun Carriages at Cossipore, to be Agent for Gun Carriages, &c. at Futtyghur, vice Brown, promoted to Lieut. Col. Commandant of a battalion; Lieut. Col. Commandant Brown is directed to retain charge of the Agency at Futtyghur till Captain Fulton shall be enabled to relieve him; Capt. James Tennant, of the regt. of Artillery, to be Assistant Adjutant General of Artillery, vice Pollock, promoted; Capt I. Maling, of the 64th regt. N. I. to be Agent for Army Clothing, 2d Division, vice Higgins, promoted to a Lieut. Colonelcy. Capt. J. Johnston, of the 46th regt. N. I. to be a Sub-Assistant to the Hon. Company's Stud, in succession to Wyat, promoted to a Majority; Capt. Thomas Watson, of the 2d regt. European Infantry, to be Fort Adjutant of Fort William, vice Wilkinson promoted. The appointment of Superintendent of Field Transport Train is abolished. Col. T. Shuldham, of Infantry, is appointed to the General Staff of this Presidency.—31. Maj. Gen. Sir

G. Martindell, K.C.B., is appointed to the command of the Cawnpore Division of the Army; Lieut. F. S. Wiggins, 31st regt. N. I. to be Adjutant and Quarter master, vice Weston, promoted; Lieut. E. Monshead, 60th regt. N. I. to be Adjutant, vice Graham, promoted; Lieut. C. S. Barbaric, 16th regt, N. I. to be Adjutant, vice Craigie, promoted.—June 3. The Governor-General is pleased to appoint the undermentioned Officers to be Brigade Majors to supply existing vacancies in the Establishment; Capt. R. W. Pogson, 47th regt. N. I.; Lieut. E. A. Campbell, 3rd regt. L. C.; Capt. R. Rich. 19th reg. N. I. to be Fort Adjutant at Allahabad.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Calcutta.—June 2. Assistant Surgeon P. Stewart, M. D. to the Medical Charge of the Artillery details, and Detachment of his Majesty's 44th regt. under Orders of Embarkation for Special Service, and Officiating Assistant Surgeons Vignolet and Temple are to act under his instructions; Mr. E. Oliver is appointed temporary Assistant Surgeon on this Establishment; Mr. J. Menzies is appointed Assistant Surgeon, date of arrival, May 10, 1824; Assistant Surgeon Henry Cavell to perform the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Berhboom, vice Sullivan, permitted to return to the Military branch of the Service, Assistant Surgeon Sullivan accordingly placed at the disposal of his Excellency the Commander in Chief; Assistant Surgeon J. A. Lawrie, M. D. to perform the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Rajeshahye, vice Harrison, permitted to proceed to Europe on Furlough on account of his health; Assistant Surgeon H. Harris to perform the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Dacca, vice C. Lamb, promoted.

GENERAL ORDER.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.—May 8. The Commander in Chief taking into consideration the incompetency to decide on the case of a Warrant Officer of the Garrison Court Martial, which tried and dismissed from his situation, Mr. J. Winn, late Steward and Apothecary at Fort Marlborough, and independently of such illegality of procedure, the disproportionate severity of the sentence to the substantial guilt of Mr. Winn; his Excellency, on those grounds, is pleased to restore him to the rank he held on the list of Subordinate Medical Officers at the date of his dismissal by the Garrison Court Martial.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William.—May 13. *12th Regt. Infantry.* Ensign R. H. Miles, to be Lieut. vice Dew, deceased.

16th Regt. N. I. Brevet Capt. A. L. Swanston, to be Capt. of a Company, vice Lester, deceased, dated 10 Sept. 1823; Ensign J. Campbell, to be Lieut. vice Swanston, promoted, dated 27 Oct. 1823. The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service on this Establishment, as Cadets of Cavalry and Infantry, and are promoted to the rank of Cornet and Ensign respectively, viz.

Cavalry.—Mr. R. D. Brooke, date of arrival 12 May.

Infantry.—Mr. E. S. Maling, date of arrival, 3 May.

The following promotions are also made:

Cavalry.—Lieut.Col. W. D. H. Knox, to be Lieut.-Col. Commandant of a Brigade, from 12 Dec. 1823, vice Fawcett, deceased; Major F. J. T. Johnston, to be Lieut.-Col., from same date, vice Knox, promoted.

Infantry.—Lieut.-Col. J. Paton (since deceased), to be Lieut.-Col. Commandant of a regt., from 15 Feb. 1824, vice Dewar, deceased; Lieut.-Col. G. W. Maxwell, C.B. to be Lieut.-Col. Commandant of a regt., from 15 Feb. 1824, vice Paton, deceased; Major W. C. L. Bind, to be Lieut.-Col., from 15 Feb. 1824, vice Maxwell; Major W. Brookes, ditto.

2nd Regt. N. I.—Capt. H. Grant, to be Major, from 15 Feb.; Brevet Capt. E. Lawrence, to be Capt. of a Company ditto; Ens. W. Stewart, to be Lieut. ditto, in succession to Bird.

9th Regt. N. I.—Capt. H. W. Wilkinson, to be Major, from 15 Feb.; Brevet Capt. J. Rind, to be Capt. of a Company, ditto; Ens. S. Williams, to be Lieut. ditto, in succession to Brookes.

10th Regt. N. I.—Brevet Capt. R. Coventry, to be Capt. of a company, from 15 Feb., vice Fell, deceased; Ens. H. N. Worsley, to be Lieut. ditto, vice Armstrong, killed; Lieut. H. M. Graves, to rank from ditto, vice Faithfull.

34th Regt. N. I.—Ens. F. Macrae, to be Lieut., from 27 April, 1824, vice Moodie, deceased.

20th Infantry.—Lieut.-Col. W. T. Thomas, to be Lieut.-Col. Commandant, from May 2, 1824, vice L. Thomas, deceased; Major H. E. G. Cooper, to be Lieut.-Col., from the same date, in succession to W. Thomas, promoted.

30th Regt. N. I.—Capt. J. Garner, to be Major, Brevet Capt. and Lieut. G. H. Hutchins, to be Capt. of a company; Ens. C. R. Eyre, to be Lieut., from May 2, 1824, in succession to Cooper, promoted.—The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service on this Establishment, in conformity with their appointment by the Honourable the Court of Directors, as Cadets of Cavalry and Infantry, and promoted, the former to the rank of Cornet and the latter to that of Ensign, leaving the dates of their commissions for future adjustment.

Cavalry.—Mr. W. L. L. Scott, Mr. H. Moffatt, and Mr. D. Wiggins, date of arrival, May 19, 1824.

Infantry.—Mr. W. Murray, date of arrival at Fort William, May 18, 1824; Messrs. A. G. Francis, J. Younghusband, G. Miller, J. D. Nash, C. H. Whitfield, K. Young, E. S. Lloyd, L. Hone, H. Boyd, G. Abbott, R. H. Turnbull, H. T. Wheler, J. W. H. Jamieson, J. Powell, A. R. J. Swinton, P. Innes, L. M. Kerr, E. Kelly, J. S. Davies, F. G. Nicolay, C. B. Leicester, E. R. Spilsbury, T. F. Blois, G. M. Pilgrim, date of arrival at Fort William, May 19, 1824.

87th Foot.—Lieut. J. Kennelly, to be Brevet Capt., dated Jan. 1, 1824.

Royal Marines.—Lieut. J. Cooke, to be Brevet Captain, dated 1st July, 1818.

4th Light Dragoons.—May 22. Lieut. C. Byrne, from the 17th Light Dragoons, to be Capt. by purchase, Vice Pratt appointed to the 7th Dragoon Guards, 20th Dec. 1823.

13th Light Dragoons.—Lieut. Henry Stones, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Crawfurd, who retires, 25th Dec. 1823; Cornet Chas. Strange, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Stone, 25th Dec. 1823; Chas. Bigge, gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Strange, 25th Dec. 1823.

1st. Foot.—Capt. Barton Tension, from half-pay 72nd Foot, to be Capt., vice Mitchell, appointed to the 95th Foot, 1st Dec. 1823; Ens. J. Clayton Cowell, to be Lieut. vice E. Mainwaring, deceased, 11th Feb. 1823.

14th Foot.—Edward C. Lynch, gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice A. Donald who retires, 11th Dec. 1823.

20th Foot.—Capt. G. Bolton, from the half-pay 14th Foot, to be Capt. vice R. G. Horseley, who exchanges, 4th Dec. 1823; Capt. R. E. Burrowes, from the 65th Foot, to be Capt. vice J. Goldflap, who exchanges, 1st March, 1823.

30th Foot.—Ens. C. Rumley, to be Lieut. vice D. H. Kennedy, deceased, 25th Nov. 1822; Gent. Cadet R. Wilson, from the Royal Military College, to be Ens. vice Rumley, 11th Dec. 1823.

38th Foot.—Lieut. A. Blennerhassett, from half-pay 73d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Trant appointed to the 95th Foot, 1st Dec. 1823.

47th Foot.—Lieut. J. Atherton, to take the rank of Brevet Captain, from 11th May, 1824.

54th Foot.—Lieut. R. G. C. Coote, from half-pay 2d Garrison battalion, to be Lieut. vice Gascoyne, appointed to the 94th Foot, 1st Dec. 1823.

67th Foot.—Ens. T. Byrne, to be Lieut. vice Muirson, deceased, 5th Mar. 1823; J. P. Heming, gent. to be Ensign, vice Byrne, 5th March, 1823; Lieut. Wm. Warburton to be Adj. vice McPherson, deceased, 25th Dec. 1823; Ens. George Frankland, from the 24th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, 25th Dec. 1823.

87th Foot.—Lieut. J. Sergeant, from half-pay 34th Foot, to be Lieut, vice B. Newton, who exchanges, 4th Dec. 1823.

Brevet.—Capt. E. Lutyens, of the 20th Foot, to be Major in the Army, 5th July, 1823.

25.—*11th Light Dragoons.*—Lieut. B. P. Brown to be Capt. of a Troop without purchase, vice W. Smith, deceased, 5 May 1824; Cornet R. Hare to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Brown, promoted, 5 May 1824; Ens. W. Childers, from the 41st regt., to be Cornet, vice Hare promoted, 5 May 1824.

27.—The undermentioned Gentlemen are admitted to the Service on this Establishment, in conformity with their appointment by the Hon. the Court of Directors, as Cadets of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry, and promoted to the rank of 2d Lieut., Cornet and Ens. respectively, leaving the dates of their commissions for future adjustment.

Artillery.—Mr. R. D'Arcy Todd, date of arrival at Fort William, 22 May 1824.

Cavalry.—Mr. W. W. Apperley, date of arrival at Fort William, 20th May, 1824.

Infantry.—Mr. H. Foquett, date of arrival at Fort William, 20th May, 1824; Mr. G. Gillman, ditto; Mr. W. J. Rind, ditto; Mr. H. C. Talbot, 22d ditto; Mr. W. J. Cade, ditto; Mr. J. W. Hicks, ditto.

The Governor General in council is pleased to make the following promotions in the Ordnance Commissariat department, to complete it to the scale laid down in G. O. G. G. 22d January 1824, not including the Mhow and Nagpoor Magazines and Asseerghur Depot.

Assistant Commissaries John Edwards and John Cross, to be Deputy-Commissaries.

Deputy-Assistant-Commissaries Cha. Feldwick, Robert Kemball, James Joyce, Arthur Walker, and A. Beatty, to be Assistant-Commissaries.

Conductors John Lawrence, James Watson, William Hodges and Gaspar Bachman, to be Deputy Assistant Commissaries.

Sub-Conductors William Swift, John Heath, Jeremiah Sheean, James Nixon, Aaron Facey, William Warburton Cavendish, Rich. Lockington, John Smith, Thomas Martin, Edward Treston, John MacReid, James Gilbert, George Gordon, Robert Reaney, Henry Weager, David Evans, Henry Fensley, Daniel Ross, James Moran, and Donald McLeod, to be Conductors of Ordnance.

N.B. Three Conductors are wanting to complete and will be filled up hereafter. In the mean time 3 Extra Sub-Conductors are appointed.

To be Sub-Conductors of Ordnance.

Serj. Maj. J. Casebourn, of the late 2d batt. 32d regt. N. I.; Serj. Maj. J. Thomp-

son, of the late 1st batt. 26th regt. N. I.; Serj. Maj. S. Dutton, of the late 2d batt. 6th regt. N. I.; Serj. Maj. W. Mumford, of the late 2d batt. 10th regt. N. I.; Serj. Maj. J. Foster, of the late 2d batt. 21st regt. N. I.; Serj. Maj. Step. Patman, of the late 2d batt. 11th regt. N. I.; Serj. Maj. C. Gale, of the late 2d batt. 24th regt. N. I.; Serj. Maj. J. Earles, of the late 1st batt. 3d regt. N. I.; Serj. Maj. J. Graham, of the late 1st batt. 21st regt. N.I.; Serjt. Maj. J. Graves, of the Sirmoor batt.; Serjt. Maj. W. Clarke, of the pioneer corps; Serjt. Maj. G. Ashmore, of the late 2d batt. 28th regt. N. I.; Serjt. T. Hogan, of the town guards, Calcutta; Serjt. Maj. R. Smalley, of the Kumaoon local batt.; Serjt. Maj. J. Fairweather, of the late 2d batt. 17th regt. N. I.; Quartermaster Serjt. J. Stewart, of the artillery regt.; Serjt. Maj. G. Purdy, of the 5th light cav.; Serjt. Maj. J. Thompson, of the Gorruckpore light infantry; Serjt. Maj. D. Wheeler, of the late 2d batt. 14th regt. N. I.; Serjt. Maj. O. Greene, of the late 2d batt. 26th regt. N. I.; Serjt. M. Turvey, engineer's department, Hansi; Serjt. W. Bayes, magazine Serjt., Dinapore; Serjt. W. Hine, Park Serjt. Cawnpore; Brigade Serjt. R. Urquhart, artillery regt.; Quarter Master Serjt. L. Cordon, artillery regt.; Bazar Serjt. J. Morris, artillery, Dum-Dum; Brigade Serjt. C. Bolds, artillery regt.; Serjt. W. Blake, arsenal, Fort William; Serjt. Maj. G. Edgar, of the late 2d batt. 22d regt. N. I.; Serjt. W. Haywood, of the Hon. Comp.'s European regt.; Serjt. Maj. T. Hall, of the Ramghur batt.

Extras.—Brigade Serjt. J. Copperwaite, of the artillery regt.; Serjt. Maj. W. Hunt, of the Orissa Provincial batt.; Brigade Serjt. J. Pownes, of the artillery regt.

4th *Light Dragoons.*—May 31. Cornet M. C. D. St. Quinton to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Anderson deceased. Dated 2 May, 1824.

47th *Foot.*—Lieut. H. M. Wainwright to rank as Brevet Capt. from 14th Jan. 1823.

11th *Light Dragoons.*—June 1. C. Johnson, gent. to be Cornet by purchase. Dated 30th Oct. 1823.

13th *Light Dragoons.*—Capt. H. Heyman from half-pay 8th *Light Dragoons*, vice D. Macworth. Dated Oct. 23, 1823.

1st *Reg. Foot.*—Lieut. C. Eyre to be Capt. by purchase, vice Mosses, who retires. Dated 13 Nov. 1823.—Ensign J. Stoyte, to be Lieut. by Ditto; and E. Macpherson, gent., to be ensign by Ditto, in succession. Dated 13th Nov. 1823.

20th *Reg Foot.*—Capt. R. G. Horsley, from 53d Foot to be Capt. vice Harrison. Dated 2d Oct. 1823.

41st *Reg. Foot.*—Ensign H. J. Ellis, from 15th Foot, to be Ensign without purchase, vice Brown. Dated 2d Oct, 1823.—Lieut. G. S. Crole from 11th Light Dragoons to be Capt., vice Johnson. Dated 30th Oct. 1823.

47th *Reg. Foot.*—Lieut. J. Pasley to be Capt. by purchase, vice Keays. Dated 3d July, 1823.

67th *Foot.*—Ensign A. H. R. Pilfold, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Lascelles decased. Dated 30th Oct. 1823.

1st *Reg. Europ. Infantry.*—Ensign C. Jorden, to be Lieut. from 27th May, 1824, vice Beauchamp.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted as Cadets, and promoted to Ensigns, Mr. J. Laing, date of arrival, 19th May, 1824, appointed to 47th regt. 2d June, 1824; Mr. C. W. Haig, appointed to 61st regt.

POSTINGS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.—May 8. Cornets J. Woore and A. Wheatley to 1st L. C. at Sultanpore; Ensigns R. B. Lynch, R. F. M'Vitie, J. Iveson, and E. R. Mainwaring, to 2nd batt. 10th regt. at Barrackpore; Asst. Surg. J. Nicholl to 2nd batt. 34th regt. N. I.—May 15. Asst. Surg. G. Hunter to 2nd batt. 14th regt. N. I. vice Graham.—17th. Cornet R. D. Brooke to 1st regt. L. C. at Sultanpore; Ens. C. S. Maling to 2nd batt. 10th regt. at Barrackpore.—18th. Bre. Capt. N. Wallace, 27th regt. N. I. to 2d batt. 23d regt.; Asst. Surg. B. Macleod to join the troops at Chittajong.—19th. Surg. R. Paterson 1st batt. 13th regt. to 2d batt. 31st regt. at Berhampore; Asst. Surg. Carte, of 2d batt. 31st regt. to 2d batt. 13th regt. N. I. at Chittajong; Asst. Surg. Halkeston, now at the Presidency General Hospital, is to proceed to Chittajong.—21st. Capt. A. H. Wood, 15th regt. N. I. to 61st regt. at Barrackpore.—31st. The detachment for H. M. regts under the charge of Capt. Mountgarrett, 87th regt., having arrived in Fort William, that officer will accordingly place himself under the immediate orders of, and make over the men to, Capt. Butler, of the 59th regt. The detachment of the 13th regt., under Lieut. Bower, will be united to the troops now placed under the command of Capt. Butler; and the following officers will do duty with these details: Lieuts. Watson and Crawford, and Ens. Lugard, 14th regt.; Lieuts. Long and Hoctor, 59th regt.; Capt. Mountgarrett, Lieuts. Sargeant, O'Flaherty, Hill, and Kennelly; Ens. Thomas, 87th regt. The undermentioned Cornets and Ensigns are posted as follows: Cornets W. L. L. Cott, H. Moffatt, D. Wiggens, and W. W. Apperley, 1st L. C. at Sultanpore; Ens. W. Murray, European regt. at Dinapore; Ens. A. G. F. J. Younghusband, H. Body, C. B. Leicester, H. Foquett, and L. M. Kerr, 16th regt. N. I. Barrackpore; Ens. H. T. Wheeler, J. H. W. Jamieson, J. Powell, A. K. J. Swinton, P. Innes, and E. Kelly, 61st regt. Barrackpore; Ens. J. D. Nash, J. S.

Davies, F. Nicolay, E. R. Spilsbury, T. F. Blois, and G. M. Pilgrim, to the wing of 62d regt. at Barrackpore; Ens. C. H. Whitfield, G. Gillman, W. J. Rind, H. C. Talbot, W. J. Cade, and J. W. Hicks, 68th regt. Barrackpore.—June 3d. Ens. G. M. Sherer, 57th regt. N. I. to 16th regt. at Barrackpore.—4th. Conductor W. Thorpe, and Sub-conductor J. Stewart, of the Ordnance Commissariat, to the Depot at Dacca.

MADRAS.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, April 8.—Mr. J. Bird to be Judge and Criminal Judge of Salem; Mr. W. Sheffield to be Judge and Criminal Judge of Canara; Mr. J. Hanbury to be Collector and Magistrate of Rajahmundry; Mr. F. W. Robertson to be Collector and Magistrate of Bellary.—May 31. D. Hill, Esq. to be Chief Secretary to Government; Mr. J. Babington to be Principal Collector and Magistrate of Canara; Mr. J. Nisbet to be Collector and Magistrate of Chingteput.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, March 5.—Senior Sub-Conductor W. Inverarity to be Conductor to complete the Establishment; Lieut. J. N. R. Campbell, 2d regt. L. C. to be Aid-de-Camp to his Excellency the Commander in Chief from 4th inst., vice Campbell.—16. Capt. W. Kelso, 13th regt. N. I. to be Paymaster to Light Field Division of Hyderabad Subsidiary Force at Joulnah; Lieut. W. Prescott, 2d regt. N. I. to be a Sub-Assist. Com. Gen. vice Ellaway deceased; Lieut. G. B. Greene, Madras Europ. regt. to be a Sub-Assist. Com. Gen. vice Sherriff; Lieut. C. Evans, 18th regt. N. I. appointed to command company of Golundauze stationed at Trichinopoly.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, March 16.—Assist. Sur. E. Chapman to be Deputy Medical Storekeeper in Doab, vice Harwood promoted; Sub Assist. Surgeon Patterson to do duty under Garrison Sur. of Fort St. George, vice Gray.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, March 5.—12th regt. N. I. Sen. Ens. J. Pope to be Lieut., vice Carter deceased, dated Jan. 20, 1824.—9. Lieut. C. H. Warre, horse brigade of Artillery, to be Adjutant, vice Wynch; Lieut. F. F. Whynyates, horse brigade of Artillery, to be Adjutant, vice Couran.

22d Regt. N. I. Sen. Ens. E. C. Manning to be Lieut., vice Annesley deceased, dated Jan. 15, 1824.

March 12.—The undermentioned 2d Lieuts. of Artillery are promoted to 1st Lieuts.: J. G. Dalzell, June 11, 1823; J. T. Baldwin, Nov. 17, 1823; J. Back, Nov. 25, 1823; and T. Ditmas, Jan. 17, 1824.—16. Messrs. J. C. Power and J. S. Du Vernet admitted as Cadets of Artillery, and promoted to Ens.

MEDICAL PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, March 9.—Sen. Asst. Sur. J. Harwood to be Sur. vice Dalton, dated Sept. 17, 1823; Sen. Assist. Sur. J. Smart, M. D. to be Sur. vice Goldie, dated Jan. 1, 1824.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Head Quarters, Feb. 16, 1824.—Cornet W. G. C. Dunbar, lately posted to 5th L. C., to do duty with 2d L. C. until arrival of his regt. at Trichinopoly.

Feb. 20.—Cornet J. E. Watts, lately posted to 7th L. C., to do duty with 8th L. C.; Ens. E. Clutterbuck, lately posted to 2d bat. 19th N. I., to join at Ellore; Ens. T. Coles, lately posted to 2d bat. 5th N.I., to join at Cuddapah; Ens. Æ. Macqueen, lately posted to 1st batt. 19th N.I., to continue to do duty with 2d batt. 25th ditto; Ens. W. W. Ross, lately posted to 2d batt. 1st N. I., to join at Quilon; Ens. B. Heyne, lately posted to 2d batt. 5th N. I., to join at Cuddapah; Ens. J. Dickson, lately posted to 1st batt. 25th N. I., to join at Belgaum; Ens. E. Hawkshaw, lately posted to 2d batt. 19th N. I., to join at Ellore.

Feb. 23.—Assist. Surg. J. Bainbridge to do duty with H. M. 41st regt.

Feb. 25.—Lieut. Col. J. Russell, C. B., removed from 5th to 7th regt.; L. C. Lieut. Col. J. Doveton from 7th to 5th regt. L. C.; Lieut. Col. C. Hodgson removed from 9th to 11th regt. and 2d batt.; Lieut. Col. H. G. A. Taylor removed from 11th to 9th regt. and 1st batt.; Lieut. Col. D. C. Kenny removed from 17th to 15th regt. and 2d batt. Lieut. Col. T. Stewart removed from 15th to 17th regt. and 1st batt.; Surg. J. T. Conran removed from 5th to 7th regt. L.C. Surg. J. Kellie removed from 7th to 5th regt. L. C.; Maj. G. M. Steuart (late prom.) of 1st regt. posted to 1st batt.

March 3.—Lieut. H. T. Hitchins removed from 2d to 1st batt. 7th regt., and Lieut. G. W. Whistler from 1st to 2d batt. of same regt.; Lieut. C. Davinier, 15th regt., to do duty with 1st batt. Pioneers; Lieut. G. J. Hamilton, 2d regt., to do duty with 2d batt. Pioneers.

March 8.—Lieut. W. Gompertz, 22d regt., removed from 2d to 1st batt., and Lieut. A. Abbam from 1st to 2d batt. same regt.

March 10.—Capt. J. N. Abdy removed from 1st to 3d batt., and Capt. T. H. Thoresby from 3d to 1st batt. of Artillery.

March 11.—Surg. J. Annesley posted to 8th regt. L. C., vice Longdill; Surg. J. M'Leod removed from 11th to 18th regt. and 1st batt.; Surg. J. Harwood posted to 11th regt. and 1st batt.; Surg. J. Smart, M. D., posted to 16th regt. and 1st batt.; Assist. Surg. W. Geddes removed from 1st to 2d batt. 11th regt.; Assist. Surg. J. Lawder to do duty with 1st batt. 3d

regt.; Assist. Surg. J. Ricks, M. D., removed from doing duty with H. M. 46th regt. and posted to 10th regt. and 1st batt.; Assist. Surg. J. Bainbridge removed from doing duty with H. M. 41st regt. to do duty with 1st batt. 1st regt.; Assist. Surg. D. Richardson removed from doing duty under Superintending Surgeon of northern division, and posted to Europ. Regt.; Assist. Surg. J. Barton removed from 2d Nat. Vet. Bat. to do duty with H. M. 41st regt.

BOMBAY.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, June 7.—In conformity to General Orders by the Right Hon. the Governor in Council at Fort William, dated May 6, 1824, the Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to notify that the regiments of European and Native Infantry are from this date divided into two, numbered as regiments, and finally separated as follows:

Europ. regt.	.... to form	1st Eu. rgt.
		2d do.
1st Gr. rgt.	1st batt....	1st Gr. regt.
	2d batt....	2d Gr. regt.
2d N. I.	1st batt....	3d regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	4th regt. N. I.
3d N. I.	1st batt....	5th regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	6th regt. N. I.
4th N. I.	1st batt....	7th regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	8th regt. N. I.
5th N. I.	1st batt....	9th regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	10th regt. N. I.
6th N. I.	1st batt....	11th regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	12th regt. N. I.
7th N. I.	1st batt....	13th regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	14th regt. N. I.
8th N. I.	1st batt....	15th regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	16th regt. N. I.
9th N. I.	1st batt....	17th regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	18th regt. N. I.
10th N. I.	1st batt....	19th regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	20th regt. N. I.
11th N. I.	1st batt....	21st regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	22d regt. N. I.
12th N. I.	1st batt....	23d regt. N. I.
	2d batt....	24th regt. N. I.

The officers of cavalry and infantry, after the promotions, from the rank of Major downward, are posted regimentally as follows:

Light Cavalry.

1st *Regt.* Major R. Thomas; Capts. R. Dawson, H. Wilkins, H. Melville, B. Sandwith, P. Hunter; Lieuts. T. Myline, E. Sparrow, C. J. Conyngham, J. Liddell, H. Fawcett, S. Poole, R. D. M'Kenzie, H. Wilkes (two vacant); Cornets (five vacant).

2d *Regt.* Major C. F. Gordon; Capts. R. Rose, W. Collingworth, J. Bayly, F. C. Rybot, P. P. Wilson; Lieuts. D. Cunningham, J. Brooks, H. Grant, H. J. Robinson, A. Urquhart, W. Turner, C. Thuillier, A. Balmanno, Chas. Torin (one vacant); Cornets (five vacant).

3d *Regt.* Major S. Whitehill; Capts. E. Jervis, W. Hamond, H. Jameson, J. Sutherland, G. Marshall; Lieuts. G. J. C. Paul, M. Stack, O. A. Woodhouse, J. K. E. Johnstone, W. H. Ottey, C. H. Delamaine, E. Walter, A. D. Græme (two vacant; Cornets (five vacant.)

European Regiment.

1st *Regt.* Major C. Maw, Capts. J. Elder, G. Taylor, C. Ovans, S. Robson, John F. Osborne; Lieuts. J. Watts, C. Walter, C. Hagart, T. Stalker, R. Mignan, M. Elder, John Hobson, N. Strong, W. Wade, R. L. Crozier; Lieuts. A. Ore and T. Tapp, Supernumerary to Establishment; Ens. T. Stirling, G. Fraser, (three vacant).

2d *Regt.* Major J. J. Preston; Capts. J. Sheriff, J. Little, W. Henderson, R. O. Meriton, G. C. Taylor; Lieuts. C. W. Watkins, S. J. Smith, E. Stewart, J. P. Cumming, W. Burnett, A. P. Hockin, J. B. Philipps, W. C. Bell, F. Cox, J. Thompson; Lieut. P. St. John, Supernumerary to Establishment; Ens. H. M. Cosby, G. C. Palling (three vacant.)

Native Infantry.

1st or *Gren. Regt.* Major J. Brown; Capts. J. B. Dunsterville, J. Grant, J. W. Falconer, A. Morse, J. Reynolds; Lieuts. T. R. Billemore, T. Clibborn, A. I. F. Stenton, J. G. Lascelles, G. R. S. Fenwick, J. S. Down, T. Donnelly, E. Hunt, J. Phillips, R. Harvey; Ens. H. B. Campbell, G. H. Gordon, R. Stark, A. C. Heighton (one vacant).

2d or *Gren. Regt.* Major J. Morin; Capts. R. Robertson, W. Inglis, D. Capon, A. N. Riddell, D. Forbes; Lieuts. W. Rollings, T. Graham, J. Hardy, H. C. Teasdale, G. Boyd, J. Campbell, W. C. Freeman, A. Hand, J. K. Gloag, G. Le Grand Jacob; Ens. E. Neville, J. G. Mudie, J. C. Bowater (two vacant).

3d *Regt.* Maj. D. H. Bellasis; Capts. C. B. James, J. Cocke, J. Hancock, J. S. Canting, G. Taylor; Lieuts. J. Finlay, C. Crawley, C. Johnson, R. Payne, H. Cooke R. G. King, H. Stephenson, J. Marjoribanks, W. H. Clarkson, G. Candy.; Ens. W. A. Wroughton, J. Hallet, J. Wright (two vacant).

4*th. Regt.* Maj. C. Gray; Capts. S. Hughes, F. Hickes, T. Gordon, W. Spraft, J. M'Cullum; Lieuts. C. F. Elderton, E. W. Jones, G. C. Robinson, F. C. Darke, J. H. Chalmers, G. J. Jameson, J. D. Smythe, J. S. Ramsay, T. H. Ottley, R. W. Honner; Ens. R. Bourchier, H. J. Lamotte, H. A. Lawrence (two vacant).

5*th Regt.* Major T. Pierce; Capts. J. Gibbon, J. Cruickshanks, W. Spiller, J. W. Aitchison, P. M'Keever; Lieuts. J. J. L. Mathews, F. T. Farrell, J. R. Woodhouse, J. Fawcett, J. B. F. Levery, W. Macan, G. T. Parry, W. Maunsel, D. Carstairs, C. D. B. Prescott; Ens. H.

M. Duncan, E. Brett, H. Wood, W. Unwin (one vacant).

6th Regt. Major P. Fearon; Capts. G. Challon, R. Taylor, E. Towsey, H. Adams, G. B. Aitchison; Lieuts. W. F. Hewitt, W. Keys, H. Spencer, E. Carthew, W. N. T. Shee, B. Justice, R. A. Bayly, R. S. Gibson, W. Maxwell, H. Hart; Ens. J. Ridout, R. Farquhar, J. B. M. Gillanders, G. Graham (one vacant).

7th Regt. Major T. Morgan; Capts. D. Wilson, J. Keith, J. Graham, J. B. Seely, C. C. Massey; Lieuts. G. Lloyd, J. C. Parr, G. St. B. Brown, P. M. Melville, G. Hogg, J. W. Gordon, T. B. Gleunie, J. G. Thompson, J. Cooper, H. Stockley; Ens. E. Skipper, C. Ellis, G. Stockley (two vacant).

8th Regt. Major G. Tweedy; Capts. G. Arden, H. Newton, W. D. Robertson, F. Sharpe, T. Marshall; Lieuts. Dumaresq, H. Sandwith, J. Neville, W. J. Brown, C. Richards, R. Sillar, A. Livingston, A. W. Maclean, R. Finlay, F. B. B. Keene; Ens. C. Pavin, R. Fullerton (two vacant).

9th Regt. Major C. W. Ellwood; Capts. R. W. Fleming, S. Long, H. D. Robertson, S. Powell, J. Farquharson; Lieuts. P. W. Pouget, J. A. Crosby, G. Smith, M. M. Shaw, W. W. Dowell, J. E. Hall, T. Bell, O. Poole, P. Dawney, R. T. Lancaster; Ens. C. B. Morton, W. S. Adams, E. Marsh, G. Wilson (one vacant).

10th Regt. Major C. Whitehill; Capts. G. A. Rigby, T. Palin, M. L. Gallway, J. H. Bellasis, C. F. Hart; Lieuts. R. Meldrum, C. Cathcart, E. Hallum, J. C. Peyton, D. Liddell, J. D. Browne, H. Pelham, J. G. Hume, J. Beck, R. J. Littlewood; Ens. J. Hay, D. J. Powell, J. B. Bellasis (two vacant).

11th Regt. Major A. Robertson; Capts. W. Gordon, M. Blackall, A. W. Brown, J. G. Richards, P. D. Ottey; Lieuts. J. T. Molesworth, H. Liddell, N. Campbell, T. Gidley, R. Blood, J. E. Parsons, T. R. Gordon, J. Paul, T. Brown, J. H. Bell; Ens. J. Davies, T. E. Taylor, G. J. Lloyd, J. Whitmore (one vacant).

12th Regt. Major W. Meall; Capts. J. W. Graham, J. H. Dunsterville, T. Roe, J. Clunes, W. Cazalet; Lieuts. A. T. Reid, G. Clarke, C. H. Johnson, W. Reynolds, W. H. Jackson, S. Hennell, R. M. Hughes, F. F. N. B. V. B. Fortune, C. F. Lawrie, B. Sellwood; Ens. G. Fisher, G. M'Donell, T. Maughan (two vacant).

13th Regt. Major J. Morse; Capts. H. A. Harvey, R. Stamper, H. Pottinger, R. Sutherland; Lieuts. W. H. Waterfield, G. P. Le Messurier, D. L. Victor, R. Troward, T. R. Wynter, C. S. Stewart, R. Hutt, A. R. Wilson, J. S. F. Rebenack, D. M. Scobie; Ens. F. N. B. Tuker, J. Burrowes, R. Shortreed (two vacant).

14th Regt. Major E. Davies; Capts. J. Inverarity, E. M. Wood, A. Hare; T. Leighton, W. F. Dunlop; Lieuts. E. R. Home, G. W. Blachley, H. G. Roberts, A. W. Pringle, E. W. Kennett, S. C. Spence, G. W. Oakes, J. M. Short, A. Bradford, H. Forbes; Ens. C. W. Wenn, C. H. Hart, T. Dickson (two vacant).

15th Regt. Major W. H. Stanley; Capts. E. Pearson, G. Edsall, C. Davies, M. F. Collis, F. M'Cy Iredell; Lieuts. H. C. Holland, J. Saunders, B. M'Mahon, W. Wilkie, O. Sanderson, C. R. U. Jones, C. Benbow, G. Macan, W. Ward, J. Dawes; Ens. T. Mitchell, J. F. Forster, G. S. Brown, J. Jackson (one vacant).

16th Regt. Major A. C. H. Lamy; Capts. J. Snodgrass, F. Dangerfield, C. Payne, J. S. Iredell, J. B. Goodliff; Lieuts. H. L. Anthony, G. F. Penley, J. Thomas, B. Seton, D. G. Duff, H. F. Hopkins, C. H. Wells, J. Whitaker, R. W. Lukin, B. Crispin; Ens. C. Hunter, C. A. Steward, J. Chesshyre (two vacant).

17th Regt. Major C. Garraway; Capts. P. W. Pedlar, W. H. Sykes, A. B. Campbell, J. T. Ellis, J. Simpson; Lieuts. W. Stirling, J. H. M. Luyken, B. Kingston, A. F. Bartlet, E. H. Billamore, A. F. Johnson, T. Probyn, H. Macan, T. B. Forster, W. Campbell; Ens. C. J. F. Pottinger, D. Davidson, W. D. Cruikshanks (two vacant).

18th Regt. Major W. Morison; Capts. J. Levingstou, M. Soppitt, R. Hurle, G. Moore, J. Worthy; Lieuts. J. Addison, C. F. Pelly, E. E. M. Willoughby, H. M. Corsellis, C. C. Rebenack, J. S. Jameson, H. James, A. F. D. Fraser, R. H. H. Fawcett, H. W. Pickford; Ens. R. Webb, G. G. Malet, G. Johnson (two vacant).

19th Regt. Major G. Hutchinson; Capts. B. Gerrans, J. M'Intire, A. Adamson, W. Nixon, G. F. Pristed; Lieuts. G. White, T. H. Irwin, F. Stalker, H. Hancock, R. M. M. Cooke, G. J. Mant, H. Dampier, J. Swanson, C. Morley, G. Thornton; Ens. H. Jacob, G. Constable, W. P. Eyre (two vacant).

20th Regt. Major A. J. O. Browne; Capts. F. Roome, A. Seymour, D. W. Shaw, S. D. Siordett, J. Forbes; Lieuts. W. Foquett, F. Apthorp, R. Bulkley, C. J. Westly, J. Hawkes, J. E. Lang, H. H. Hobson, T. Candy, H. Coventry, W. A. Wall; Ens. J. Mun, C. Shirt (three vacant).

21st Regt. Major P. Lodwick; Capts. G. Noble, R. Campbell, R. W. Gillum, E. F. Hamilton, E. Mason; Lieuts. A. Leighton, J. Laing, W. Cavaye, V. F. Kennett, W. Wyllie, R. Carr, E. M. Ennis, C. Clarke, J. Beck, A. Burnes; Ens. W. Lang, G. N. Prier, J. Holland (two vacant).

22d Regt. Major F. Farquharson; Capts. J. D. Crozier, A. Grafton, W. Black, J. Clarke, H. Dunbabin; Lieuts.

W. Lordner, W. Noton, R. W. Smith, H. Kensington, G. M'Intosh, H. Creslow, H. J. Parkinson. J. Hale, W. P. Phipps, L. W. Hart; Ens. F. Arnaud, R. Long, J. Tyndall (two vacant).

23d Regt. Major H. R. Deschamps; Capts. R. Barnwell, M. E. Bagnold, G. J. Wilson, R. Ogilby, C. Newport; Lieuts. J. Rankin, J. Scott, H. Lyons, G. More, J. Watkins, W. F. Barlow, A. T. Le Messurier, E. P. Ramsay, A. Woodburn, J. Liddell; Ens. M. Giberne, B. W. Gautier, P. F. French, T. C. Noad (one vacant).

24th Regt. Major D. Barr; Capts. J. P. Napier, J. Barclay, W. Ogilvie, R. Waite, T. D. Morris; Lieuts. T. M. Baillie, W. F. Allen, R. Ord, J. Outram, T. Briggs, J. Hall, J. F. Morris, C. Denton, E. Burgess, W. Stewart; Ens. E. M. Earle, F. Durrack, H. N. Ramsay (two vacant).

State of officers of Bombay Artillery and of Corps of Engineers as now constituted:

Regiment of Artillery.

Col. John Baillie; Lieut. Cols. Com. H. Hessman, G. B. Bellasis; Lieut. Cols. C. Hodgson, R. Whish, F. H. Pierce; Majors R. M'Intosh, S. R. Strover, E. Hardy; Capts. L. O. Russell, A. Campbell, J. Moor, R. Th[illegible], V. G. White, J. G. Griffith, A. Manson, T. Stevenson, W. K. Lester, J. Barton, F. Schuler, R. Forster, T. Groundwater, W. Millar, E. Willock; Capts. F. P. Lester, S. J. C. Falconer, G. W. Gibson, J. Laurie, J. Cooke, W. H. Foy, J. W. Watson, A. A. Auldjo, and J. Walker, Supernumerary to Establishment; Lieuts. C. D. Blachford, G. R. Lyons, M. Law, W. Morley, M. C. Decluzeau, W. Jacob, T. O. Watkins, J. Lloyd, J. J. Leeson, G. Yeadell, J. Sinclair, E. Stanton, J. H. M. Martin, J. W. Fraser, T. Sutton, J. T. Leslie, F. Smith, A. Rowland, F. J. Pontardant, W. Coghlan, N. Lechmere, M. F. Willoughby, J. S. Webb, W. Brett, C. Lucas, H. W. Trevelyan, T. E. Colgrave, T. Ritherdon, J. W. Lewis, H. Stamford; 1st. Lieuts. W. F. Whitlie, H. W. Hardy, H. Sutton, J. Grant, W. M. Webb, E. A. Farquharson, C. Blood, R. Warden, T. Cleather, and J. Liddell, Supernumerary to Establishment; 2d Lieuts. T. H. Heathcote and E. R. Prother (fourteen vacant).

N.B. The nine Captains and ten 1st Lieutenants extra to the Establishment will be returned supernumerary until brought upon effective strength by casualties.

Corps of Engineers.

Col. W. H. Blachford; Lieut. Col. Com. W. Brooks; Lieut. Cols. T. A. Cowper, S. Goodfellow; Major E. H. Bellasis, Capts, J, S, R, Drummond, T, Dickinson, J. Hawkins, J. Nutt, R. Gordon, T. Remon, L. J. Frederick, R. Pouget, G. R. Jervis, J. Jopp; 1st. Lieuts. W. Tate, C. Waddington, T. B. Jervis, S. Slight, S. Athill, J. Outram, F. M'Gillivray, C. W. Grant, A. C. Peat, R Forster (six vacant); 2d Lieuts. (seven vacant).

The Governor in Council is pleased to direct that Lieut. Cols. Commandant J. A. Wilson, P. Dunbar, and Wm. Turner, and Lieut. Cols. P. Delamotte, H. Smith, and G. Litchfield, be permanently removed from Infantry to Cavalry; and further to notify, that the entire corps of officers now in the Cavalry, are wholly removed from the Infantry, and that their promotion will depend henceforth on the Cavalry alone.

June 10.—Sen. Assist. Surg. W. Purnell, D. C. Bell, and Wm. Fraser, to be Surgeons on new establishment; date of rank 1st May 1824.

The Commander in Chief is pleased to direct that the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels Commandant, and Lieutenant Colonels of Cavalry and Infantry be posted to regiments as follows:—

Light Cavalry.

1st Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. W. Turner, Lieut. Col. H. Smith.

2d Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. J. A. Wilson, Lieut. Col. G. A. Litchfield.

3d Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. J. P. Dunbar, Lieut. Col. P. Delamotte.

European Regiments.

1st Regt. Col. S. Wilson, Col. W. Sandwith.

2d Regt. Col. J. W. Morris, Lieut. Col. D. Campbell.

Native Infantry.

1st or Gren. Regt. Col. C. Boyce, Lieut. Col. W. Hull.

2d or Gren. Regt. Col. H. P. Lawrence, Lieut. Col. F. F. Staunton, C.B.

3d Regt. Col. J. Skelton, Lieut. Col. G. Brooks.

4th Regt. Col. R. Lewis, Lieut. Col. A. Hogg.

5th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. G. M'Konochie, Lieut. Col. H. Tovey.

6th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. B. W. D. Sealy, Lieut. Col. J. Hickes.

7th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. D. Leighton, C.B., Lieut. Col. J. Mayne.

8th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. J. Smith, Lieut. Col. W. Grant.

9th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. T. Corsellis, C.B., Lieut. Col. J. Taylor.

10th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. E. Baker, Lieut. Col. E. G. Stannus, C.B.

11th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. D. Prother, C.B., Lieut. Col. G. Mitford.

12th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. G. M. Cox, Lieut. Col. K. Egan.

13th Regt. Lieut. Col. Com. G. R. Kemp, Lieut. Col. V. Kennedy.

14*th Regt.* Lieut. Col. Com. H. S. Osborne, Lieut. Col. T. Burford.

15*th Regt.* Lieut. Col. Com. M. Kennedy, C.B., Lieut. Col. J. Sutherland.

16*th Regt.* Lieut. Col. Com. H. Roome, Lieut. Col. R. H. Hough.

17*th Regt.* Lieut. Col. Com. J. Cunningham, Lieut. Col. W. Miles.

18*th Regt.* Lieut. Col. Com. J. F. Dyson, Lieut. Col. F. D. Ballantyne.

19*th Regt.* Lieut. Col. Com. W. D. Clieland, Lieut. Col. E. Frederick.

20*th Regt.* Col. M. Grant, Lieut. Col. W. P. Tucker.

21*st, or Marine Regt.* Lieut. Col. Com. W. Gilbert, Lieut. Col. R. Willis.

22*d Regt.* Lieut. Col. Com. B. Kennett, Lieut. Col. I. Kennersly.

23*d Regt.* Lieut. Col. Com. A. Aitchison, Lieut. Col. E. W. Shuldham.

24*th Regt.* Lieut. Col. Com. W. Roome, Lieut. Col. J. Salter.

On account of the advanced season of the year, the officers of the Native Infantry, who have been removed from one battalion of a regiment to another, will continue to do duty with their present corps until 1st of October next, or until further orders.

Staff officers, either general or regimental, whose appointments are vacated by their present promotion, will continue to act in them until relieved by those specially appointed to succeed them.

MARINE DEPARTMENT.

APPOINTMENTS.

April 27.—Sen. Midshipman C. Barnard to be a 2d Lieut., vice Spencer deceased, date of rank 24th April 1823; Sen. Midshipman R. Lowe to be a 2d Lieut., vice Cogan promoted, 4th May 1823; Sen. Midshipman C. Wells to be a 2d Lieut., vice Harris promoted, Sen. Midshipman F. W. Powell to be a 2d Lieut., vice Sawyer promoted, 9th May 1823; Sen. Midshipman W. Lowe to be a 2d Lieut., vice Rose promoted, 10th July 1823; Sen. Midshipman C. Armstrong to be a 2d Lieut., vice Barnard deceased, 20th Dec. 1823; Sen. Midshipman T. H. Broadhead to be a 2d Lieut., vice Hoyle deceased, 25th Jan. 1824; Sen. Midshipmen J. Harrison and J. H. Rowland to be 2d Lieuts., vice Richardson and Wilson promoted; Sen. Midshipmen Wm. Bryan and G. R. Gorcham to be 2d Lieuts. on augmentation, 1st March 1824; 2d Lieut A. Huntley to be 1st Lieut., and Sen. Midshipman W. Ingglesden to be 2d Lieut., vice Tanner promoted, 12th April 1823.

May 13. — Sen. Midshipman J. B. Haines to be a 2d Lieut., vice Nish deceased, 27th April 1824.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—May 1. At Barrackpore, the lady of Capt. W. R. Pogson, Commanding the Escort of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, of a daughter; at Arrah, the lady of H. Ricketts, Esq. C. S. of a daughter. 3. At Calcutta, the lady of D. Ross, Esq. of a daughter. 5. Mrs. W. Cornelius of a daughter; the lady of E. R. Coser, Esq. of a son. 12. At Chowringhee, the lady of Capt. W. Cunningham of a daughter; at Burdwan, the lady of J. R. Hutchinson, Esq. of a son. 16. At Kamptee, the lady of Lieut.-Col. W. Lamb, commanding 1st Batt. 26th Regt. N. I. of a daughter. 17. At Calcutta, Mrs. P. Sutherland of a son. 21. At Sylhet, the lady of Lieut. A. Fuller, Rungpore Light Inf. Batt. of a daughter. 23. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. Stuart of a son. 26. Near Balloo Ghaut, the lady of Mr. B. Murphy, Conductor of Ordnance, of a son; at Calcutta, Mrs. J. L. D'Souza of a son. 27. At Chinsurah, Mrs. J. Nicholas of a son. 30. At Calcutta, the lady of W. Davis, Esq. of a son; at Futtyghur, the lady of Capt. J. A. Hodgson of a daughter; at Calcutta, Mrs. C. W. Smith of a daughter. 31. At Allipore, the lady of Lieut. Hickey of a son.

Marriages.—May 6. At Sultanpore, Capt. G. Thornton, 1st L. C. to Jane, fifth daughter of J. Sotterthwait, Esq. of Plymouth, Devon. 8. At St. John's Cathedral, Mr. M. B. T. Williams, of Kulna, to Isabella, second daughter of the late J. Nurenberg, Esq. Major of the Mahratta Service. 12. At Agra, J. W. Boyd, Esq. Assistant Surgeon of the Horse Artillery, to Miss H. Merchands. 24. At Dacca, W. Dampier, Esq. of the Bengal C. S. to Emma, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Commandant J. M. Johnson. 28. At Calcutta, Ensign Usher, H. M.'s 44th Regt. to Miss Smith; Capt. L. R. Stacy, 16th Regt. Bengal N. I. to Sophia Maria, second daughter of the late Capt. Grimes. June 2. At Calcutta, Capt. J. Orchard, H. C.'s 1st European Regt. to Miss M. Douglas, niece of Lieut.-Col. J. L. Stuart. 8. At Calcutta, Mr. T. Francis to Miss Eleanor Sophia, second daughter of the late D. Templeton, Esq.

Deaths.—May 1. Mrs. S. E. Rodrigues. 2. At Cawnpore, Major-Gen. L. Thomas, C. B.; Mrs. A. L'Herondell, wife of J. L'Herondell, Esq. 3. Mr. J. Jennings; Mrs. S. Morgan, wife of G. Morgan, Esq.; William, the second son of W. Paton, Esq. Second Member of the Board of Revenue. 8. Mr. R. Hasleby, of the firm of Hasleby, Stewart, and Co. aged 32.; Sir J. Macdonald, K. C. B. a Lieut.-Gen. in the H. C.'s Service, aged 76. 20. At Calcutta, J. Hare, Jun. Esq; Mr. W. Raes. 28. At Serampore, Mr. T. St. John Byrne, of the Secret Department. 31. At Calcutta, Miss Martin, daughter of Mr. J. Martin, Jeweller. June 6. Mr. T. Martin, eldest son of Mr. Martin, Jeweller.

MADRAS.

Births.—May 3. At Trichinopoly, the lady of the Rev. J. Wright, Chaplain, of a son. 5. At Cannanore, Mrs. Moore of a daughter; the lady

of Capt. Fulton, Major of Brigade, of a daughter. 6. At Rogapooram, Mrs. G. D. Laird of a daughter. 10. The lady of P. Cleghorn, Esq. of a daughter. 27. In Black Town, Mrs. G. J. Mackintosh of a son. June 27. At Rypoor, the lady of Lieut. C. V. Agnew, C. B. of a son. 29. At Bellary, the lady of Lieut. R. D. Odell. 25th Regt. N. I. of a daughter. July 10. At Trichinopoly, the lady A. B. Peppin, Esq. Acting Garrison Surgeon, of a son. 13. At Madras, the lady of Major Napier, of a son. 14. At Baulghauty, the lady of Capt. R. Gordon, Bombay Engineers, of a son. At Hyderabad, Mrs. C. Britain, of a son.

Marriages.—May 10. At the Black Town Chapel, Mr. E. D. Arachy to Miss A. H. Beckman. July 15. At Madras, T. Stephenson, Esq. to Miss E. L. Yates.

Deaths.—May 1. At Nagpore, the lady of C. D. H. Mackenzie, of Madras Artillery. 6. At Poonamallee Road, Col. W. Marlay, Deputy Quartermaster-Gen. aged 47. 10. Capt. R. G. Wilson, 14th Regt. N. I. 21. Mrs. A. Cassimire; at Poonamallee, Dr. J. Kellie, Acting Garrison Surgeon. 24. At Vellore, Lieut. F. J. Baird, 1st Batt. 11th Regt. N. I. nephew to Sir D. Baird, Bart. June 1. At Madras, Mr. W. W. Stanhope, Dep. Com. of Ordnance attached to the Arsenal. 2. At Madras, Mr. Conductor Inverarity, of the Arsenal. 27. At Belgaum, Capt. M. Kemble, 1st Regt. N. C. Assistant Adjt. Gen. to the Field Force in the Dooab. June 20. At Vizagapatam, J. Smith, Esq. Collector and Magistrate of that district. 30. At Jaulnah, Mr. Assistant Surgeon C. Mayo. July 2. At St. Thomas's, Agnes, daughter of Lieut. Gray, H. M.'s 46th Regt. 5. At Salem, Mrs. Hunter. 8. Mrs. M. Paton. 11. At Quilon, Captain J. D. W. Rand, 15th Royal N. I. At Vizinagram, Mary Boswell, wife of Capt. G. Wilson, 9th Regt. N. I. Capt. F. Mountford, Deputy Surveyor-General of India. 13. At Arcot, J. Arratt, Esq. Veterinary Surgeon. 14. At Bangalore, Capt. C. F. Prile, Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Army on the Madras Establishment. 19. At Madras, Capt. B. Bishop, Madras Artillery. 21. At Madras, Mrs. T. Mouat.

BOMBAY.

Births.—May 23. At Bombay, the lady of W. M'Donald, H. C.'s Marine, of a son. 28. The wife of Mr. Conductor W. Grigsby of a son.

Marriage.—At Bombay, W. Fleetwood, Esq. Superintendent of the Rocket Establishment, to Mrs. M. Mackintosh, widow of Capt. C. W. Mackintosh, M. N. I.

Deaths.—May 1. At Kaira, Lieut. R. J. Anderson, H. M.'s 4th Light Dragoons. 7. At Bombay, the lady of F. Elderton, Esq. Bombay Military Establishment. 26. At Baroda, Sub-Conductor R. Cullen, Commissariat Department.

SINGAPORE.

Birth.—June 5. The lady of D. S. Napier, Esq. of a son.

Marriage.—June 9. A. Farquhar, Esq. to Miss E. Robinson.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—At Glasgow, the lady of G. Currie, Esq. Surgeon of the Hon. E. I. C. of a daughter. Nov. 5. At Camberwell, at the house of her father, M. G. M. Keith, Bart. the lady of J. F. Ellerton, Esq. of E. I. C.'s Civil Service, of a daughter. 10. In Somerset-street, Portman-square, the lady of Capt. Hine, E. I. C.'s Naval Service, of a daughter, who did not survive.

Deaths.—Oct. 21. In Upper Grosvenor-street, Mrs. Wood, wife of Major Wood, Secretary to the late Commander in Chief of the Coast Army; at Bath, Capt. M. Duncan, E. I. C.'s Service. 28. In Sloane-street, Mrs. Smith, widow of Col. G. Smith, late of the H. C.'s Service. Nov. 4. At Stanmore, S. Martin, Esq. formerly in Civil Service of E. I. C. on the Bombay Establishment. 8. At Limehouse, Eliza, infant daughter of J. Bacher, E. I. Service.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Departure.*	*Date.*
Oct. 31	Downs	Minstrel	Arkcoll	Batavia	June 16
Nov. 11	Downs	Nassau	Canss	Singapore	June 23
Nov. 12	Portsmouth	Sir E. Paget	Geary	Bengal	June 19
Nov. 14	Downs	Lady Hamilton	Keen	South Seas	
Nov. 18	Downs	Acteon	Briggs	Bombay	June 24
Nov. 22	Portsmouth	General Palmer	Truscott	Madras	Aug. 1
Nov. 24	Portsmouth	Victory	Finney	Bengal	June 4

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Depart.*
June 6	Bencoolen	General Harris	Welstead	London
June 6	Bengal	Earl of Balcarras	Cameron	London
June 11	Singapore	Nourmahal	Scott	London
June 15	Batavia	Rosanna	Johnston	London
June 16	Madras	Lord Hungerford	Farquharson	London
June 16	Madras	Duke of York	Campbell	London
June 23	Bombay	Marquis Camden	Larkins	London
July 2	Madras	Lady Melville	Clifford	London
July 2	Madras	Wm. Fairlie	Smith	London
July 6	Madras	Duke of Bedford	Cunningham	London

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS—*continued.*

Date.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Names.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Depart.*
July 7	Bay of Bengal	Henry Porcher	Thomson	London
July 9	Madras	Larkins	Wilkinson	London
July 19	Madras	Wm. Money	Jackson	London
July 28	Madras	Katherine	Mackintosh	London
Aug. 3	Cape	Mary	Watson	London
Aug. 7	Cape	Triumph	Green	London
Aug. 13	Mauritius	Mulgrave Castle	Ralph	London
Aug. 22	Cape	Oscar	Gibbs	London
Aug. 27	Cape	Mars	Wilson	London
Aug. 28	Cape	Cape Packet	Kellie	London
Sept. 3	Cape	Alacrity	Findlay	London
Oct. 1	Madeira	Admiral Cockburn	Cooling	London
Oct. 4	Madeira	Albion	Swainson	London
Oct. 6	Madeira	Portsea	Shepheard	London
Oct. 13	Madeira	Thalia	Crosbie	London
Oct. 18	Madeira	H. M. S. Blonde	Lord Byron	Falmouth

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Oct. 30	Deal	Prudent	Sullivan	South Seas
Oct. 31	Deal	Patience	Kind	Cape
Nov. 1	Deal	Alexander	Richardson	Mauritius
Nov. 4	Falmouth	Aurora	Earl	Madras & Bengal
Nov. 7	Cowes	Calcutta	Stroyan	Bengal
Nov. 9	Deal	Monmouth	Simpson	Cape
Nov. 25	Deal	Earl St. Vincent	Reeves	Batavia
Nov. 25	Deal	Boyne	Lawson	Madras & Bengal
Nov. 26	Portsmouth	Asia	Pope	Bombay
	Cowes	Ogle Castle	Weynton	Bombay
	Deal	Lady East	Talbot	Bombay
	Deal	Royal Charlotte	Corbyn	Bengal
Nov. 27	Deal	Sir C. Forbes	Foulerton	Bengal

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL IN THIS MONTH.

Date.	*Port of Depart.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
Dec. 1	Portsmouth	Woodlark	Brown	Batavia and Singapore
Dec. 4	Portsmouth	Alberton	Percival	Bombay
Dec. 5	Portsmouth	Rockingham	Beach	Madras and Bengal
Dec. 5	Portsmouth	Luna	Knox	Cape
Dec. 7	Portsmouth	Lady Campbell	Irvine	Madras and Bengal
Dec. 7	Portsmouth	Palmyra	Lamb	Madras and Bengal
Dec. 8	Portsmouth	Isabella	Wallis	Madras and Bengal
Dec. 8	Portsmouth	Amity	Gray	Bombay
Dec. 10	Portsmouth	Africa	Skelton	Mauritius and Ceylon
Dec. 10	Portsmouth	Pero	Rutter	Mauritius and Ceylon
Dec. 10	Portsmouth	Margaret	Simpson	Batavia & Singapore
Dec. 10	Portsmouth	Borneo	Ross	Cape
Dec. 20	Portsmouth	Coromandel	Boyes	Madras and Bengal
Dec. 20	Portsmouth	Royal George	Ellerby	Bombay
Dec. 20	Portsmouth	Maria	Moffatt	Batavia and Singapore
Dec. 25	Portsmouth	Batavia	Blair	Batavia and Singapore

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	*Lat. and Long.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*From whence.*	*Where bound.*
June 3	On the Equator	Mellish	Cole	London	Bengal
June 6	7 35 S. 27 29 W.	Princess Amelia	Williams	London	China
June 11	20 44 S. 32 51 W.	Thames	Haviside	London	China
Aug. 7	24 S. 29 W.	Prince Regent	Horsmer	London	Bengal
Aug. 14	30 15	Alfred		London	South Seas
Aug. 27	23 13 61 20	Guardian	Sutherland	Singap.	London
Sept. 15	17 30 S. 30 10 W.	Theodosea	Kidson	Liverpl.	Bombay
Sept. 27	2 10 S. 23 W.	Morley	Halliday	London	Bengal
Oct 18	29 13	Cornwallis	Henderson	London	Cape

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Britannia*.—From the Cape: Mr. Young, and Mr. Hewitson, from the late ship George the Fourth.

By the *Minstrell*.—From Batavia: Mrs. Musters and family; left at St. Helena, Mrs. Van De Curf and family; and Miss Naies.

By the *Frances*.—From Singapore: R. Dixon, Esq.

By the *Bengal*.—From Bengal: Major Stonehum, Bengal Artillery; Master Bird, Mr. M'Intyre (dead), and Master Stonehouse.

By the *Sir Edward Paget*.—From Bengal: Mesdms. Nayland, Britten, M'Cowan, Phillat, and Massingham; Col. Knox, Bengal Cavalry; Capts. M'Kenzie and Marshall, Bengal N. I.; Lieuts. Britten and Rice; C. Fuller, Esq., T. Dykes, Esq., four Miss Newlands, Misses L. Thomas and M. Massingham; Masters R. Pogson, E. Mandeville, H. M'Kenzie, and two Masters Thomas.

Per *Gen. Palmer*.—From Madras: Mesdms. Marley, Frith, Wroughton, Gill, Kelly, Teed, and Vivian; Misses Hickey, Marley, Flower, Teed, and Kelly; Col. Monroe, Madras Army; Capts. Anderson and James, Engineer; Mr. Wroughton, C. S.; Lieuts. Brown and Doyle, H. M. Dragoons; Dr. Tomlinson, Madras Army; Lieuts. Gordon, Hay, and Thompson, H. M. Service; Masters Vivian, Fitzgerald, and Thompson.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Triton*, Crear, sailed from Van Dieman's Land 8th of April, with a detachment of H. M. 48th Regt. under Major Bell, for Madras.

The *Aurora*, Earl, drove on board H. M's ship Astrea, at Falmouth, 29th of October, in a gale of wind, and cut her cable to prevent damage to both ships: she was subsequently brought up and supplied with another anchor and cable.

The *Columbian*, Faulkes, from China to Philadelphia, was totally lost May 22, in the Straits of Gasper—Crew saved, and arrived at Batavia.

The *Caroline*, Harris, having damaged part of her cargo, a survey was held at Batavia July 2, and she was declared unseaworthy in her present state. Captain Harris, however, intended to give her temporary repair, and to proceed to Singapore with the remainder of her cargo.

The *Shannon*, Kendall, arrived at Singapore damaged, having struck on a coral rock.

The *Alacrity*, Findley, was to proceed to Moselle Bay Sept. 6, to convey 250 tons of cargo, saved from the Mary Ardlie, and afterwards to load with wine and skins at the Cape.

The *George the Fourth* was sold at the Cape for 5,000 rix dollars.

The Brig *Saint Anthony Ward*, from Bengal to the Cape, was driven on shore at the Cape during a gale of wind Aug. 1.

The *York*, Talbert, ran on shore on Mornington Point, but was got off without having sustained much apparent damage.

The *George* arrived at Bengal May 19 from Ceylon; saw March 3, in lat. 4 N. long. 84 E. the wreck of a vessel, supposed to be of about 400 tons.

The *Bengal Merchant*, Brown, was taken up for the Burmese expedition for three months.

The *William Fairlie*, Smith, was to sail from Madras Aug. 2, to Penang with the Governor.

The *Madras*, Crosby, from London to Madras and Bengal, drove on shore Nov. 23, at Stoke's Bay, Portsmouth, and was much damaged; her cargo was discharging.

The *Cornelia*, Stokes, from Batavia, arrived off Ramsgate Nov. 23, missed the harbour and ran on shore at the back of the East Pier, where she lies sunk, with her masts cut away, and her cargo landing in a wet state.

The *Victory*, Finney, from Bengal, arrived off Portsmouth Nov. 23, lost three anchors and cables, and drove on shore off Blockhouse Fort, during a violent gale on that day. The passengers were all safely landed with difficulty. The Victory did not appear to have received any damage in her hull, but the cargo would be obliged to be discharged.

The *City of Rochester*, Copping, for Madras and Bengal, was driven on shore at Plymouth, during the gale Nov. 23, with her fore and mainmast cut away. She was lying between Queen's Arms Battery and the Pier Head, near the Cutwater.

The *Scotia*, M'Cormack, was, during the gale Nov. 23. driven on shore at Plymouth.

On the landing of the passengers by the *Sir Edward Paget*, at Portsmouth, they gave Capt. Geary, the commander of that vessel, a farewell dinner, as a testimony of their opinion of his skill and attention during the voyage. The Sir E. Paget was precisely twelve months on her passage out and home: all well.

HON. COMPANY'S SHIPS.

At a Court of Directors, held at the East India House, Nov. 11. the following ships were thus timed, viz.

Princess Charlotte of Wales, Capt. C. Biden; Warren Hastings, Capt. Geo. Mason; and Minerva, Capt. Geo. Probyn—for Madras and Bengal; to be afloat 17th February, 1825; sail to Gravesend 4th March; stay there thirty days; and be in the Downs 9th April.

The Thomas Grenville, Capt. Wm. Manning; and Marquis Wellington, Capt. Blanshard—for Bengal direct; to be afloat the 18th April; sail to Gravesend 2d May; stay there thirty days; and be in the Downs 7th June.

The ships Charles Grant, Capt. ——, Bombay; Lowther Castle, Capt. T. Baker; and Warren Hastings, Capt. R. Rawes—for China direct; to be afloat 4th March, 1825; sail to Gravesend 19th ditto; stay there thirty days; and be in the Downs 24th April.

The under-mentioned Captains were sworn into the command of their respective ships, viz. Capt. J. P. Wilson, Hythe; Capt. R. Alsager, Waterloo—Bengal and China; and Capt. J. Patterson, Repulse—St. Helena, Bencoolen, and China.

SUPPLEMENTARY INDIAN INTELLIGENCE.

Bengal.—After the Indian and Colonial Intelligence of the present number had been put to press, we received a partial supply of Madras Papers to the 1st of August, containing copious extracts from those of Calcutta to the middle of the previous mouth. The late period at which these reached us, will preclude us from giving more than the substance of the intelligence they convey. It appears that the Burmese war has assumed an aspect more formidable than was expected on the part of the enemy. It is acknowledged in these accounts, that their force in the neighbourhood of Rangoon amounts to near 30,000 men, and that from the nature of the warfare they adopt, the British force is harassed by long and difficult marches, without being able to bring them to a general engagement.

In addition to the stockade affair at Kemmendine, as narrated in a preceding page, another action took place at a stockade in the neighbourhood of Rangoon, on the 27th of May, between Captain Snodgrass with 18 men of His Majesty's 38th Regiment, and a party of the enemy, which ended in the defeat of the Burmese, the British sustaining little injury. On the following day, four companies of Europeans from the 13th and 38th Regiment, and 250 Sepoys from the Bengal Artillery, marched out under Sir A. Campbell, with one gun and one howitzer, and on approaching the stockade taken the evening before, they found it re-occupied; and about a mile further, two others were observed, not quite finished, which were destroyed. As the troops advanced, the enemy kept retreating into the interior, and after marching thus for seven miles, the Artillery soldiers became so exhausted, that it was necessary to send back the guns escorted by the Native Infantry. The four companies of Europeans then continued their march to a large plain, on which was a village called Janayhyvaug; and although the rain fell in torrents, yet as the enemy were observed drawing out a long line in the rear of the village, the troops pushed forward. On approaching the village, two masked stockades opened a fire upon the troops, but both these were carried after a very obstinate resistance by three companies of infantry, and by two flank companies of the 38th regt., under Brig. Gen. Macbean, and a company of the 13th light infantry, under Major Dennie. Those of the enemy who could not effect their escape to the jungles in the rear, were put to the sword. The enemy left 300 dead in the stockades and adjacent fields, and the British loss was very severe; Lieut. A. Howard of the 13th infantry being killed, and Lieuts. Michael and O'Halloran, of H. M.'s 38th regt. severely wounded, both suffering amputation of a leg.

After carrying the stockades, Sir A. Campbell drew up his force in front of the Burmese army, which still remained in the rear of the village; but finding it impossible to bring them to action, he returned to Rangoon.

On the 30th, another masked stockade in the neighbourhood of the great Dagon Pagoda, was carried by Captain Piper at the head of the light infantry of H. M.'s 38th regt. The despatch in which Sir A. Campbell has given these particulars, strongly marks the obstinate character which the Burmese war has assumed. The following extract from this despatch will show the accuracy of this assertion.

'Every act of the enemy evinces a most marked determination of carrying hostility to the very last extremity, approaching our posts day and night, under cover of an imperrious and incombustible jungle, constructing stockades and redoubts on every road and pathway, even within musket-shot of our sentries, and from these hidden fastnesses carrying on a most barbarous and harassing warfare, firing upon our sentries at all hours of the night, and lurking on the outskirts of the jungle for the purpose of carrying off any unlucky wretch whom chance may throw in their way.'

A despatch from Major Wahab notices an attack and capture by the force under his command, of a stockade on the main land, opposite the Isle of Negrais; and the capture of ten or twelve guns, and a quantity of ammunition. Another despatch of Sir A. Campbell's, of the 4th of June, notices an attack on the village of Kemmendine, and its being burnt down to the ground. A large stockade, erected by the enemy, would also have been taken, 'but for the occurrence of some mistakes.' Here again the despatch shows the Commander's opinion of the formidable character of the Burmese. He says,

'As the attack was never in any way

persevered in, I do not much regret the result, as it will tend to lull our crafty foe into a security that may soon prove fatal to him.'

If the hopes of the Government depend upon this, it were wiser at once to succumb to the Lord of the White Elephant, and quit a region where pestilence and power alike oppose the progress of our arms.

The extracts from the private letters, inserted in these papers, do not give a more favourable, though possibly they may a more impartial, account of the progress of the British arms. A letter of the 5th of July, from Rangoon, states, that the difficulty of obtaining intelligence of the motions of the enemy much impeded the military operations. A letter of the 7th states, that preparations were making for a grand attack, the next day, on the Burmese army, said to consist of 50,000 *men, strongly stockaded in the neighbourhood*. A third letter states the General to have issued orders that no stockade in future was to be stormed until a breach was made. This order proves that experience, though dearly bought, is advantageous, and also points out the danger of despising an enemy of whose strength and capability we are ignorant. The letters from the officers engaged in the expedition speak in terms of contempt of the practice adopted by their enemies of flying when a charge of bayonets is made, or when the British engages them closely. These young heroes probably do not know, that no instances are on record in which the party charged remained to receive the bayonets of the chargers; the bravest troops of Europe giving way before it.

The want of provisions at Rangoon was severely felt, and at the date of the last advices great sickness prevailed. Sir A. Campbell himself was by no means in good health.

On the Sylshet frontier, Colonel Innes with a strong detachment, had advanced against the Burmese as far as Jattrapore. The force of the enemy on this side was very strong. They had 1000 men at Telayn, the same at Tarrapoor, the same at Daoodputlee, and in two stockades in the neighbourhood they had 2000 men. The King of Ava had ordered also 15,000 men to invade Cachar, of which these formed a part, and 1000 in addition were at Munnipore.

The accounts from Assam stated, that the Singfohs had evinced a decidedly hostile feeling against the Burmese, and had put themselves under the protection of the British government.

The letters from Chittagong of the 6th of July state, that the Madras fleet was then at the mouth of the river, and that considerable sickness prevailed. The brother of the Rajah of Tipperah was in custody, on a charge of holding correspondence with the Burmese; and it was expected that he would be sent to Calcutta for trial. The acting magistrates at Chittagong had sent to the Rajah of Arracan to solicit the release of two British officers supposed to be prisoners at Ramoo; the latter, however, denied having them, and stated that had they been taken, they would have been released immediately. The force of the Burmese at Ramoo was given out at 8000 men, and the Bundola was expected with 9000 more, when it was the intention of the enemy to advance on Chittagong. A party of the Sepoys at Tek Naaf had made terms with the Burmese, and gone to them.

The Calcutta government had issued orders for an increase of the Native Infantry of that presidency, of ten men and two non-commissioned officers to each company, and for the formation of four flank battalions, two of grenadiers, and two of light infantry, to be taken from the Native Infantry corps, and to be replaced by supplementary companies.

Bombay.—Letters from Surat, received at Bombay, mention that the cholera had visited that city with great severity, and that in one day 120 natives had perished. A seasonable shower of rain had, however, arrested its progress; and by the last acounts it had nearly disappeared.

Mhow and Asseerghur were in future to be occupied by Bombay troops, and they were to be withdrawn from Sholapore, being relieved by troops from the Madras establishment. The exchange would be made about the end of the year.

Rain had begun to fall freely in Bombay and its vicinity.

Madras.—By the latest Madras Papers, we learn that very great distress prevailed among the lower classes of the natives, on account of the scarcity of food, numbers of them dying daily from starvation. A subscription had been set on foot to provide a fund for the prevention of this dreadful calamity, and it had been very munificently supported.

SECOND ADDRESS TO SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, ON HIS RETURN TO BENCOOLEN AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SHIP FAME.

To the Honourable Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Knt. Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, and its Dependencies.

HONOURABLE SIR:

DEVOUTLY thankful to the Almighty and infinitely merciful Being, the Supreme Disposer of all Events in this transitory universe, for the miraculous preservation of your Excellency, your amiable consort, the ship's company, and passengers, from the dreadful and unlooked-for event, which so instantaneously, so unexpectedly, and completely has consigned to destruction the honourable Company's ship Fame; we, the inhabitants of Fort Marlbro', do approach your Excellency with our unfeigned congratulations for your wonderful deliverance, and that of Lady Raffles, from devouring flames and the perils of the ocean.

We dread, honourable Sir, to reflect on the shock which, in your present infirm state of health, this calamitous occurrence may occasion to your constitution. Yet fervently do we hope, that the same good Providence, whose all-benevolent, all-protecting, and all-sufficient hand rescued you from the raging fire and dangers of the deep, will assist you to bear with that unconquerable fortitude, that greatness of soul, that undaunted spirit, that cool philosophic firmness, and pious resignation to the will of Heaven, for which your Excellency is so conspicuously distinguished, the terrible misfortune which, utterly contrary to all our expectations, has just taken place.

What grievous alteration has the short space of forty eight hours produced; of what a dreadful calamity have we been spectators! But, great as your pecuniary losses must be, far greater than in our humble power to repair, we are sensible that, to your expanded and liberal mind, those losses will appear of far less moment than the, we fear, irreparable deprivation which will accrue to the advancement of science and knowledge of these countries, from the lamentable and never sufficiently to be deplored conflagration of your invaluable manuscripts and extensive collections, the inestimable result of many years of laborious, indefatigable, and successful research.

Fruitful is to us, however, the source of congratulation, that your Excellency, your consort, and companions in distress, have reached our shores in safety; and thankful are we to God for allowing us once more an opportunity of testifying our sincere regard, our unshaken attachment, and our respect for your private virtues and public worth. And we devoutly trust, that HE, who permits not the merciless flame to rage in vain, yet allowed it not to singe one hair of your head, nor consume even a thread of your garments, will ultimately out of this evil cause to spring forth good; and that from this event, calamitous as it at present appears, a regeneration shall arise, which will in time, with true and never-fading splendour, beam over these benighted lands; that being again blessed by your Excellency's presence will thus, in the maturation of your plans for their prosperity (through means of the accident, which so strangely has led to your detention amongst us), be enabled to hail you as the restorer of peace and happiness, proceeding from the diffusion of religion and extension of freedom.

That the Almighty God may for ever bless and guard you in the midst of your so severely trying difficulties and overpowering calamities, is the warm, the unfeigned, and heartfelt supplication of

[Signed by all the Inhabitants of Fort Marlbro'.]

REPLY OF SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES.

MY GOOD FRIENDS,

I am very sensible of this additional and unexpected mark of your attention and kindness. I cherish your sympathy, and am grateful for your condolence. Our loss has been large, and our peril great. It has indeed pleased the Almighty Disposer of Events to visit us sorely; but we are grateful.

It may be that I placed too high a value on the importance of my collections—that I was too confident in my future career; perhaps I was too much attached to the things of this world. The lot of man is a mixture of good and evil, and we must be content with it,—at all events, we know that all worketh for good in the end.

If any proof had been wanting of the sincerity with which the public opinion had been expressed on my departure, it was abundantly found in the reception I met on my unexpected return—a reception most gratifying and delightful to the best feelings of the heart, and of itself more than a compensation for all our losses. We left you with the fair gale of prosperity, carrying with us every necessary, every comfort, nay, every luxury which the nature of the voyage admitted. We returned with the latter blast of adversity—naked, and ye clothed us; hungry and athirst, and ye fed us; worn out and exhausted, and ye cherished and consoled us. Once more, allow me to thank you; and as God has blessed us, so may he bless and reward you for your kindness and hospitality, and shield you in the hour of danger.

SUPPLEMENTARY CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—July 2. Mr. J. S. Lushington to be Assistant to the Political Agent and Superintendent of Ajmere; Capt. A. Speirs, 46th Regt. N. I. to be Political Agent in Sirohee.

MILITARY APPOINTMENT.

Fort William.—July 8. Capt. Fiddes, Assistant Commissary General, to the General Control of the Commissariat Department with the combined forces in Ava, under Brigadier General Sir A. Campbell, K. C. B., with the temporary rank of Deputy Commissary General.

MADRAS.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—July 23. H. S. Græme, Esq. to be President of the Board of Revenue; J. H. D. Ogilvie, Esq. to be Chief Judge of the Suddah and Foujdarry Adawlut; Mr. J. D. Newbolt to be Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Ganjam; Mr. J. Orr to be Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Nellore; Mr. J. C. Clarke to be Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Masulipatam; Mr. A. Robertson to be Assistant to the Principal Collector and Magistrate of the Northern Division of Arcot.—30. Mr. W. Oliver to be First Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Southern Division; Mr. C. M. Lushington to be Second Judge of the Provincial Court of do.; Mr. J. Bird to be Third Judge of do.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, June [illegible]—Captain the Baron Kutzliben, 44th Regt. N. I. to act as Brigade Major, during the absence of Lieut. Dyce; Capt. B. M'Mastu, 6th Regt. N. I. to act as ditto in the ceded districts during the absence of Capt. Cracroft; Lieut. A. H. Jeffries to be Quartermaster, Interpreter and Paymaster to 2d Regt. N. I. Lieut. T. Dallas to be ditto 3rd Regt. N. I. Lieut. R. Mitchell to be Adjut. 6th Regt. N. I. Lieut. R. J. Bird to be Adjut. to 8th Regt. N. I. Lieut. T. Thompson to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster to 36th Regt. N. I. Lieut. P. Thompson to be ditto to 39th Regt. N. I. Ensign A. Dyce to be Adjut. to 39th Regt. N. I. Lieut. (Brev. Cap.) L. M'Dowall, 23rd Regt. N. I. to be Fort Adjut. at Seringapatam, vice Lawden.—July 2. Major M'Cullen of the Artillery, to be Superintendent of the Gun Carriage Manufactory at Seringapatam; Sub-conductor J. B. Pouchard to be a Conductor of Ordnance; Sub-conductor J. Anderson to be ditto to complete the establishment; Capt. G. K. Babington, 36th Regt. N. I. to be Assistant Adjutant-general to the Field Force in the Dooab, vice Kemble, deceased; Lieut. S. Jackson, 14th Regt. N. I. to be Dept. Asst. Quartermaster-General in the ceded districts, vice Babington; Lieut. J. W. Harding, 4th Regt. N. I. to be Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster to that Corps, vice Jackson; Lieut. H. S. Forde to be Adjutant to 2d Batt. of Artillery, vice Lambe; Capt. C. Sim, of the Engineers, to act as Superintending Engineer in the Northern Division until further orders, without prejudice to his appointment as Civil Engineer on that Division.—13. Lieut. Brevet Capt. D. Montgomerie, 7th Regt. L. C. to act as Deputy Surveyor-General, vice Mountford, deceased, until further orders.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, July 2.—Mr. W. Davies to be Assistant Surgeon in conformity with his appointment by the Hon. Court of Directors from 25th ult., and is appointed to do duty under the Surgeon of 2d batt. of Artillery in Fort St. George. Mr. De Burgh Birch, to be ditto from 2d inst., and to do duty under the Garrison Surgeon of Fort St. George. 13. Mr. George Pearse to be do. from 6th inst., and to do duty under the Garrison Surgeon of Poonamallee.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George.—June 25. *Artillery.* Senior Lieut. T. Biddle, to be Capt. vice Dennett, invalided, dated 16 June, 1824.

26th Regt. N. I.—Senior Capt. C. W. Yates, to be Major; Senior Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) S. A. Rebe, to be Capt.; and Senior Ensign W. Haplin, to be Lieut. vice Jones deceased, dated 20 June, 1824.

26. *Artillery.* Senior Lieut. J. Lambe, to be Capt. vice Rudyerd, deceased, dated 25 June, 1824.

July 6. *17th Regt. N. I.*—Senior Ensign D. Babington, to be Lieut. vice Lihon, cashiered, dated 20 June, 1824.

40th Regt. N. I.—Senior Ensign G. H. Harper, to be Lieut. vice Bruce, deceased, dated 27 June, 1824.

9. *1st Regt. L. C.*—Senior Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) M. C. Chase, to be Capt.; and Senior Cornet W. Walker, to be Lieut. vice Kemble deceased, dated 28 June, 1824.

38th Regt. N. I.—Senior Ensign R. G. Carmichael, to be Lieut. vice Arden, deceased, dated 3 July, 1824.

The undermentioned gentlemen, Cadets for the Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry, are admitted on the Establishment, and promoted to the rank of Cornet, 2d Lieut. and Ensign, respectively, bearing the date to be hereafter settled:

Cavalry.

Messrs. T. W. J. Prescott, F. Forbes, and R. T. Pocock, arrived at Madras, July 2, 1824.

Messrs. H. B Blogg, J. Rose, and T. A. A. Munsey, arrived at Madras, July 6, 1824.

Artillery.

Mr. J. T. Ashton arrived at Madras, July 2, 1824.

Infantry.

Messrs. J. Hunter, T. D. Roberts, J. White, G. T. Pinchard, J. Mackenzie, E. H. Atkinson, W. Cross, J. H. Bean, H. A. Holcombe, W. Elsey, H. Wakeman, R. K. Macleod, arrived at Madras, July 2, 1824.

Mr. J. H. Bowden Congden, arrived at Madras, July 3, 1824.

Messrs. G. G. Mackenzie, J. W. Rumsey, C. Rowlandson, W. White, J. Campbell, C. C. Hughes, T. Bayles, W. C. Chinnery, J. Bates, F. W. Hoffman, and F. H. Hopper, arrived at Madras, July 6, 1824.

July 13. Mr. C. Abbot is admitted as Cadet of Infantry and promoted to Ensign; date to be settled hereafter.

REMOVAL AND POSTING.

Fort St. George.—July 9. Assistant Surg. F. Ward, M. D. to proceed to Salem, and do duty till further orders.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort St. George.—July 25. Capt. R. James, 7th Regt. L. C., to the Cape, for eight months; Lieut. L. Straton, 8th Regt. L. C. to Europe. July 2. Cornet C. B. Lindsay, 3d Regt. L. C., to China, and eventually to Europe, on sick certificate.

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